

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION



A POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND
CULTURAL HISTORY

rate of rivers in building up their deltas, in carving gorges, and in cutting through rock ledges.

The paleontologist also helps, as does the paleobotanist, for they, too, are seeking a time sequence for their material. Their researches have supplemented and corrected the results of the geologist. Hence, since men, animals, and plants were so closely associated, the time schedules of the three scientists have been applied to the early parts of the human story.

As the student approaches historic times, the records of human life are greater in variety and number. A time sequence has been developed on the basis of improvement in the technique of making flint implements, of increase in the variety of ornaments, and, best of all, in the development of pottery. Clay vessels, once broken, are more easily replaced than repaired. Fragments of pottery resist the destructive forces of nature, and are most likely to be discarded in one spot. Ceramic material thus forms the largest single product of excavation, and its arrangement, in the order of improvement, furnishes the most widely used foundation for the relative chronology of man of the neolithic (new stone) age. The Sequence Dates set up for prehistoric Egypt by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie are derived from this arrangement of material, as are the divisions Erech I (the earliest) to Erech VI (the latest), Troy I to IX, etc. Sir Arthur Evans has classified Cretan material into Early, Middle, and Late Minoan, with three subdivisions for each class.

The presence of foreign objects in an area is used to connect it with the area from which the imported article came. A Cretan vase found in Troy hints at, if it does not establish, a connection, at a given time, between the two separate culture centers. Other time relations *The diffusion theory* spring from the diffusion theory. This theory, simply stated, is that no invention or discovery has been made independently in two different places. There are some apparent duplications which are extremely difficult to explain, but the theory is still widely accepted. Clay seals, for example, have been found in the Indus, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Nile Valleys. Diffusionists locate the point of discovery either in Egypt, or in the Persian plateau. If the first be true, seals came later to the Tigris-Euphrates country, and last of all to India. If the second be true, India and Mesopotamia may have received the invention at the same time, but the use in Egypt was certainly later than that in Mesopotamia. The invention of a perforated battle axe head is attributed to men of the Near East who were using copper or bronze for weapons. It follows that stone duplicates of this type of axe found in Scandinavia are copies of, and later in time than the Near Eastern axes. From studies of all these types of evidence come parts of the complex answer to the question, When did men of the Ice Age live?

Primitive man was a hunter, the chief in a world of hunters and victims. Missile and striking weapons were made from a flint core or flakes chipped therefrom (paleoliths), and gave him superiority over his rivals. The hides

of his victims offered protection against cold and storm. Implements of bone improved his handiwork, and the barbed hook made fishing easier for him. His ability to produce and to maintain fire gave him immediate security from animal attack and partial control of an extremely useful natural force.

Additional information concerning primitive man comes from a variety of sources. The accounts by civilized observers of tribes still in a primitive stage, and the survivals of savage customs which have persisted in the literature of groups emerging from barbarism, are also used. The story is not a simple one, since there are great differences in the rate and character of development of human groups. Still, it is agreed that these Ice Age hunters, whether they lived in Western Europe, Bulgaria, South Russia, Syria, or the Nile Valley, made some use of their leisure time to improve along cultural and social lines.

Paleolithic man reproduced on the walls of his cave home and on the smooth surface of bone the vivid memories of incidents in his life work, the pursuit of game. The skill developed in design and in the use of color was remarkable. The product was not so much art for art's sake as art for magic's sake. It was thought that a picture of success in the hunt might bring real success. The same practice, called imitative magic, employed by primitive groups today, lends credence to this hypothesis. Belief in a future life is also inferred, although the only direct proof of thought about immortality in the mind of paleolithic man is the fact that he buried his dead.

The most obvious organization of primitive hunters would be that of a hunting pack, with the single object of securing an adequate supply of food, with the single ideal to establish an equilibrium between food supply and food demand. All of the institutions of the group would be developed to attain that ideal. The best extant illustration of a series of social regulations with maintenance of equilibrium as its end is found in the totemic groups of Australia. These groups have preserved, in unchanging surroundings, a stage of development shared by all primitive hunters. Paleolithic men needed and accepted a leader. They established permanent homes, or headquarters, and exchanged their surplus for the surplus of other hunters. They separated women's work from men's, and recognized the rights of some individuals to ownership of weapons and clothing. They had acquired some ideas of private property, and had made the first steps in political and economic organization. The interpreters of the forces and the phenomena of nature, that is, the priests or medicine men, had been singled out from the group. Specialization of tasks was the most influential of these accomplishments. It gave the women opportunity to exploit the fruits, nuts, vegetables, and grasses around the permanent camp; it fixed the women, children, and aged in a sort of home where the products of the hunt and other

additions to the food supply could be secured and preserved; and it no doubt was the immediate predecessor of the manufacture of vessels (of hides, gourds, or woven grasses) in which food could be stored. The control by nature over man was giving way slowly to a control by man over his environment.

The final retreat of the ice brought great changes in climate and vegetation to the northwestern quarter of the eastern hemisphere. As the belt of storms moved northward, the southern grasslands became arid, forcing the hunters to the water sources, the oases and the great river valleys. In the northern section, forests gradually filled the plains which had supported the hunters' prey. The movements of men were much more complicated than those in the south. Some refugees from the encroaching forests settled on the shores of seas or lakes where they maintained life on fish and other sea food. Others migrated to the east along the loess plains which extended to the Hindu Kush range. They were accompanied, or followed, by refugees from the Saharan drought who found new homes in the small unforested clearings of western and central Europe. The changes in environment were too violent and too drastic to be overcome by the hunters. On the whole, the period was one of disaster and of the lethargy of defeat for the hunters of Europe, which long remained a cultural backwater. The remains of the late Old Stone Age are those of decadence. In order to find traces of progress, one must turn to areas where climatic change was more gradual. It was in North Africa and the Near East that the transition from primitive to civilized life began.

The transition was one of advance along many lines. Man of the New Stone (Neolithic) Age, of the polished instead of the chipped flint, is distinguished from his predecessor by his increasing control over nature. This included improvement in the methods of handling inanimate matter. His tools were more efficient. He applied fire to the hardening of clay into pottery, and, later, to the reduction of metallic ores. Boats and carts reduced the terrors and difficulties of his journeys. This improvement in means of communications meant the sharing of inventions and discoveries by many human groups. The domestication of animals was another line of development. Man and dog had long been associated in the hunt. But neolithic man domesticated other animals for their milk, or meat, for their muscle power, and for their ability to carry him easily and rapidly. Plants were domesticated for the food and clothing materials which they supplied.

The advance was decidedly irregular. There are even exceptions to the rule which makes the polishing of flints the first step, and there are many instances in which the domestication of animals was a practical impossibility. The presence of the plant or animal to be domesticated, and the ease with which the process of domestication could be accomplished, had a great deal to do with the advance from the hunting stage to the pastoral or the agricul-

tural stage. Thus, men of the grasslands became pastoral nomads with domesticated animals but with few or no domesticated plants. Men of the open woodland domesticated plants, but still looked to game as the chief source of food supply. On the other hand, tillable soil, the presence of the nobler grasses (wheat, millet, barley), and animals which could be domesticated, transformed hunters into farmers and animal users. This ideal combination was found in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates and the Indus rivers.

At first glance, these areas appear much more promising than the forests of Europe for students of man's development. There is a greater expectancy of continuity in the record where continuity of residence is a probability. Diggings at Anau in Turkestan, at Susa and Ur near the head of the Persian Gulf, at Badari and Deir Tasa on the Nile and at Knossus in Crete, have established the existence of neolithic culture from one to two millennia before the use of polished flints in Europe. But the eastern sites have revealed no trace of paleolithic man. The Aegean area is similarly barren, and even in Egypt where both old stone and new stone implements have been found, the transition period is not fully documented. Until the time when additional evidence has been uncovered, the student of history must fill with inference the gap between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Age.

Although the transition itself cannot be described, there is ample proof of the great social difference between paleolithic hunter and neolithic herder and farmer. The pastoral nomad owned animals which he had to defend and control. He had relatively little work to perform, no great need for specialization. The tendency to remain in small groups was marked, although a temporary union of larger numbers might be formed for raids, or for defense against a common enemy. Experience and skill were superior to strength; hence the oldest member of the group ruled the others. His power was recognized in every sphere of life, making him the economic, judicial, political, and religious leader.

Domestication and cultivation of plants were much more difficult tasks. They required co-operation, provision for the future and division of labor. They held men in one locality and forced them to build homes and barns. Larger groups were desirable and practicable. Political organization varied, although centralization and the rule of one man seem to have been the ideals of the neolithic farmer.

The added leisure of herder or of farmer brought further advance along at least three lines, each one the result of individual thought. The successful leader used his leisure to find ways and means of procuring more food, better methods of storing food. He sought to increase trade with other groups, to regulate trade within the group, and to improve its organization. Either the leader or some other individual concerned himself with the relationship between the group and the unknown. An expla-

*Absence of paleo-
lithic evidence in
Near East*

*Effects of animal
and plant
domestication*

The use of leisure

nation of the forces of nature was given in the form of myths which peopled the world with powers to be placated or controlled. The individual whose myths were accepted and whose advice as to methods of placating or controlling the powers obtained the best results was highly honored. The advice was generally given in the form of prohibitions, words which must not be said, objects which must not be touched, actions which must not be performed. The positive acts were usually reserved for the adviser, the man who knew. A third type of individual also aided the group. This type was represented by the man who first polished the chipped flint, who first fixed a handle to his stone weapon, who formed the first bone needle, who made the first potter's wheel and the first loom. These three types, leader, priest, and inventor, are responsible for all that we have in our lives above and beyond that of the primitive hunter. Habit and custom were strong; new ideas were looked upon with distrust. But the opportunity was there, and some dared to accept it. The results were an increasing respect for others and their rights, the growth of a sense of security, and the development of a feeling of moral responsibility. The list of differences between the hunter and the herder-farmer could be extended indefinitely. It would include for the latter the ability to generalize, the power of abstraction, concepts of time, space and of value; in short, the bundle of characteristics which are attributed to civilized man.

Two great inventions have given to the history of man a reality much more vivid than that of the history of rocks, or of flora and fauna. The first was language, the means of transmitting the experiences of one generation to the next. The second was writing, which *The beginnings of recorded history* makes possible the study of these experiences of mankind as they have been preserved on clay, stone, metal, parchment, or papyrus.

Actual writing was preceded by the active desire of man to record his actions, hopes, and thoughts. Paleolithic man pictured on cave walls the animals which he had killed, or those which he hoped to kill with the aid of magic. His successor in the Neolithic Age had the problem of adapting this picture writing to his more complicated life. He might simplify the picture so that the representation of animal or man would not be a portrait but a mere word-sign for any animal or man. The word-sign was then made more definite by indications of the actions or occupations of the subject. A plowman would be designated by the word-sign for man and the word-sign for plow. The eye or the ear would be emphasized to indicate seeing or hearing. This process, after a length of time, would, and did, produce a number of word-signs so numerous that they could not be remembered. The number was reduced in two ways. Words which sounded alike would be represented by the same sign. Thus the picture of a shoemaker's tool might mean awl or all. Again, the sign for man might be used in combination to mean something not a human being, as, for example, the first syllable of man-hole, or

of mandate. This advance from word-sign to syllable-sign was made in Egypt before 3000 B.C., perhaps even earlier in the land of Sumer.

The use of syllabic writing made it possible to express all parts of speech and to reproduce thoughts on papyrus or clay. Syllable-signs were gradually reduced, for convenience in writing, to simple conventional forms. The next step, that is from a syllable-sign to a consonant-sign, was actually made in Egypt. But the Egyptian alphabet replaced only in part the syllable-signs. So cumbersome was the writing which visiting Greeks found in Egypt in the sixth century B.C., that they could explain it only as a purveyor of magic. They called it sacred carving, hieroglyphic.

It was in Syria that true alphabetic writing was first developed. A language of syllable-signs, having its origin in Sumeria, had been adopted as a means of communication by the traders of the Near East. Its name, cuneiform, was derived from the marks made by a wedge-shaped reed on clay tablets resembling a half-used cake of chocolate-brown soap. This form of script, although less artistic than the Egyptian hieroglyphs, was much more easily written. For many centuries it satisfied traders and diplomats. But in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., the merchants of North Syria began experimenting with the Egyptian alphabetic signs, and produced a true alphabet. Recent finds at Ras Shamra indicate cuneiform influence on the experimenters. The undeciphered script of Crete also may have exerted some influence. But the alphabet which finally triumphed, the Phoenician, had many Egyptian features. Like its predecessor, the Phoenician alphabet lacked vowel sounds, a contribution which was made by the Greeks.

The first known division of time based on human reasoning was made in the Nile Valley. Some observer noted that the star of Sothis and the sun rose together at the time of the annual flood. The phenomenon was observed again after an interval of three hundred sixty-five days. This intervening period was then divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a holiday season of five days. Unfortunately for the Egyptians, the true solar year is approximately three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days, and the sun and Sothis rise at exactly the same time only once in fourteen hundred sixty years. The result was that the months to which the Egyptians adhered with religious zeal, gradually fell out of step with the seasons after which they were named. The generally accepted year in which this observation was made is 4236 B.C. It would be unwise to call this the first recorded date in human history, since no record was made at the time, nor was the Sothic year, or cycle, ever used to date an event.

The common practice of the Egyptians was to locate an event in the proper year of a king's reign. This was also the practice in Sumeria. There the adoption of a lunar year (a year of twelve moons plus) made the calculation of each New Year's Day an extremely difficult problem. Many centuries later, the Assyrians named their years after annually elected officials. The preserva-

*Divisions of time
in recorded history*

tion of many Assyrian lists of these officials gives a fairly solid foundation for the dating of Assyrian history as well as for the history of those who came in contact with the Assyrians. It should be remembered that every date before 893 B.C., the oldest Assyrian record, is the result of calculation based on incomplete and inaccurate data.

Social and political organization was also advanced in certain localities at the dawn of history. It is probable that we shall never be able to trace human advance to a single center of diffusion. On the basis of existing evidence the only sound statement which may now be made is that favorable environment and the will to work have produced civilizations which apparently have enjoyed independent development and which have made separate and distinct contributions to European culture.

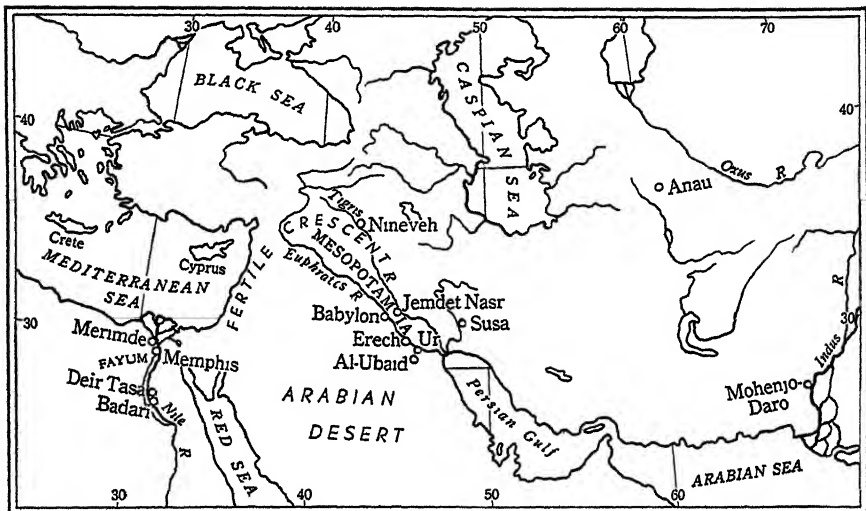
The desert which stretches from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and along its northern border to the Indus Valley, lay in the path of the cyclonic storm belt during the periods when Europe was covered with ice. But with the final retreat of the ice, the storm belt moved northward. The slow process of desiccation reduced the habitable districts of what was once forest land to a number of oases, the largest of which is the Nile Valley. Cutting its path from the highlands of equatorial Africa through the rocky heights of the southern Sahara, the Nile flows slowly through the desert to the Mediterranean. The last part of its course, known from ancient times as Egypt, is only a narrow strip of fertile land never more than ten miles in width and about three hundred miles in length. Great cliffs on either side give way to sandy terraces which descend gradually to the rich soil of the lands bordering the river. Well filtered through rapids and cataracts, the Nile bears, even at the flood, only the most enriching of sediment which its waters spread in a thin film over the lowlands. At the mouth of the river the tideless Mediterranean has made possible the formation of a vast delta, a triangle with a base of about one hundred fifty miles and an altitude of about one hundred miles. To the travelers of classical antiquity the river was at once a mystery and a blessing. Herodotus, the Greek historian, puzzled in vain over the lateness (July) of its annual flood, but was convinced that the very existence of Egypt depended on it. It was he who described Egypt as the gift of the Nile. The gift was not a perfect one, however, for, although the even climate freed the farmer from many of the hazards of agriculture, absence of rain made irrigation a necessity.

At first glance, Egypt appears to be completely isolated. Above and along the cataracts lies a district not attractive to human settlers. To the east and west are desert areas, while to the north lies the Mediterranean. Egypt has nevertheless been invaded from each of these directions in the long course of her history. The astonishing feature of Egyptian history is not the lack of visitors, but the ability of its people to

Original home of civilization

Prehistoric Egypt

Man in Egypt



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THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION, 5000 TO 3000 B. C.

Egyptianize them. Paleolithic hunters came to the edge of the valley, where they preyed upon ostrich and gazelle. They did not penetrate the valley floor with its heavy growth of timber and its sluggish waters infested with crocodiles. Later comers, probably also from the desert, brought with them the improvements of neolithic culture to aid them in their conquest of the valley. Their homes in village-like settlements were placed on low spurs of the hills at Deir Tasa, the Fayum, and Merimde. They were sowers of grain and hewers of timber. A third set of migrants, this time from the south, supplemented stone implements with copper. These men, known from the excavations at Badari, joined the desert intruders in the occupation of the valley floor. It was thus a composite group which laid the foundations of pre-dynastic Upper Egypt. They plied the river with oar-propelled boats, controlled the waters with canals, and developed the rudiments of a written language. The more difficult problems of the delta region were solved by a different set of wanderers, coming apparently from Asia. There is reason to believe that the delta men extended their sway up the river, but the authentic facts which bring the pre-dynastic period to a close were the union of Upper and Middle Egypt, and the conquest of Lower Egypt by this combined force.

The political and social development which culminated in unification of the entire valley was closely connected with the contest between man and nature. Drainage of swamps and irrigation of arid lands called for a decided amount of co-operation and for leadership which soon became political as well as economic in character. The leaders were recognized as the owners of the life-giving water, as the givers of life itself. It is not surprising that the man who controlled all Egypt received divine honors. God-kingship was an established institution in Egypt for 3,500 years, and from Egypt it passed, through Alexander the Great and his successors, to Rome.

The increasing aridity of the Saharan flatland drove many refugees to the Nile Valley. Others wandered to the south and disappeared from the European scene. Still others crossed to Spain, and continuing their wanderings, were engulfed in the culturally stagnant park-lands of central Europe. Only on the Nile was a successful effort made in Africa to establish an organized society. In order to discover traces of an organization similar to that of Egypt, one must leave Africa and travel far to the north and east. The aridity of the Arabian flatland was like that of the Sahara. Along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean the country was more attractive, with arable coastal plains, heavily timbered hills in the Lebanon range, and relatively fertile land in the valleys of the Jordan and the Orontes. But here, too, man was slow in his advance. Further travel through the grazing country of North Syria and down the Euphrates will finally bring one, in the land between the rivers, Mesopotamia, to the monu-

Divine kingship

*Prehistoric
Babylonia*

ments of peoples who were contemporaries and rivals of the dwellers in the Nile Valley.

The rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, are not alike. The former has many tributaries throughout its length, receiving them from the northern hills nearby. The latter is much longer and receives all of its tributaries before swinging far out into the desert to follow its long course to the Persian Gulf. Both rivers flow more swiftly than the Nile, and bring much coarse sediment to the valley. With this weapon they have pushed back the shores of the gulf from an original position north of ancient Babylon. The delta which the two rivers have formed has almost doubled in historic times. Ur, which was once a gulf port, is now one hundred sixty miles from salt water. Thus, the land between the two rivers has two clearly marked divisions. The first, Mesopotamia proper, is a country of decided contrasts. Timbered hills in the north are succeeded by pasture lands, which are, in turn, replaced by desert. The climate and soil do not invite a large population, and have made the area a sort of Bad Land, to which refugees have fled, and from which warrior bands have raided the more favored districts. The second part of the river valley was once called the valley of Shinar, or Sumer. Later, when it was governed by the kings of Babylon, it was known as Babylonia. It is a tropical delta which could and did become a veritable agricultural paradise.

The traditions of the men of Sumer included the mythical days of a golden age before a great flood. That disaster was followed by the rule of kings whose hold on life was greater than that of Methuselah. Archaeology confirms the probability of flood and gives partial support to the lists of kings, but it substitutes for the extravagant chronology a more conservative reckoning of human occupation and development of the delta. Excavators at Al Ubaid and Erech have unearthed the remains of men who first reclaimed the delta marshes. It is not known whether they came from the western desert, from the up-river district, or from the eastern hills. They may have come by sea. There is evidence of conquest by a second group at Erech. In any event, before the close of the fourth millennium, men of the chalcolithic (copper and stone) stage had established urban communities in the land of Sumer. A third site, Jemdet Nasr, presents the oldest example of a second feature of this culture. Not only did these men live in cities, but each city was dominated by its temple. The men who built these temples were not desert nomads. Their language differed from that of the Arabian wanderers; they brought wheeled carts with them into the valley, and their implements and utensils connect them with other groups to the east. Tradition and monuments do not contradict the hypothesis that the men who gave to the land its name, Sumer, its language, its religion, and its political organization were Iranian conquerors of the first valley-dwellers.

Agriculture, trade, and the absence of frontiers are the key words to a study of life in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Agriculture, based on irrigation,

was the principal occupation of Egyptian and Sumerian. The men of Sumer, however, had the more difficult task, since the floods of the two rivers were often bearers of disaster, to which wind and rain contributed. Living was more precarious, control over nature less easy. The farmers had too much water, too much silt to struggle against without co-operation. It was this co-operative effort which led to the organization of little city-states surrounding the huge mud-brick mounds built as homes for their mountain gods. The leader of the group, the patesi, was but a "tenant farmer of the god." He was also a leader in trade, which was aided by the network of canals traversing the country between the rivers, encouraged by the diversity in climate and of products in various parts of the long valley, and stimulated by the presence of roads out of the valley to markets east, south and north. This absence of frontiers made it easy for the Mesopotamian trader to carry his wares to foreign markets. But it was also a standing invitation to men less pleasantly situated on northern hills or southern desert. The patesi, then, had to be a leader in war as well as in agriculture and trade. When the Sumerians become historical figures, at about 3000 B.C., the social institutions they had framed to meet their local problems had become completely matured.

In the search for Sumerian origins, the eastward movement of archaeology has reached the Indus Valley. A remarkable development has been uncovered in the first two excavations to prehistoric levels. In Mohenjo Daro political and economic institutions have been found *The Indus Valley* which repeat, on a much larger scale, the experiences of the Sumerians. The men who lived in the Indus Valley, at some time between 3000 and 2500 B.C., were cultivating wheat and cotton, had domesticated cattle, sheep, and elephants, used boats and wheeled carts, and were familiar with bronze. No one group or race is credited with this culture, since Mediterranean and Alpine men have been found together with individuals of other types. The striking resemblances between Sumerian and Indus cultures have been interpreted as connoting a common origin rather than imitation of one by the other. The resemblances between them and the differences between either of them and Egyptian culture point to an independent origin of what may be called the Asiatic ancestor of European culture. In one respect the Indus Valley civilization is unique. Excavation has disclosed no proof of that centralization of power exemplified in pharaoh or patesi; no palace, no temple. The largest building uncovered is a public bath.

For many decades efforts have been made to establish Egypt or Mesopotamia as the original center from which civilization spread. Recently, however, the attention of scholars has shifted to sites outside the river valleys. Nineveh, Susa, and Anau are but a few of the communities which have been entered as contestants. The title, *The origin of European civilization* Home of Civilization, may be awarded tomorrow, or next year, or never. It cannot be awarded today.

Modern authorities differ in their estimates, but if the more conservative figures be accepted, the northward movement of ice and storm belts was drawing to a close in the seventh millennium B.C. The readjustment of men to the new climatic conditions produced three important developments. Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean men appeared as definite types. Hamitic, Semitic, and Indo-European languages were differentiated. Many groups had shifted from food search (hunting) to food production (domestication of plants and animals). Not later than 5000 B.C., man's increasing control over nature was marked by the invention of pottery and of weaving, the use of copper and bronze. The resultant community life was not confined to one area. In fact, by 3000 B.C., organized states with differentiated modes of life had been established in the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Indus valleys. The first "modern" age had begun.

| GEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS | | | HUMAN CULTURES | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Pliocene (before the Ice Age) | | | Eolithic evidence | | |
| Pleistocene | | | Paleolithic | | |
| Ice Age I | | | Chellean | | |
| Ice Age II | | | Acheulian | | |
| Ice Age III | | | | | |
| Ice Age IV | | | Mousterian | | |
| (gradual retreat of ice to about 7000 B.C.) | | | Aurignacian | | |
| 10 000 B.C. | | | Solutrean | | |
| | | | Magdalenian | | |
| BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION | | | | | |
| | Tigris-Euphrates | Nile | Indus | Aegean | Europe |
| 10 000 B.C. | Neolithic Susa I, Anau I | Neolithic Deir Tasa | | Neolithic Knossus | Late Paleolithic |
| 5 000 B.C. | | Badari | | | Kitchen Middens |
| 4 000 B.C. | Chalcolithic Anau III, Sumerians | | | | Lake Dwellers |
| 3 500 B.C. | Ubaid Erech I Jemdet Nasr | Dynasty I Dynasty III | | Bronze | Megalithic Danubian I |
| 3 000 B.C. | Ur, Dynasty I | | Mohenjo Daro | | |

CHAPTER II

RISE AND FALL OF THE FIRST MODERN AGÈ

The union of Upper and Lower Egypt under a single king was the end of a long process. The settlements of pre-dynastic times had developed into districts called *nomes*, which, in turn, had been united in substantial kingdoms of the Delta. Upper, and Lower regions ^{*Egypt*} ^{*The Old Kingdom*} of the Nile. The final step of complete unity was accomplished (about 3300 B.C.) by three southern rulers. When, in the days of decline, the Egyptian priest, Manetho, composed (about 290 B.C.) the annals of his country, he attributed the work of the three unifiers to one king, Menes.

Manetho also divided the Egyptian story into thirty dynasties, a framework which has been adopted by all later historians. Dynasties I and II ruled their subjects from Thinis. Under them, a system of centralized administration was evolved. Royal officials maintained peace, administered justice, and collected taxes on the basis of a census of population and wealth. All of this wealth was held to be the property of the god-king, whose victory over the others had deprived them of their title to ownership and even of their pretensions to divinity. Some of the income was used to equip an army for the conquest of Sinai, attractive because of its mineral resources. The royal budget had few large items of expenditure. There were no cities to be maintained. The capital was merely the village home of the king. His own residence, Pharaoh, "the great house," was not a place of luxury. The most imposing building was the structure erected to shelter the mortal remains of the ruler.

These royal tombs became magnificent monuments, culminating in the three Pyramids of the Fourth-Dynasty pharaohs. They are located near Memphis, to which the Third Dynasty had removed. It was under them that Horus became a national god, and it was they who were first to be called sons of Horus. The Pyramid pharaohs were active expansionists. Expeditions by sea to the Lebanon country, intimate relations with Byblos, and military operations against the Nubians are proofs of their economic imperialism.

Internal dissension ended the period of greatness and brought a century of weakness. The state entered this depression under the rulers of the Fifth Dynasty, who were worshippers of the god Ra, so worshipful, indeed, that they built temples to their god rather than massive tombs for themselves. Expansion was resumed, especially by the pharaohs of the Sixth Dynasty,

who pushed beyond the first cataract by land and dispatched fleets down the Red Sea to Somaliland. Divisive forces, however, proved stronger than the unifying factor of expansion. The power of the pharaohs was gradually replaced by that of the nomarchs (rulers of nomes), who assumed the dignity, the titles, the right to immortality, and the exercise of authority once held solely by the sons of Horus, or Ra. For five hundred years the Dark Age continued. Restoration of unity did not come until about the year 2000 B C.

Political unity was achieved in the Nile Valley after the pattern of Egyptian life had been firmly established. During the thousand years of the Old Kingdom there were minor improvements in the business of making a living, in the use of leisure, and in the extension of Egyptian authority and influence. But Egypt's contributions to European civilization in that millennium were those of the instructor, not the discoverer. That which she taught was profound but simple, and may be simply told.

The peasant farmer was the foundation of the Egyptian state. He and his family worked almost incessantly in order to get from the soil a return sufficient to support themselves and to satisfy the demands of the tax gatherers. Almost all of his dealings were with his village neighbors. A few of the bolder spirits, as traders, crossed and recrossed the Nile, or followed its course north and south, and brought to the farmer new ideas and novel wares. Royal judges and tax collectors were his most frequent visitors, officials whose regulations and demands kept him steadily at work on the land which he cultivated. Craftsmen and traders were equally diligent. They, too, had taxes to pay, and although their social position was superior to that of the farmer they had no great amount of leisure.

The leisure class, that is those who did not work with their hands, included royal officials, nobles, and priests. The first group earned and held their privileged positions through ability. They formed an organization rather than a social class, since men of any class might be chosen for the tasks of managing the kingdom and collecting the king's revenues.

The nobles were great landlords, probably descendants of those who had led the hunting packs and who had become masters of the first agricultural communities. Under a weak king they were all-powerful in their respective districts. Under a strong king they furnished troops, revenue, and personal service to the monarch.

The priesthoods also controlled great estates. It was from them that the craftsmen obtained the larger part of their custom. It was from them that the peasant sought guidance. Their power and influence was sometimes greater than that of the kings. In fact the Fifth Dynasty appears to have been a line of priest-kings who made their god Ra the chief deity of the kingdom.

The king, too, was a landlord. In theory all of the land was his. In actual

fact, a great deal of it was retained by nobility and priesthood. Title to the land was vested in the king as the heir of the god who had ruled in person, Horus. Not only the land but the people were his. He was all-knowing, all-powerful, a god incarnate. Egypt was one estate owned by an omnipotent ruler and managed for him and by him.

Throughout the long centuries before the union of North and South, the Egyptians had been improving their exploitation of the Valley and its environs. Although wheat, barley, and flax remained the staple crops, other crops and other occupations than agri- *Economic life* culture were added to increase the wealth of the royal treasuries. Cattle, asses, fowls, and fish made their contributions; papyrus and clay furnished material for the scribe and the potter; tanners and weavers produced the finished products of their crafts. The quarries of the desert and the upper valley, the mineral deposits of Sinai were exploited; and with the cedars of Lebanon ships were constructed which brought to Egypt the wares of southern Arabia and Somaliland (the land of Punt).

Works of art as well as of utility were produced. Vases of porphyry and syenite and glazed ware on a quartz or sandstone base mark a shift in interest from clay to stone, brought about, possibly, by the introduction of copper tools. But with the invention of the potter's wheel (Dynasty III), the ceramic art was restored to favor. Copper and gold ornaments, portrait sculpture in wood and ivory combine with other products to demonstrate a high artistic taste and a sense of beauty. The development in architecture is best illustrated in the evolution of royal tombs from the primitive mastaba, or mound, to the terraced pyramid, thence to the smooth-sided pyramid, an evolution in size, in material and in engineering skill. A line of masonry 9,069 inches in length shows an error in direction of but six-tenths of an inch: joints six feet in length have one one-hundredth of an inch of error: a sixteen-ton rock rests on mortar one-fiftieth of an inch in thickness.

Scientific knowledge did not keep pace with this remarkable technical skill. The greatest advance came in measurement, a normal development in a country where ordinary landmarks were obliterated by the annual flood. The adoption of a month of thirty days and a year of twelve months with an intercalation of five days each year reduced the error between man-made and solar year to less than six hours annually. Invention and discovery, on the whole, were directed towards strictly utilitarian ends.

A similar practical mode of thought was applied to problems of man and Nature. The Egyptian defined Nature in terms of a host of powers, friendly and unfriendly, which at first he identified with natural objects, the river, trees, but especially with animals. The *Religion* images of these animals he revered, usually considering as sacred the animal in whose image he had made his chief local deity. This apparently Upper Egyptian (Nubian?) point of view was modified by an anthropomorphic

concept (one in which gods are given the form, thoughts, and emotions of men) of the Delta inhabitants, and resulted in a peculiar compromise, which represented the natural power as a half-human, half-animal deity. The concept of a deity in high heaven appears also to have been a contribution of Lower Egypt. Many of the deities ascended to the stars, and a solar faith spread over Egypt. It was a line of sun-worshipping kings that built the pyramids, royal tombs, but also symbols of the sun. The multiplicity of deities, even of sun gods, led to an attempt at classification in which the gods were grouped in threes and in nines. Then came syncretism, the equating of the chief deity of one district with the chief deity of other districts. The kings might be sons of Horus, of Ra, or of Amen, but they were all sons of the sun.

More important than this mechanical and systematic side of Egyptian religion was the development of a moral sense. This development is the one exception to the statement that "the Egyptians had attained all the essentials of civilization as fully developed as our own as early as 3000 B.C." Belief in a future life was old in pre-dynastic Egypt. But it was a life circumscribed by the limits of a tomb. Happiness or sorrow of the soul in its permanent abode depended upon the piety of one's descendants. In the older texts, honesty is recommended as the best policy solely because of its immediate returns, and the god-kings, who alone return to a boundless after-life, secure success and happiness there by the use of magic formulae. The revolt and depression which followed the Old Kingdom produced many changes in religious thought. They extended the hope of limitless immortality first to the rebellious nomarchs, and finally to all Egyptians. They also witnessed the growth of a sense of righteousness, illustrated by the story of the Judgment of Ra. This was a judgment of each man's soul. The best preparation for the trial was a life of filial piety, charity, justice, and upright living. Superstition still played an important role, since many perils in the next world could be overcome by the use of magic, but there was no escape through magic from the final judgment. As a result, the ethical principles of the Egyptians, their ideas concerning sin, repentance, and good works were not surpassed in antiquity. This development, so briefly sketched, was not completed until a full thousand years had seen the pyramids of the Fourth-Dynasty kings. But it should be placed with the political, administrative, and artistic achievements of the Egyptians as one of the contributions of the Nile Valley to the civilization of Western Europe.

Four dynasties (VII-X) struggled without success against the forces of division. A fifth family of kings, whose home was Thebes, was more fortunate, but real unity was not restored until a second Theban line made good their claims to dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt. The rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty brought peace and prosperity to a war-torn and desolated country. They were not

The Middle Kingdom

innovators. Their work was restorative, their methods conservative, their policies inherited from the Old Kingdom.

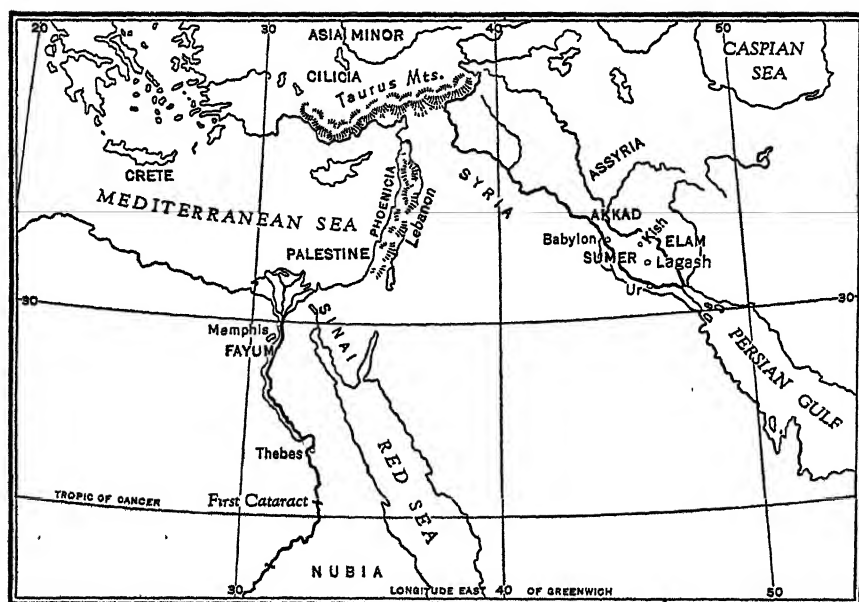
But there were new factors which the new rulers could not destroy. The power of the local nobles was curbed, but not abolished, the economic independence of strong individuals of the middle class was recognized, and the right of all to look forward to immortality was freely granted. Despotism was tempered with benevolence. A program of public works included the construction of a canal from the Delta to the Red Sea, another around the first cataract, and the reclamation of the deserted Fayum district. Trade with Crete and with Cilicia brought new wealth to the country. The humiliation of invasions from which Egypt had suffered in the Dark Age was removed by an expedition into Palestine and by the occupation of the valley down to the second cataract. Tales of romantic adventure reflected the interest of the Egyptians in the world around them. But the bulk of literary activity was directed toward religious thought. A higher moral standard and a deeper religious feeling leavened the mass of magical instruction, which has come to be known as *The Book of the Dead*.

The Middle Kingdom was a busy and happy period of Egyptian history. It proved, however, to be a brief revival rather than a permanent one. With the passing of the Twelfth Dynasty, divisive forces appeared which rendered Egypt helpless when confronted with armed invaders.

The Mesopotamian written record begins, as does that of the Nile, at a time when inventive genius and artistic ability had reached heights never to be surpassed. The succeeding centuries in both areas were devoted to an elaboration and an extension of the ideas and techniques of prehistoric days, but just as the two backgrounds differed, so did the two histories. About two centuries after the Nile villagers had been united in a single kingdom, that is about 3100 B.C., the Sumerians were established in a number of independent city-states located in the lower delta country of the Tigris-Euphrates. They had also trained their neighbors of Akkad to inhabit urban communities. Life was highly competitive both within these city-states and between rival cities. Two noteworthy results of these intra-civic and inter-civic struggles were the development of a disciplined military force of infantry in phalanx formation, and the appearance of a number of truly great patesis, men who took and deserved the title, "lugal" or king. Best known, but by no means the first, were Lugal Zaggisi the Sumerian of Erech, who exercised a brief hegemony over both Sumer and Akkad, and his immediate successor, Sargon, who continued the unity under Akkadian leadership.

*Babylonia,
3000-1750 B.C.
Political*

The rise to power of a Semitic ruler is indicative of the strength and the weakness of the Sumerians. Strong enough to conquer and to teach their barbarian neighbors, they were unable to maintain control over their conquered pupils. Sargon, a native of the Akkadian city Kish, led a revolt



EGYPT, MESOPOTAMIA AND THE AEGEAN, 3000 TO 2000 B.C.

against Lugal Zaggisi, captured Erech, and quickly subdued the land of Sumer. His armies made him master of Elam in the east, while in the west they extended his rule to the Lebanon and Taurus ranges. Revolts of subjects and attacks from without failed. The Sargonid kingdom ruled for two hundred years over the first authenticated empire of history.

The Semites were too strongly attracted by Sumerian life and culture to introduce many changes. Some Semitic gods were added to the Sumerian pantheon, and art, especially sculpture, was definitely stimulated by the new rulers. But the greatest innovation was in the sphere of government. A new class of officials ruled the empire, carrying on the tasks formerly allotted to priesthoods and patesis.

The destruction of this first Mesopotamian empire was the work of invading hill-folk, the Guti. For a century the valley was subjected to barbarous misrule. "Who was king? Who was not king?" was the lament of a contemporary annalist. The Sumerians were the first to recover. Lagash, at least, had never succumbed to the Guti, and under the leadership of the patesi, Gudea, it actually flourished. A skilful commercial leader, patron of the farmer, and devotee of the gods, Gudea built and repaired canals, brought into his city, for the construction of temples, wood, stone, and precious metals to replace the conventional bricks of clay, and continued the flow of trade with the countries exploited by the Akkadian kings.

A shift in strength from Lagash to Ur, brought an end to Gutian anarchy. The kings of Ur's Third Dynasty perfected the details of administration established by Gudea and extended the sphere of Sumerian influence. Again the Sumerians taught their neighbors too well. Akkadian names began to outnumber those of their teachers in the lists of administrators. Traders from Elam, Assyria, and Syria frequented the cosmopolitan capital. But the strength of Ur, and of the Sumerians, gradually declined. A brief campaign of the victorious rebels closed with the triumph of the Semitic Amorites, who selected as their capital the hitherto unimportant city of Babylon. Amorite rule over the entire valley was not completely established until the thirtieth year of the sixth king, Hammurabi. It was not a long rule, for Babylon was captured and sacked about 1800 B.C. by barbarians from Asia Minor. But the fact that in it Sumerian and Semitic elements were intimately joined gives to it a great cultural importance.

The lands and peoples of Mesopotamia were desirable spoils of war. The date palm, a food world in itself, grows there without cultivation. Wheat seed returned abundant crops to the sower, while the swamps furnished materials for houses and boats, and fodder for *Economic* cattle. Natural resources were steadily and more effectively exploited without recourse to the extreme centralization and absolute control so characteristic of Egyptian life. Land was, in large part, privately owned and cultivated by the owner, although tenant farmers were not unknown. The regulations,

in extant leases, concerning improvements by the tenant, in the form of buildings which he must erect, and concerning the assessment of loss by flood, indicate a long period of tenant farming.

Temple lands, as in the Nile Valley, were large. They were worked sometimes by slaves, but most of the cultivators seem to have been free men. Temple stores of produce were also large, and the building and trading operations of the priesthoods supported a large craftsman class. An old saying, "Seven years of famine, and still the craftsman has bread," gives proof of the foresight and ability of the temple authorities. They led the way in the exchange of surplus manufactures. Distributing groups were formed whose operations covered a large area, and the rudiments of a banking system were established.

The natural diversities in products led to a lively trade, most of which followed the rivers or the numerous canals. As river traffic became complex, a great number of regulations were found necessary. Boats were guaranteed by the builders to last at least twelve months. The pilot of a moving boat was held responsible for the collision of his craft with one at anchor. Fishing rights were assigned to those who lived on the river bank. These rules, together with contracts, bills of sale, land leases, etc., formed a vast literature of business documents out of which developed laws, which were ultimately codified under the great Babylonian king, Hammurabi.

The code of Hammurabi is a summary of Mesopotamian civilization. Supplemented by the official correspondence of the great law-giving king, it emphasizes the fundamental contribution to civilization of the Mesopotamian people. No document of the period before 600 B.C. declares more clearly the rights of the individual.

*Social
organization*

There is no equality of right, but slaves, women, farmers, boatmen, husbands, wives, sons, and daughters are recognized as possessors of rights, and are guaranteed the exercise of such rights. Social classes existed, and there are instances of oppression of the weak by the strong (the organized priesthoods, and royal officials), but protection and equity, within the city-states, were normal.

The cultural development of Mesopotamia was affected by the practical nature of the people. The system of writing, for example, was much simpler than that of the Egyptians. The materials were easily acquired — clay in the form of tablets and a piece of reed which made wedge-shaped (cuneiform) marks on the clay. The ability to write was not limited to the very few, and the adoption of cuneiform by the men of Syria, eastern Asia Minor, and northern India proves its superiority to its nearby competitors. The system of notation was also relatively simple, with alternating multiples of six and ten. Survivals still persist in our measurement of time and of angles.

In a business world, measurement of time, space, and quantity was obligatory. The great difficulty of the farmer in finding a landmark which storm

Cultural

or flood could not destroy, was solved by employing stars and planets as starting points for the measurement of space. The points of the compass were indicated in terms of prevailing winds. This indefinite nomenclature had its inconveniences, but none so great as that caused by the adoption of a lunar year.

Observation and notation of the movements of heavenly bodies produced a collection of data as accurate as could be made without instruments. But the speculation about the reasons for stellar and planetary movements and about their effects upon man, resulted in the pseudo-science of astrology. Scientific or not, the study continued to be guided by practical needs. If stars and planets were inhabited by divine powers (and this was the belief), the Mesopotamian wished only to know when those powers would most affect him, what the nature of the power was, how kindly powers might be induced to help him, how evil powers might be persuaded to let him alone or injure his enemies. Most of the stellar and planetary deities, fortunately, were kindly disposed towards men. The evil powers threatening peace and prosperity were the storm and the river.

Aside from the innumerable business documents, the laws, and the grandiose accounts by kings of their conquests, there was produced a great deal of religious literature. Included in the last are the accounts of the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh, the Mesopotamian Hercules, the story of the great flood sent by the gods, the struggle of the Babylonian god Marduk with the forces of evil, and bits of religious philosophy similar to that of Job. The style and content of myths and hymns colored the writings of the Hebrews and were not unknown to the Greeks.

An appreciable Semitic contribution to this combined culture cannot be denied. The principle of an eye for an eye, and in general the greater severity of legal punishment, are Semitic. Elevation of ethical standards and improvement in the concepts of deity are also Semitic. But it is generally agreed that Mesopotamian civilization was dominantly Sumerian. City-state organization, the art of war, the duodecimal system, and cuneiform script were all Sumerian. The cylinder seal was probably Semitic, but the Sumerians brought with them to the valley, the arch, the vault, and the dome.

Continuous cultivation of river valleys gave to those who controlled the fertile districts, a surplus of goods and of population. With either or both of these gifts, it was possible to carry on the exchange of materials on a larger scale and over a wider area, than had their paleolithic ancestors. Traders, soldiers, and colonists were instrumental in spreading to less favored areas the inventions and discoveries of Egyptian and Sumerian cultures. Elam, Assyria, northern Syria, and eastern Asia Minor were visited and educated by Mesopotamian armies and traders. In like manner, Egyptian travelers enlightened Nubia, Somaliland, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Cilicia. More adventurous merchants from the Nile

*Extension of
civilization*

were in touch with the island of Crete to the northwest, where they found pupils so eager and so precocious, that Cretan culture ultimately rivalled that of Egypt.

The development of civilization in Crete marked the beginning of a new era, the gradual substitution of maritime for river-valley surroundings. Today

The Mediterranean era

we read of the passing of a Mediterranean era long centuries ago, of an Atlantic era now declining, and of a Pacific era now developing. But Mediterranean lands are still important.

For on the shores of that landlocked sea were mingled and fused the elements of many institutions which guide the lives of men in distant continents, and to them we must go for the early growth of modern ideas (even of the words used in discussing them) concerning art, truth, government, law, and religion.

The area has three large divisions. The western is bounded by the high-land areas of the Spanish plateau, the Alps, the Apennines, and the Atlas range. Entrances or exits are found in the Straits of Gibraltar, the Rhone valley, and the sea lanes north and south of Sicily.

Physical

The northern division, the Black Sea, is also secluded, blocked off by the huge outthrust of Asia Minor. The remaining section, the eastern Mediterranean, from Sicily to Phoenicia, from Thrace to Cyrene, may be subdivided almost indefinitely, but culturally and geographically it may be treated as a unit.

There are, indeed, many features common to the whole area. Temperature lines follow the shore lines rather closely, with the result that vegetation, climate, and physical circumstance are many times duplicated. This environmental monotone has produced and perpetuated the physical type of man called Mediterranean. Environment has also been influential in determining the rate of cultural development in the three great divisions. The cultural and political history of the area has been the cultural and political history of its invaders. The districts where intrusion is most easy have therefore been the centers of historical development. The invaders have generally disappeared as physical types, although their contributions to civilization remain.

Crete forms the southern boundary of one of the greatest melting pots of ancient culture. In Aegean lands, Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic men have met in peace and in war. Europe, Asia, and Africa have struggled for control of the waterways, and have exchanged goods and ideas in the harbor cities. But the leaders in the first great cultural advance were natives of Crete.

Aegean lands

Even in neolithic days the men of Crete had ventured from their island home to Melos, whence they returned with the obsidian of that island. It is not known whether they or the Nile dwellers carried bits of that obsidian to pre-dynastic Egypt. But the presence in Crete of so many Egyptian articles of the First-Dynasty period seems to point to an emigration from the Delta to the island. Skeletal remains of Alpine men in

Crete

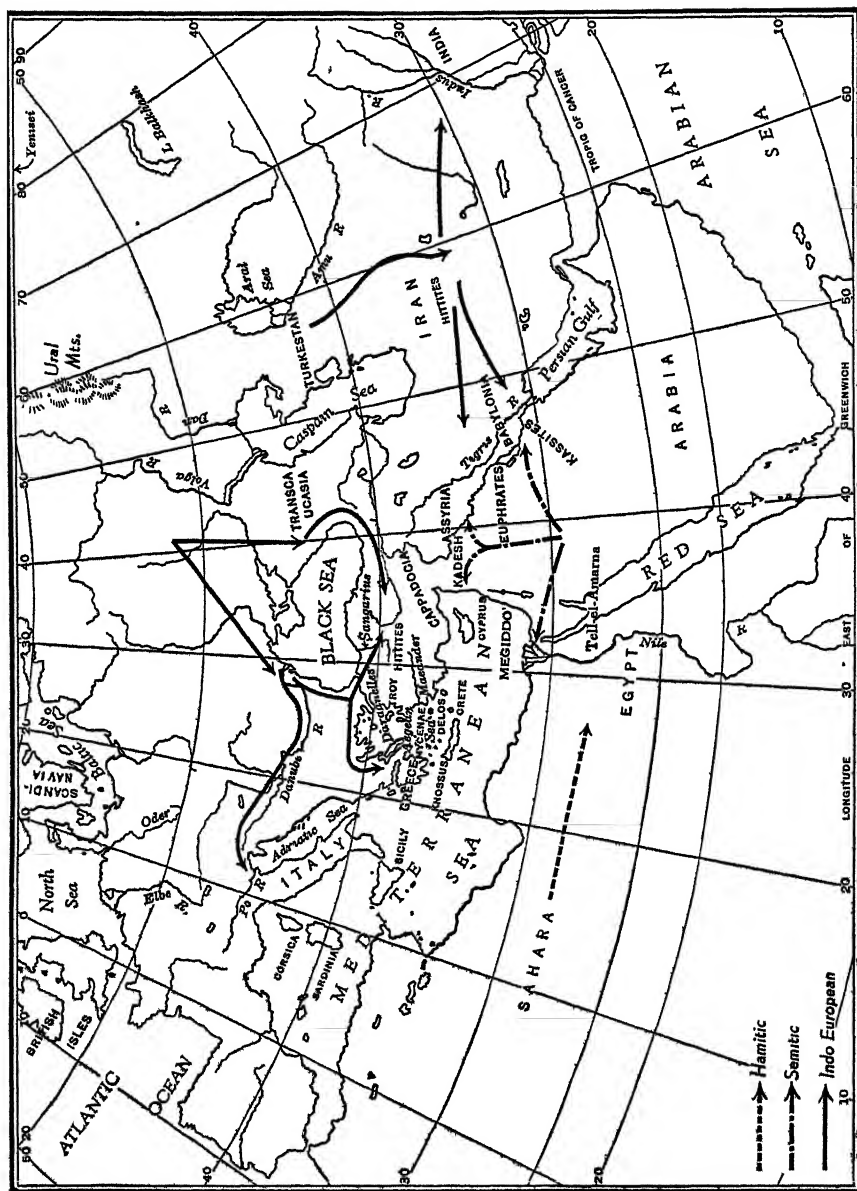
dedicate a similarly early contact with Asia Minor. The knowledge gained from these two contacts resulted in a rapid advance from Stone to Bronze Age, and from assimilation of others' culture to active transmission and independent contribution

The Cretans were adequately supplied with cultivable land, and from it they obtained their food supply. When the dawn of history came to the eastern Mediterranean, they had cereals, the olive, the vine, goats, and cattle, together with the spoils of the sea. But it was *Agriculture and trade* by trade and industry that they most profited. The first manufactured articles were probably the output of leisure time, but with markets established, it became easier to devote working hours to the making of pottery and metal articles, the gathering of sponges and shell fish, and to selling these articles to customers near and far.

The trader had to keep some record of his purchases and sales. As his wares increased in variety and quantity he needed a numerical system. A written language and a system of numerals answering these needs, *Language* were developed. It is our misfortune that the documents which have been preserved remain undeciphered. But the written record, even though unread, demonstrates the existence of a society actively engaged in laying the foundations of a sea power. From the unwritten record comes proof of the necessity of sea power to defend the traders from northern invaders.

The final retreat of the ice fields from continental Europe was followed by two distinct periods of great environmental change. In the first period, moisture and warmth induced a forest growth which kept the land almost as inhospitable as had the ice fields. Human *The dawn in Europe* life was represented only by survivors of the paleolithic groups and a few neolithic wanderers, who ventured into the forest area from Spain and from the eastern flatland. A gradual decrease in rainfall, with subsequent lessening of the forested areas, opened the continent to additional migration. The newcomers brought with them the determination to live well and the instruments of success, including a greater variety of domesticated animals, the seeds and implements for agricultural exploitation of the loess plains, and at least an interest in metals. Probably the greatest incentives to advance were derived from the contacts with the more highly developed centers of Asia Minor and the Aegean area.

The western portals of continental Europe were entered by neolithic men from the Spanish peninsula. The extent of their penetration can be followed in the great stone (megalithic) monuments of the northwest. The Ligurians of the Italian Alps are considered by some *The avenues of approach* authorities to have had a Spanish origin, and the introduction of copper is attributed to the metallurgists of Spain. More important than these contacts with the western Mediterranean were those which developed at the head of the Adriatic. Cretan wares were exchanged at that point for



THE INDO-EUROPEAN MIGRATIONS, 2000 TO 1000 B C

the highly prized amber of the Baltic. The main highway, however, was the Danubian corridor.

The importance of the Danubian area in the history of European civilization, is based on four characteristics. Its intimate connections with the Eurasian flatland, with Asia Minor, and the Aegean, make it an ideal objective for the men, the goods, and the ideas of the East. The wealth and breadth of its plains were admirably suited to the transition from pastoral to agricultural life. The gold, copper, and antimony of the adjacent mountains attracted prospector and trader. Finally, easy passes to Italy, central, and northern Europe, justify a description of the Danubian basin as the 'foyer of a continent.

Life in a foyer has its disadvantages. There are periods of confusion and congestion, frequent interruptions and never-ending change. Life moved rapidly and sometimes furiously in the Danube country. About 2000 B.C., the men of the Danube began to play an independent and important role in the history of civilization.

The emphasis placed upon river-valley civilization sometimes gives to the reader the impression that human history began on the banks of a great stream. The evidence of flora and fauna, however, shows that river valleys were not at first habitable. Whence the Sumerians *Migrations. Nomads* came or why, is not known, but it is evident that they brought with them to Sumeria more than the rudiments of civilization. The less advanced groups coming to the Nile were driven there by the desiccation of their hunting grounds. In either case, there was little more than a constant water supply to attract them in the heavily wooded or swampy bottom lands. They settled, it is true, on the valley fringe, but it was only after prolonged efforts to control the environment that the wilderness was cleared and true river-valley life commenced.

The ancestors of the river-valley dwellers were nomads. Not only in the beginning, but also at later times, the intermittent intrusions of nomadic peoples into more fertile districts have greatly affected the course of history. Three areas suitable to the life of nomadism lie within the field of this study. The Sahara has been the least important, with its chief contribution the Hamitic element of pre-dynastic Egypt. The Arabian plateau, however, with its continuation north to the Euphrates, has sent forth groups of men sufficient in number and in power to remake the history of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. By far the largest human reservoir is the Eurasian steppe land stretching from the Elbe to the Yenisei, and bisected by the Ural Mountains. Somewhere in that great area scholars continue their search for the original home of the Indo-European people, the most prolific of all the wanderers of European history.

The exact place of Indo-European origin is still a subject of controversy. Scandinavia, eastern Germany, southern Russia, Transcaucasia, and Turke-

stan have been suggested. The current opinion of conservative scholars is that no evidence has as yet been produced to prove the existence of "a single Indo-Germanic mother language," or of "a single Indo-Germanic mother tribe." Only slightly less controversial is the discussion of the cause of migration. Increase in population, decrease in food supply, or the readjustment caused by the introduction of copper are but a few of the hypotheses. It is generally agreed, however, that in the third millennium, certain elements of culture, linguistic and religious, were shared by the inhabitants of the entire flatland. Some speak, without warrant, of an Indo-European empire. All subscribe to a vast movement, or series of movements, from the steppes, beginning about 2000 B.C. This movement persisted almost without interruption for eight centuries and was repeated at intervals for more than two thousand years.

*Indo-European
migration*

The area affected by nomadic unrest in the second millennium B.C. was proportionately great. Political disturbances were general from the Indus to the Po. Among the first intrusions were those which reached the plateau of Iran and the valley of the lower Danube. From Iran the Indo-Europeans, the branch correctly called Aryan, reached the Indus Valley, where their lives were quite definitely affected by the decadent Mohenjo-Daro culture. The Kassite invaders of Babylonia, first recorded by a son of Hammurabi, were either members of this eastern Indo-European group, or refugees fleeing before them. Their permanent settlement in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley was postponed until about 1760 B.C. The extent of the disturbance caused by these invaders is most strikingly illustrated in the entrance into the Nile Valley of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (about 1680 B.C.). They, too, were probably not Indo-Europeans, although they entered Egypt on horses obtained from the northern nomads. The horses and perhaps the leadership came, not from the Kassites, but from the Hittites (or Hatti), Indo-Europeans who had established themselves in western Asia Minor. To the third on the list of Hittite kings is attributed a raid which resulted in the capture and sack of Babylon (about 1800 B.C.).

Extent

The western wing of this nomadic movement, continuing beyond the limits of earlier migrations, reached Boeotia in Central Greece. Others followed the course of the Danube to the west and finally settled in the valley of the Po.

The immediate effect of this great nomadic migration was confusion. Aryan occupation of Iran broke the lines of communication between India and Babylonia, and eliminated men of the Indus Valley as factors in the development of Occidental civilization. The unity of the Tigris-Euphrates country was destroyed. On the other hand, Asia Minor was indebted to the invaders for the gradual development of a powerful imperial state. Egypt, too, inspired by a century-long struggle for liberation, emerged with a strong national spirit and an aggres-

*Results of
northern invasions*

sively imperialistic ambition. The men of Crete, increasing their naval strength, formed a sea power which carried the war into the territory of the invaders.

The disputed area between Cretan and northern migrant was the Balkan peninsula. The "war" weapons of the Cretans were, in part, trade goods. Archaeological evidence has disclosed three stages of the cultural struggle on the Greek mainland. The first is the replacement of a low native culture with that of a more *Readjustment in Crete 2000-1400 B.C.* definitely northern origin. This replacement did not affect the southern portion of the peninsula. The second stage is a rapid conquest by Cretan wares of the southern and central sections of Greece. The third stage is one of complete conquest by an Iron Age culture from the north. The attempt to translate this cultural struggle into political terms, however, is still hypothetical.

The most satisfactory evidence is in Crete. There a group of independent commercial communities, ruled by local dynasts, flourished at about 2000 B.C. A catastrophe of unknown origin checked the steady advance of the first two centuries of that millennium. But the recovery was so rapid that by 1700 B.C. Crete had become the cultural center of the eastern Mediterranean. The chief building of the island was the Broad Palace of Minos, at Knossus, a structure five stories in height and covering four acres. The skill of the architects and builders who planned and erected the palace was equalled by that of the artists whose frescoes and mosaics brought beauty to its many rooms. Within its walls were amusement halls, a throne room, a chapel, living quarters, and store rooms. It was a home of luxury and display.

The palace of Minos, by its very size, proclaims a strong centralized monarchy for the entire island. Palaces have been found on other sites, but none so large. The absence of city walls indicates a sense of security from attacks by subjects or strangers. Paved roads, well built ports, and comfortable homes are additional proofs of a well organized state.

Three elements of Cretan life arouse the admiration of those who seek to restore the record of this long forgotten civilization. One is the trust placed in sea power for protection and profit. The mariners of Crete took over the carrying trade to the Nile, dominated the Aegean, and extended their commercial activity to Sicily and southern Italy. Colonies, friendly ports of call, and subject towns prove the existence of a naval empire which brought fame and wealth to the rulers of Crete.

The rewards of sea power were the bases of a second admired element of Cretan life, namely, a highly developed social organization. The amount of leisure was perhaps greater, and certainly more widely diffused, in Crete than in the river-valley centers. It was devoted to entertainment, music, dancing, theatricals, athletic contests, and social gatherings, in which men and women took part on equal terms. Both sexes were manifestly aware of beauty in

figure and in costume. Nor was the search for pleasure confined to the royal household. Middle-class dwellings also were comfortable, and they, too, were beautifully decorated and furnished.

The third admired element is the creative artistry of the people. It appeared in the work of potter, metal worker, sculptor, architect, and costumer. Commercial enterprise and "mass production" did not for many centuries dull the artistic quality of Cretan products. Religious conservatism did not check originality. The Cretans evidently thought that anything worth doing should be done as well as possible.

The chief deity of the Cretans was a goddess of fertility, strongly reminiscent of her counterpart in Asia Minor. With her was associated a male subordinate, son or consort. Legend attributed divine descent to King Minos, and this has been used to support a theory that king and god-consort were one. But whether or not there was god-kingship in Crete, it is clear that no powerful priesthood arose. The gods were worshipped in holy places, caves or hilltops, or domestic shrines, but there were no temples.

The political story must wait for the decipherment of the written record. The monuments alone give little information. Island unity was secured and imperial expansion began about 1700 B.C. Three hundred years later, an attack by an unknown foe set the Broad Palace in flames. This was a blow from which the Cretans never recovered. Although two centuries more (1400-1200 B.C.) of independent life were granted the people of Crete, the spirit which had made that life abundant disappeared.

Asia Minor, more correctly named Anatolia, is a topographic unit separated from its neighbors by the waters of the Black, the Aegean, and the Mediterranean seas, with a less definite eastern boundary of the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian highlands.

The peninsula is, in fact, an extension of the great plateau through which the Euphrates cuts its way, and men have sought in vain a strategic frontier between continent and peninsula. Neither this nor the other frontiers have discouraged human entrance or departure. The valleys of the Macander, Sangarius, and Halys rivers link fertile coastal plains with interior plateaus, which are, at best, excellent pasture land, at worst, arid "sinks" and salt marshes. The ranges which parallel the northern and southern shores catch the rains, leaving the center generally bleak and forbidding. Although by no means poor in natural resources, the peninsula usually has been considered more as a highway than as a place for permanent settlement.

The army of Sargon and the Akkadian traders who ventured west of the Euphrates found the country on either side of the Taurus range inhabited by men of Alpine characteristics, speaking a language which we now call Asianic. Had these travelers of old been philologically inclined, they would have noted some names of men and of deities which were distinctly Indo-European. These contacts with Mesopotamian

*Anatolia and
upper Syria*

The people

culture were not great enough to change the course of Anatolian life. But with the beginnings of Babylonian rule, a second wave of Indo-European migrants entered the peninsula. Using the cuneiform and the Semitic dialect of the traders for business and diplomatic documents, but retaining the native Asianic tongue in hieroglyphs for domestic purposes, the newcomers have left a record which discloses an appreciable service to the country which they made their home. The record has not been completely deciphered, but enough is known to give credence to the following account.

Within fifty years of their arrival a federation of native groups under Indo-European leadership had been formed with its center in Cappadocia. The second king boasts of a realm which reached the Black Sea and Mediterranean shores. About 1800 B.C. this feder- *Hittite empire* ated group, known as the Hatti, or Hittites, captured and sacked Babylon in a sudden raid. Eastward expansion was checked for some centuries by the Mitanni, another Indo-European-Asianic combination, which controlled Upper Syria. Greatness came with the accession of Shubiluluma, 1388-47 B.C., who mastered the greater portion of Anatolia, absorbed the kingdom of the Mitanni, and challenged Egyptian control of North Syria. Hittite archives of the fourteenth century contain correspondence with an Achaean kingdom in northwest Anatolia, while those of the next century include a copy of a famous treaty, 1278 B.C., between the Hittites and the Egyptians. This document bound the two powers in defensive alliance against a third, unnamed state. It is generally agreed that the state was Assyria, for Assyrian attacks, together with a powerful Indo-European occupation of western Anatolia, ruined the Hittite empire soon after.

The contribution of the Hittites to civilization was not great. They preserved the elements of the native culture, and protected while they encouraged them for five centuries. To them they joined Indo-European and Babylonian elements, forming a combination somewhat difficult to analyze. An empire of states united by treaties with the central power was carefully organized. The Hittite monarchs, priest-kings who became gods when they departed this life, were all powerful in this federated empire but they ruled under laws of their own promulgation. The Hittite code is clearly based on Babylonian precedent. The practice of granting estates, even territories, to military and civilian subordinates established a feudal system unknown to the river-valley states. Woman was considered in some respects the political as well as the social equal of man.

Trade and industry flourished in the Hittite empire. Even in their weakest periods the Hittite kings protected the great East-and-West trade route. Their wars of expansion were definitely economic. To the volume of goods manufactured by others they added local products, particularly iron. The exploitation of the iron deposits in the northern mountains greatly accelerated the replacement of iron for bronze in Anatolia, Babylonia, and Egypt.

Culturally, the Hittites were not innovators. They preserved in their religious literature the myths, ceremonies, and formulae of their composite pantheon. Prominent among the deities was the Asianic goddess of fertility. Diplomatic and administrative documents in great numbers attest their skill in foreign and imperial affairs. Architecture resembling that of Crete was probably a development of Asianic beginnings; the sculpture followed Sumerian models. The artistic products are not wholly imitative, rather the vigorous expressions of a people whose point of view was essentially practical. Probably their best claim to fame lies in their demonstration of economic imperialism.

The movement from the north produced a different type of imperial ambition in the Nile Valley. Kassite and Hittite and Mitanni were responsible for a great Semitic refugee flight southward to Egypt. The *Egyptian imperialism* refugees at first entered peacefully, as did Abraham coming from Ur. But later arrivals were more unruly and, under the leadership of the Hyksos (Hittites or Mitanni?), they came as conquerors. With the aid of horse-drawn war chariots they quickly overran the Delta and gradually extended their control southward. For one hundred years they were lords of Egypt, pillagers, desecrators of the temples, and oppressors of the Egyptians. The Theban princes, who drove the Hyksos out of the valley, were thus champions of law and order, patriots, and defenders of the faith. Designated as the Eighteenth Dynasty, they reorganized the machinery of administration, rebuilt the temples of their gods, and solaced the outraged priesthoods. Then began a period of expansion based on military ardor and religious zeal. Soon after 1540 B.C. the Euphrates was reached and again in 1515 B.C. Systematic conquest and occupation of empire followed a decisive Egyptian victory at Megiddo (c. 1480 B.C.). The authority of the great conqueror and organizer, Thothmes III, was recognized in Cyprus, on the Sicilian coast, and throughout Syria up to the Amanus range and the Euphrates. Hittites, Mitanni, and Assyrians respected these boundaries, adopting a policy of non-intervention which enabled the Egyptians to concentrate on imperial organization. Peace and tribute were the demands of the conquerors. They obtained them by a number of garrisons located at strategic points, by an efficient system of tribute collection, and by the education in Egypt of the sons of subject princes. Local institutions were not changed. Kings, tribal chiefs, and local oligarchies continued to govern under the supervision of Egyptian officials.

Successors of Thothmes III extended their influence to the north, including the state of the Mitanni as a subject ally, and dealing directly with the Assyrians, who had formerly been tributaries of the Mitanni. Hittites, Kassites, and Cretans sought to curry favor by embassies and gifts to the Theban kings. For a period of two centuries Egypt was the acknowledged leader of all.

The position of eminence in "world" politics brought many changes in the domestic life and institutions of Egypt. The wealth of loot and tribute was not monopolized by kings and nobles. Soldiers and merchants also profited, increasing their leisure and their enjoyment of life. Still the lion's share went to the pharaohs, to their administrative officials, and to the great priesthoods. The pride and energy of success in war found expression in a great number of architectural and sculptural products. Modern impressions of Egyptian art are based largely on the temples, statues, and tombs of the imperial dynasties. Imported objects of art, for the first time, form an appreciable part of the archaeological record. Cretan wares and Cretan designs in metal and pottery are the most striking of a host of importations. Before the mass attack of foreign goods and foreign ideas, Egyptian conservatism gradually retreated. Naturalism and realism in art became the fashion. Efforts were made to reproduce to the life the strange animals brought in from Nubia, the costumes and physical characteristics of war captives, foreign merchants, and visiting ambassadors.

The revolt against convention affected government as well as art. Pharaoh was still a god, but he ruled by right of conquest and of might rather than by his divinity. His interests were clearly centered on things of this life. The development of trade and the maintenance of a just and efficient administration were the personal concerns of these benevolent rulers.

It was an attack upon religion which aroused the conservatives to a final and successful defense of that which was old. The conquering kings had limited their changes to matters temporal, attributing their successes to the gods, and honoring especially the great god Amen. But when, in 1375 B.C., a youthful and unwarlike idealist became pharaoh, an attempt was made to revolutionize the religion of the Egyptians. The new kings substituted for the many gods of the people a single deity, Aton, in whose honor he changed his own name to that of Ikhnaton. The history of his seventeen-year rule is wrapped in a darkness which the lamps of controversy have failed to penetrate. It is known that his opponents failed to dislodge him, but that his religious revolt died with him. It is also known from the royal archive found at his capital, modern Tell-el-Amarna, that he sacrificed the Egyptian Empire in his religious revolt.

The kings who followed Ikhnaton were the famous Ramesids. With the aid of the restored Amen, they fought in vain to retain Egypt's position of dominance. A great Hittite invasion was checked in 1284 B.C. at Kadesh. But the extant treaty of 1276 B.C. recognized the equal strength of Hittite and Egyptian power. By the end of the century Egypt had lost all of her Asiatic empire and was able only by heroic efforts to avert a second invasion of the Nile Valley.

To the Greeks of classical antiquity the island of Delos was the center of the universe. It was also the center of the core of the universe, the Greek

homeland. On the eastern side, migration from the shore across fertile coastal plains to the plateau of Anatolia was checked by forbidding hills and still more forbidding human settlers. The plains, however, which *Indo-Europeans and the Aegean* could be held by brave men against the raids of highlanders, were intimately related to the island world and through the islands to the Greek peninsula across the sea. To the north the fertile coast of Thrace, with its background of metal-bearing hills, was not so clearly separated from the hinterland. Thrace not only provided an avenue of approach to the sea from the north, but also formed a link between Europe and Asia. Greece and Crete were the natural western and southern boundaries of the Aegean quadrilateral, which has been aptly described as a waterlogged mountain area. The sea floor, which reaches a depth of six thousand feet just north of the island of Crete, gradually rises until it is but six hundred feet below the sea level at the Dardanelles. The inactivity of a tideless sea left the land mass without tidal rivers, estuaries, or large stretches of beach. Powerful and constant currents, though, gave to the water surface a movement which rendered navigation and exploration dangerous occupations. A prevailing wind from the northeast added to the problems of the mariner. An irregular coast line, with many landlocked harbors and a wealth of island havens, counterbalanced these unfriendly elements. Men of the mainland preferred the seaway to the rock-strewn and steep land-routes. It was easier to go around than to go over the ridges which divided the country into countless small valleys. Both mainland and island valleys had a thin but fertile soil, which could not be dragooned into extraordinary crop yields. The northern and eastern shores were more attractive agriculturally, but troublesome neighbors retarded development.

The climate, similar to that of the Pacific Coast states, had two well defined seasons. A mild winter with moisture and growth was followed by the heat, drought, and harvesting of the summer. Nature was kindly, offering a year-round outdoor life. But she was also niggardly, for mineral resources were restricted in distribution and limited in amount. There was scarcity of fuel, the streams could not be harnessed for water power, nor could they be used for transportation. The winds were fickle and sometimes violent. Lack of adequate fodder supply made possible only a minimum use of draught animals. Human power alone was available, and it was human power which cultivated the small agricultural oases near the lower courses of the streams, which sought to wrest a living from the arid hillsides with the help of sheep and goats, and which exploited the few watered highlands with herds of swine. The forests, with their swineherds, retreated slowly to the north before the attacks of sheep and goats, while the farmers defended their cultivated fields from the onslaughts of the grazers.

Among other general characteristics, attention is usually called to the nearness of the sea, the difficulty of communication by land, and the rel-

atively large number of clear days. Any and all of these characteristics should be used with caution in seeking the causes for the economic, political, or cultural development of man in this area. Environment certainly discouraged some lines of activity and encouraged others. But it is probable that local differences were more influential in shaping the course of Greek history than were the physical surroundings common to all.

*Environment and
Greek history*

The intrusion of northern tribes from the Danubian basin into the Aegean area from 2000 to 1200 B.C., produced a movement of peoples extremely irregular in direction, in tempo, and in the composition of the wandering groups. There were many variations from the general north-to-south trend of migration.

*Indo-Europeans
in Aegean lands*

Some migrants crossed from Europe to Anatolia. Others traveled from east to west, from Anatolia to the Balkan peninsula. Tradition has preserved accounts of men who moved from south to north against the main current of migration. Thus, Greek legends include in this period (1500-1300 B.C.) the coming to Greece of Cecrops and Danaus from Egypt, of Cadmus from Phoenicia, of Carus, Lelex, Tantalus, and Pelops from Anatolia.

An arrangement in time, of these wanderings, is impossible, since no written document of the invaders has been found which can be dated prior to 1200 B.C. Some help comes from Hittite archives (c. 1350 B.C.), which mention an Achaean king, Atrea (Atreus?), of western Anatolia. Egyptians include Achaeans among their enemies in 1225 B.C. and again in 1193 B.C. A reconstruction of the movement depends, perforce, upon the interpretation of archaeological material. Pottery with geometric decoration, a quadrilateral house-plan, and cyclopean masonry (huge blocks of stone without mortar) are the chief guides. The resulting story is one of an infiltration, which began about 2000 B.C. Education at the hands of Cretans transformed these nomads into city dwellers and seafarers. The instruction was fatal to Cretan sea power, since, as traders, pirates, colonists, or soldiers of fortune, the newcomers explored the Aegean, and ventured as far west as Sicily and as far east as Cyprus. The most important center was the plain of Argos, where Mycenae, the city of gold, came to be the chief settlement. From 1400 to 1200 B.C., Mycenae was supreme. As leaders in wealth, in culture (a combination of northern simplicity and Cretan sophistication), and in political authority, the Achaean kings of Mycenae gave their tribal name to the numerous groups of invaders. It was they who organized the western and southern portions of the Aegean area in a contest with the eastern and northern sections, a contest which ended about 1200 B.C. in the capture and sack of the city of Troy.

Achaean is thus the term used to describe all of the northern intruders of the period from 2000 to 1200 B.C. It differentiates them from the Cretans, or Minoans whom they displaced, and from the native Pelasgians whom they

conquered. It serves likewise to distinguish them from later invaders who destroyed Mycenaean civilization and forced the Achaeans into another life of migration.

Disaster and flight could not destroy the memories of triumph and of pleasant living. Preserved in oral tradition for three centuries, they reappeared in the splendor and permanence of the Homeric poems. These tales, regarded not so long ago as delightful fiction, have been confirmed by the excavations of the enthusiast, Schliemann, and by his more skilled successors, the archaeologists of ancient Greece. Homer sings of tall, blond heroes; the archaeologist adds that they were round headed (brachycephalic). Their language and their simple patriarchal type of government were imposed upon the natives. Those who wished, might adopt their gods, their habit of cremating the dead, and their coarser and warmer clothing. But fighting, in true feudal fashion, was a pleasure which they retained for themselves. There were no marked social classes among the newcomers. Their kings claimed divine ancestry, but they could and did work with their hands. There were nobles inferior only in authority to the kings, and a few ne'er-do-wells, who amused and served their more fortunate masters. Even slaves, if of northern blood, were treated with greater respect than were the conquered inhabitants. But above all, the invaders brought a remarkable measure of adaptability. They accepted Cretan luxuries and the Cretan habit of living in cities. From the Cretans, too, they learned the pleasures of sea power, and rewarded their teachers by sacking the palace of Minos and establishing Achaean settlements in Crete.

But the period of Achaean greatness, the Mycenaean Age of which Homer sang, came to an abrupt end. A second wave of northern migrants, less docile than the Achaeans, brought terror and destruction to Greece and the islands. The Achaeans fled before these invaders, called the Dorians, and became once more only one of the numerous refugee groups. In similar manner, the Hittite empire disintegrated before northern attack. The twelfth century B.C. was a period of violence and unrest. "The islands of the sea are restless," wrote Rameses III, listing as some of the hordes which vainly sought refuge in the Nile Valley, Achaeans, Cretans, and western Anatolians.

The third millennium was above all the period of river valley civilizations. In Egypt, Mesopotamia, northern India, and, to a lesser extent, the Danube basin, men had passed beyond the struggle for existence to a life of relative comfort, peace, and leisure. They gave credit for these benefits to their rulers, and offered in return complete obedience. In Egypt, the ruler was believed to be a living god. He controlled human life even more rigidly than had environment in paleolithic times. The only important individual right of the Egyptian was that of immortality. In Mesopotamia, a land of many kings, the individual was granted some rights during his life on earth and was assured of the maintenance of those rights

Summary

by law. These are the great political legacies of the river valley civilizations to their successors — the rights of the ruler and the rights of the ruled. We are indebted to them for contributions to the arts and letters, to science and religion. But no enthusiasm for any or all of these gifts should blind us to the significance of their political institutions.

A second step in the development of civilization was the extension of its benefits. Before 2000 B.C. the entire length of the Fertile Crescent had been explored and exploited. Education and encouragement had reached the plateau of Iran, eastern Asia Minor and Crete. It was in these outposts that a new human factor appeared, the Indo-European invader.

Nomad, horse, and iron were the three new actors introduced in this part of the drama of history. Their entrance brought disunion and decline to the land of the two rivers. On the other hand, the reaction of the Egyptians raised them from the depths to empire and leadership. The Cretans, too, were incited to imperial greatness, and the Anatolians found, for the first time, unity and power under Hittite rulers. The period, however, closed with loss and confusion. The peace of the Aegean and of Anatolia disappeared. Egypt barely retained her independence. The reason for the political chaos of the twelfth century is generally attributed to a second and larger wave of migration from the north, although a few scholars interpret the confusion as a prolonged effort of Mediterranean and Alpine peoples to obtain cultural and political independence from the first Nordic invaders.

In either case, the benefits and comforts of civilized life were gradually accepted by the newcomers. This acceptance illustrates a fundamental characteristic of civilization, namely, its uniformity. Egyptian and Babylonian influence had combined to produce a type of life common to all the peoples of the Fertile Crescent. This way of living had been accepted by the Hittites. It was, in fact, the basis of Cretan civilization, and was passed on by them to the Achaeans. Thus, by 1200 B.C., a uniform pattern of life and thought extended from the Adriatic Sea to the plateau of Iran. There were, of course, differences between groups, differences easily recognized and frequently described. But these surface qualities had neither the strength nor the permanence of the uniformity against which they fought in vain.

Continuity is another characteristic of civilized life. The new leaders and the fresh generations used the materials which had been collected slowly and painfully by their predecessors. The old stones and lumber, that is the old habits, customs and institutions, were reassembled in slightly different fashion. Some novelties appeared, it is true, but the larger portion of the rebuilt structure was old.

CHAPTER III

WEST AND EAST 1200-500 B C

The Syrian coast region has three distinct geographical districts. To the north lies a series of small valleys, running back from the sea into the Taurus range. Rich in copper and timber, with soil capable of supporting many men, it has nevertheless failed to develop a state strong enough to defend its inhabitants against invaders. Absorbed in turn by Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, the natives of this country, Cilicia, have played a secondary role in human history.

The southern part of the region begins at Carmel with a narrow plain which gradually widens to the South, fading into the desert of North Sinai. Behind this plain rise hills which separate it, with but few passes, from the valley of the Jordan. For countless centuries the plain has been the battleground of desert men and of seafarers, victory almost invariably resting with the Semitic farmer-shepherd.

Along the central section of the coast, running northward from Carmel to the mouth of the Orontes, the Lebanon range reaches down to the sea. Bold promontories afford ideal sites for easily defended settlements, and the slopes, generously watered by the rains of prevailing easterly winds, make it the Paradise of the Near East. Rains and verdure extend east of the Lebanon into the valleys of the Orontes and the upper Jordan. The desert, volcanic and desolate, creeps close to the east bank of the Jordan, but is held back in the north by the anti-Lebanon hills. Beyond the hills, out in the desert, at the end of a trail which pierces both ranges, lies Damascus, the terminal of one of the oldest trade routes in the world.

The Lebanon country is the homeland of the Phoenicians. Trade relations of long standing with Egypt weaken the tradition that the Phoenicians had migrated from the Persian Gulf. They were undoubtedly an offshoot of the original Semitic nomads of North Syria. In the tiny valleys they cultivated grain, the olive, and the vine. Fish were plentiful in the sea, and the Big Trees of the hills, the cedars of Lebanon, gave them not only material for shipbuilding, but also a basis for trade with other less favored areas, as Egypt. Rock quarrying, metal work and the purple dye extracted from the mollusk (murex) added to the stock in trade, and the tanned seafarers were welcomed far and wide for their wares.

The decline of Crete and of the Achæans made possible a rapid extension

of the Phoenician voyages to the west, an extension which was also encouraged by the uncertainties of trading ventures to the east. Certainly it was as seafarers that the Phoenicians were known to the western world. But it is probable that for every ship working westward across the Mediterranean there was a Phoenician caravan carrying goods to Damascus and beyond. The Tell-el-Amarna tablets bear witness to intercourse with Babylonia, and the plans of Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre point to an exploitation of the Red Sea route to the south, perhaps to India. The search for new markets and for raw materials, however, led the Phoenicians westward. Cyprus, the copper island, was not far distant. Thence to the north, to Cilicia, westward to Rhodes, and to the troubled waters of the Aegean, the Phoenicians ventured. There is no conclusive evidence, save in Cyprus, of actual colonization by the traders, until the distant shores of the North African coast and of southern Spain were reached. The Phoenicians were usually satisfied with a "quarter," or a warehouse, at their ports of call, or merely security in a harbor where their ships would serve both as warehouses and retail stores.

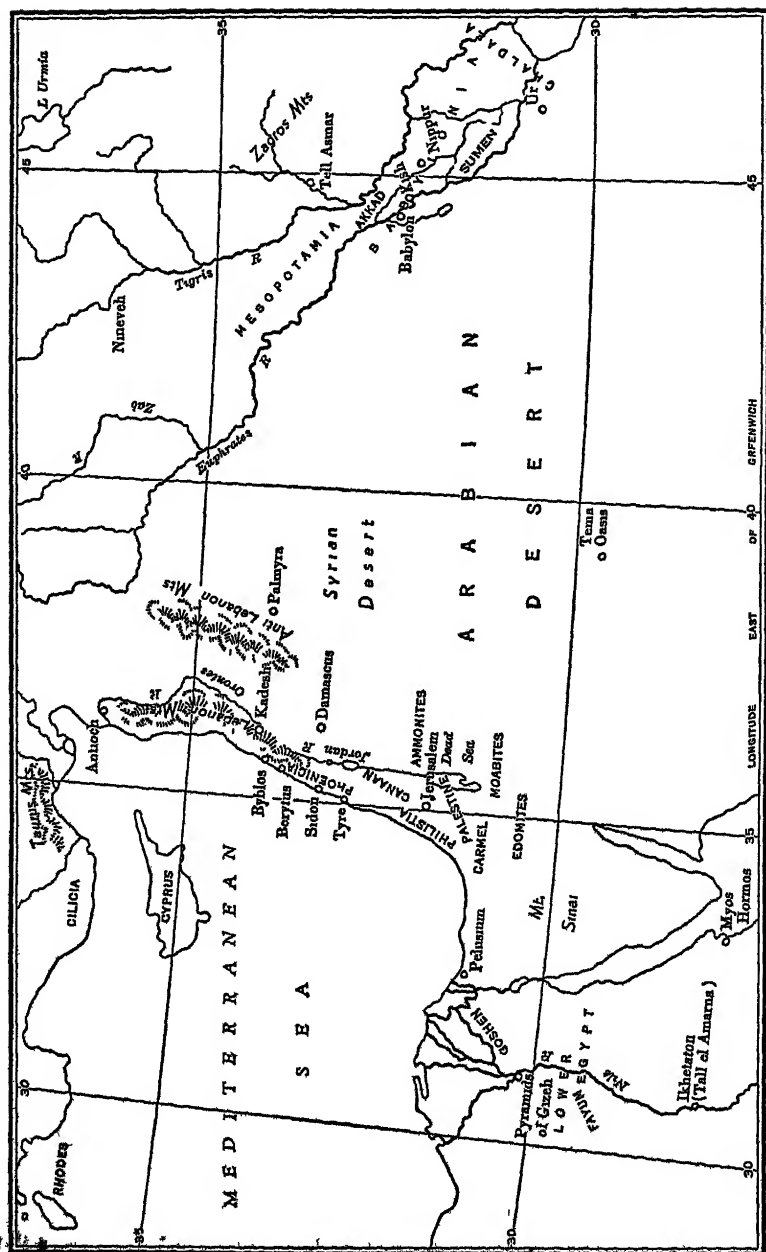
The effects of seafaring life upon social and political institutions were very marked. The first was the growth of a clear distinction between country and city, between agriculture and trade. Tyre was probably the first city to have skyscrapers, tenements in which men lived separated, both literally and figuratively, from the land. With the loosening of the land tie, came the breakup of family unity. The individual was independent. He took the risks, he made the gains or suffered the losses. It was only natural that he seek similarly minded partners. Corporations were formed, which lessened the individual risk.

*Effects of
seafaring life*

Mercantile control reached out to the political field. A narrow plutocracy frequently succeeded the kings of earlier days. Affairs of state were placed in the hands of a small council, which in turn delegated its powers to a smaller working sub-committee. Finally, the commercial rivalry between cities prevented any development of a unified state. For a brief period in the ninth century the kings of Tyre dominated all the Phoenician cities. But independence and active competition were the rule.

From about 1000 to 750 B C the Phoenicians were the great carriers of Mediterranean trade. Their contribution to civilization was the alphabet, a group of twenty-two consonant characters derived from the incomplete experiment of the Egyptians. But their value to later generations rests not on the alphabet alone, for though they originated few ideas, it was in their hands that the ideas of the East reached the West and through them that interchange of thoughts as well as of products was made.

Archaeology has fixed the original home of the Semitic people in the upland area behind the Syrian coast region. The northern section, central portion of the Fertile Crescent, was called by the Egyptians, Naharin, or the two-river



land, the Euphrates and the Orontes being considered as the natural limits. Below the two-river land lies the territory now included under the name, Palestine, bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the east by the Arabian desert. The gradual transition from grazing land on the desert edge to fields which may be tilled is marked, for example, in the plains of Moab east of the Dead Sea, and in those of Gilead south and east of the Sea of Galilee. Even to the west of the Jordan almost every type of soil and physical structure can be found: bleak and forbidding desert, sheltered highland nooks, and fertile plains.

*Home of the
Semites.*

This medley of physical circumstance is repeated in the population of the area. Men have entered Naharin and Palestine as settlers in a land of promise, they have come as refugees, and they have tarried as conquerors. The first incentives to advance came to the neolithic natives from the Sumerian east and the Egyptian south. The development of the Amorite, Assyrian and Phoenician cultures was the result of these early contacts. Although differing among themselves in many details, these three cultures possess a common body of customs, institutions, and beliefs, which is termed Semitic. The physical type, that of a brachycephalic brunet, was also retained in spite of Indo-European, Anatolian, and Mediterranean intrusions.

Semitic pastoral groups frequently threatened the peace of their wealthier agricultural cousins. The Orontes valley folk were thus threatened and ultimately conquered by the nomad Aramaeans who made Damascus their headquarters in the late thirteenth century B C. A similar movement in the south resulted in the occupation of the farm lands from the Jordan to the sea by the Hebrews. Hebrews and Israelites are now used to designate one and the same group, but from the fifteenth to the twelfth century the term Hebrews included Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites as well as Israelites. The first extant record of the name Israel is found in an account of a thirteenth-century pharaoh.

*Israelites and
Hebrews*

The beginnings of Hebrew wanderings may be traced in the migrations of a pastoral group from the lower Euphrates country (Ur of the Chaldees) to the lower Nile Valley (land of Goshen). The appearance of the names Jacob and Joseph in the Egyptian record of the Hyksos invasion invites the theory that the Hebrews formed part of the Hyksos group. Those who accept this identification hold that the Exodus was a result of the nationalistic pride of Egypt, a part of the "Egypt for the Egyptians" program, about 1500 B C. Conservative scholars, however, defer the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt by more than two centuries, and consider it a peaceful intrusion by royal invitation. But there came kings "who knew not Joseph," who through fear or envy placed heavier burdens upon the sojourners. The result was the Exodus (before 1400 B C), a period of nomad life ending with the seizure of Amorite land east of the Jordan, on the edge of Canaan — the "promised land." The transition from pastoral to agricultural life was long. An Egyptian

record of 1235 B C boasts of the defeat of Israel, a hill people. Not more than a generation later the Israelites defeated the Canaanites of the plains and occupied the entire land to the Mediterranean shore. A period of domination by the Philistines (1080-1030 B C) was replaced by the brief glories of independence and union under the kings of Israel. The reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon comprise the period of Israel's greatness. But with the death of Solomon came disunion, discord, and civil war. The climax was reached in the subjugation by Assyria (720 B C).

Although the political history of Israel was relatively unimportant, and its economic development insignificant, in the Book of Israel there was preserved a contribution of inestimable value to human civilization. The Books of the Old Testament are more than the annals of a people struggling with the complexities of advancing civilization. They are important in that they form the first national history, important, too, in that they include a guide to personal and national conduct.

The history of the Hebrews is a record of changes of environment and of adaptations to new surroundings. What is interesting in the record and what makes it unique in world history is the unwillingness of the people to make any adaptations whatsoever. Least of all were they inclined to give up their belief in one God. Life to the pastoral nomad was a simple affair. But even the contacts with the more advanced neighbors in Babylonia and Egypt did not break down the idea that for him there was but one God. God was the Deliverer, His worshippers were His children. Each was a part of the other. The home of the nomads' God was usually a high place, one to which the wanderers returned at regular intervals. But when the tribes made a permanent move a new sanctuary was chosen. Mount Sinai and Kadesh were the desert holy places, but the invasion of Canaan increased the need for divine assistance. Then it was that Jehovah became a God of war, and Israel, or "God fights for us," was the rallying cry of the invaders. The tabernacle, a movable sanctuary, was a glorified war tent with a portable throne. In the tabernacle was the Covenant, the written agreement of Jehovah and His people. The militant belief which centered in this Holy of Holies was not unusual in an age when warfare was almost continuous. The Israelites differed, however, from their contemporaries in that they remained faithful to Jehovah even when defeated. Defeat was the just punishment inflicted upon His chosen people by an omnipotent, omnipresent God.

Political organization did not advance quickly beyond the original patriarchal form. The unity imposed by the departure from Egypt and the invasion of Canaan was soon lost as some of the tribal divisions settled down in widely separated districts. Independent wars were waged by fractions of the entire group. The leaders, called judges, were not so much judges, as advocates of the cause of Israel, inciters to war, like Deborah, or actual war-lords, like Sampson. The obvious leader of Israel, the

The literature and religion of the Hebrews

Kings and judges

chief priest of Jehovah, was helpless in the face of political disunion. Defeat and oppression by the forces of Canaan, Egypt, and Philistia at length welded the tribes into a union which was political as well as religious. The combined efforts of Samuel and Saul formed a united kingdom.

When the kingdom had been firmly established and Israel was free and prosperous, her religion was put to its most severe test. There was a tendency on the part of the priesthood, powerful once more, to demand a stricter adherence to the letter of the law, and to accept this in place of real faith. At the same time, those who were in political control grew more and more cosmopolitan, more tolerant of the views and beliefs of their neighbors. The old faith was forced to compete with the less disciplinary and more attractive polytheism of the age. Its success in the contest should be attributed to the efforts of the prophets.

In ancient Israel the prophet was more than a foreteller. He was a thinker, an observer, a critic, and above all a speaker. His moral fervor and his unselfish motives secured for him a freedom of speech seldom equalled in any country. It was the prophets who checked the *The prophets* priests when the latter forgot the spirit of the law which they were bound to cherish. It was the prophets who criticized the monarchs when they turned away from the highest standards of leadership. And as the moral decline of the people increased under the monarchy, prophetic literature became more voluminous, recalling the men of Israel to the old faith and preserving it through political decline, political failure, and political death.

Among the Peoples of the Sea repulsed by Ramses III were the men known as Philistines. Occupying the coast cities of Canaan, with the consent of the pharaoh and nominally subject to him, the Philistines quickly *Philistia* and effectively established a political organization. Some elements of their culture, religion, language and amusements are reminiscent of Minoan Crete, while others point to an Anatolian source. They were probably western Anatolians who had sojourned in Crete for some generations only to be caught in the maelstrom of unrest which disturbed the Aegean world in the twelfth century. Safe at last in their remote havens, they continued their seafaring activities, and united in a confederacy of five important towns that they might exploit and extend their possessions on land. Superiority in weapons and in organizing ability soon gave them control of all that land whose name, Palestine, is a memorial of their conquest. A brief century of rule was closed when the victories of united Israel under Saul, and again under David, reduced the Philistines to servitude. The seafarers were gradually absorbed in the native Semitic population, and Philistia survived only as a memory.

The political history of Syria in the tenth and ninth centuries B C has all the complexities of world politics without the dignity of size. A degree of stability was secured during the concurrent rules of Solomon, king of United

Israel, and Hiram, master of Phoenician Tyre. But divisive forces separated Israel into two camps, and northern Syria was plagued with a number of petty independent states. The intrigues and quarrels of ambitious leaders left the country an easy prey to the first great power to be established on its borders. Egypt in the hands of do-nothing kings was unable to seize the opportunity. A revived Hittite federation, with its center at Karkemish, was also too weak to expand. The danger lay in the upper Tigris country, where the followers of the god Assur awaited a king who would lead them to victory.

The origin of the Assyrians is unknown. Their culture is a confused medley of Sumerian, Semitic, Mitannian, and Hittite elements. Possibly a mixed group of refugees, the Assyrians were the problem children of the Mesopotamian family. In the weakness of Babylon they freed themselves from the control which had been exercised by the kings of Ur and of Babylon, acknowledging only the nominal suzerainty of the Kassites. From about 1350 to 1100 B.C., the Assyrians were aggressively imperialistic. The last and greatest of their early kings, Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1100 B.C.), led his armies to the shores of the Black and the Mediterranean seas. A period of decline and lethargy followed within which subject states revolted, and the extent of Assyria's empire was greatly reduced.

The methods and aims of Assyrian imperialism have inspired violent criticisms in the poetry and prose of every language. A well equipped and well disciplined military machine proved its competence on the field and in siege work. With this invincible weapon the Assyrian monarchs raided, destroyed, and subjugated. Torture of captives, deportation of conquered peoples, and ruthless destruction of property made the victims helpless and harmless. All of this was done for the glory of the god Assur, who became, as it were, the personification of the right of might. Temples and palaces were adorned with the spoils of war, literature was a record of victories and of sadistic punishments, in art, the murder of human victims alternated with the killing of wild animals. Assyrian rule was the rule of force.

A revival of imperialistic fervor in Assyria, beginning about 900 B.C., culminated in the campaigns of Assur-natsir-pal, whose empire equalled that of Tiglath-Pileser I. A single united effort of the peoples of Syria checked his successor at the battle of Karkar (846). The coalition soon broke, and it was civil war in Assyria which alone postponed Assyrian dominion over Syrians, Phoenicians, Israelites, and Philistines.

Anatolia is both more attractive and more accessible on its western side than on the eastern. Like the Balkan peninsula, it extended an invitation to the surplus populations of Thrace and the Danubian basin. In the thirteenth century, the wanderers who had entered Anatolia while their cousins, the Achaeans, were slowly occupying

Syria

935-750 B.C.

*The Assyrian
Empire*

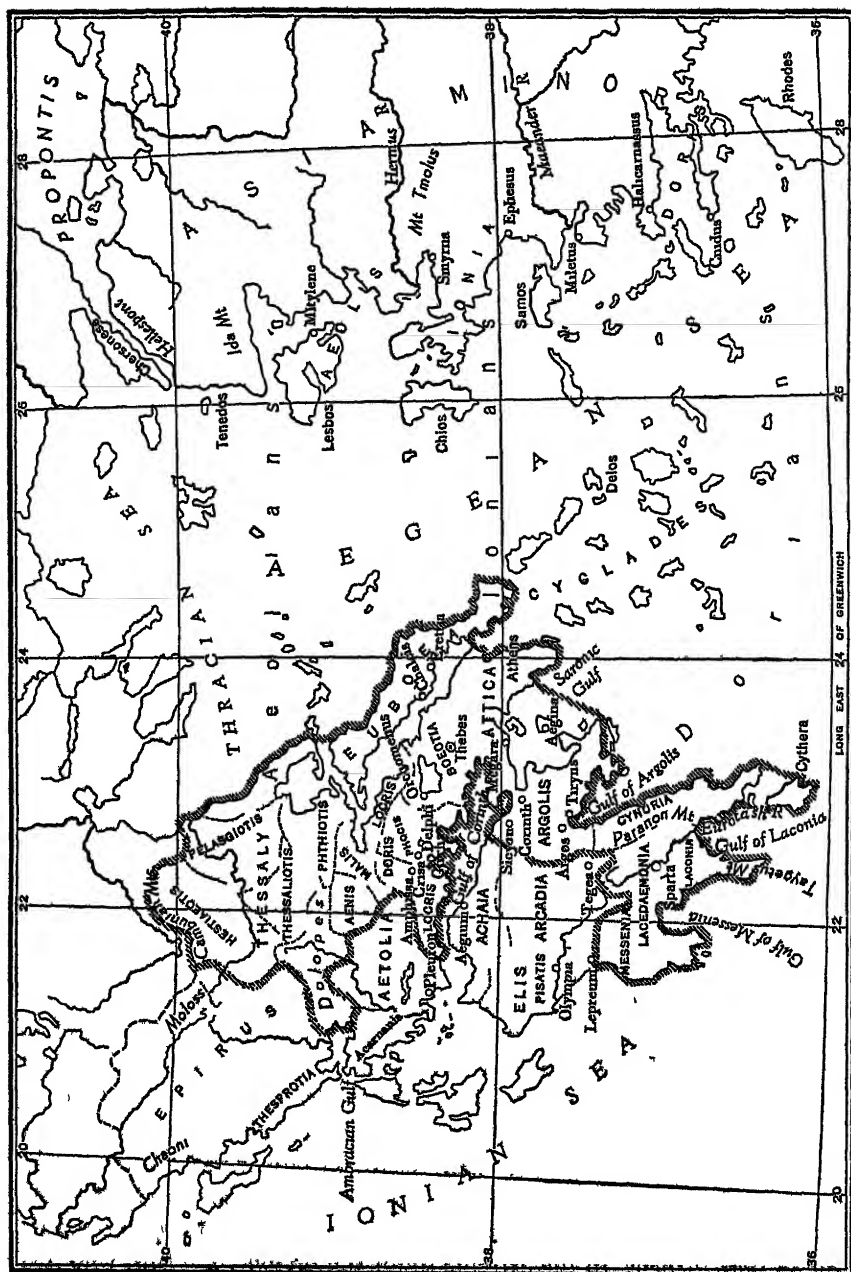
Military monarchy

Anatolia
1200-750 B.C.

Greek lands, were called Phrygians. The Phrygians gradually supplanted the Hittites as overlords of northern and central Anatolia. Homeric legends list them among the allies of Troy. After the fall of Troy, Phrygian history was greatly affected by a new wave of European invaders. Two states emerged from the confusion caused by this new migration. One of them was a small but strong organization, with its center at Gordium, ruled by King Midas (known to the Assyrians as Mita of Mushki). The other was Lydia, which included the lands around Sardes. In both areas the local Anatolian culture was basic. Both were agricultural and gave a prominent position to the Anatolian goddess of fertility. Mesopotamian influence, both political and cultural, was naturally greater in the eastern (Phrygian) community, while Lydia, closer to the Aegean and catering to the wishes of Aegean customers, acquired at least a veneer of occidental characteristics.

Innumerable attempts have been made to elucidate the five centuries of darkness following the destruction of Troy by the Achaeans. Inaccurate and often contradictory traditions, incomplete archaeological evidence, and hypotheses, more or less rational, have been the bases of reconstruction. The simplest account is that of Thucydides. His story, sketched in bold and bald outline, gives an impression of migration and war followed by a long period of fusion, leading to the establishment of peace and order. The history of Herodotus, who was much more tolerant of tradition, traced the beginnings in Greece of a long struggle between two outstanding groups, the Dorians and the Ionians. This limitation of the story to the Balkan peninsula is not observed in other legends, which include the entire Aegean area and connect the unrest in the Balkan peninsula with a more widespread migratory change. No substantial check on the legends is available, since the records of contemporary eastern civilizations are silent with reference to events in the West. Modern reconstructions, therefore, almost invariably are based on the known facts of the eighth century B C. It is known that the language of that later time was Indo-European, that the gods were, for the most part, of northern origin, and that iron had replaced bronze in implements and weapons. The generally accepted hypothesis is that the Dark Ages were the results of a second and larger wave of northern invaders. Secondary movements back and forth across the Aegean and to distant shores merely increased the confusion. Philistia in the east, and probably Sardinia and Etruria in the west, mark the limits of migration. As the restlessness gradually subsided, certain well defined groups of migrants were to be found in their new homes. Refugees from Central Greece, speaking the Aeolic dialect, had settled on the Anatolian coast south of Troy. Directly south of the Aeolians was an Ionic-speaking group connected by tradition with Athens. In the extreme south venturesome Dorians, who had travelled from the Peloponnesus by way of Crete and Rhodes, had founded cities. The islands were held by refugees of every sort. Carians and Leleges

*The Dark Age of
Greece*



THE HELLENIC HOME-LAND

from Anatolia, Minoans and Achaeans from Greece, combined with native Mediterranean stock in desperate efforts to maintain life

On the Greek mainland three types of communities were developed during the period of darkness. In Thessaly and Laconia, for example, the conquered residents tilled the soil as serfs of the victors. Complete conquest of this type, however, was not general. Many towns along the southern shores of the Corinthian Gulf were composed of Dorian and non-Dorian elements joined in the exercise of authority. Resistance in Attica was so obstinate that no Dorians obtained entrance. Athens was the only city on the Greek mainland to survive untouched by Dorian influence.

In the course of centuries the antagonisms of conquest were forgotten and replaced by a consciousness of common interests. The legend manufactured to explain this feeling of unity derived it from the Helleni, an ancient priesthood of Dodona. From them the legend secured the name Hellenoi, or Hellenes, for all of the inhabitants of central and southern Greece, and the name Hellas for their land. It was not until 776 B C. that unity received general recognition. At the first celebration of games in honor of the god Zeus, a people gathered together who spoke the same language, worshipped the same gods, and buried its local differences in this first pan-Hellenic union.

The life of a Hellene, whom we call Greek, at the beginning of the eighth century, was one of problems. The readjustment of invaders to the new environment, to the conquered natives, and to one another was a long and painful process. One of the earliest economic changes was from a pastoral nomadic to a sedentary agricultural life. The poverty of the soil and the relatively large number of invaders combined to defeat any distribution of land that would satisfy all. The result was that those with power acquired ownership of land, and those who were weak either descended to serfdom or sought other means of making a living. In a land where war was the rule and peace the exception, any serious improvement in agriculture was impracticable. Still, a few olive trees and a few vines were planted to increase the farmer's income. Sheepherding and charcoal-burning, pottery and metal-working were the alternatives to farming. Security, comfort, and prosperity came first to the refugee communities of the Anatolian coast. There the commercial tradition of Mycenaean days survived. Trading and industrial activity brought to these Greeks a measure of wealth and of leisure.

In the eighth century B C., the period during which the light of recorded history begins to dispel the gloom of the Dark Ages, the Greeks were living in independent communities, which they called *poleis*, or city-states. The *poleis* had arisen from a combination of villages geographically contiguous and composed of men bound together by ties of kinship. They were, presumably, the descendants of a single family. The simplest development would be from house to village to city, or

Hellenes

Primitive Hellas

*City-state
development*

from family to clan to state. But since it was impracticable to move whole villages bodily in order to form a city, and since different clans were found in the same neighborhood, the third step was a complicated one. The city was a place agreed upon, to which all of the villagers would resort for conference, for worship, and for defense. In the city the clansmen were grouped in tribes of kindred, invariably three in a Dorian city, four in an Ionian city. The legendary organizers of the cities were the first monarchs of the *poies*.

Monarchical rule was not unknown to the Greeks. The absolute power of the nomadic patriarch had remained in the hands of family heads throughout the migrations. Each village of the conquest period had its own king. The king of a city was therefore only one among many. His power depended as much upon his ability as upon his divine descent. And it was checked by the other kings of the community, who sat in Council to control him. In fact, by 750 B.C., the power of the monarch had been greatly curtailed or entirely usurped by the Council, an oligarchy of birth.

The unrest and confusion, which the coming of Indo-Europeans brought to the eastern Mediterranean lands, were felt also on the western shores of that sea. Pressure of homeseekers from the North caused shifts in population as far south as Sicily. Phoenician traders, using the island and the harbors of north Africa as ports of call, reached the Atlantic shores of Spain, while broken groups from the Aegean found security in the great West.

The least attractive of the land boundaries of the Mediterranean is the southern. Although it was probably less arid in the days of Phoenician exploration than it is today, the merchants of Tyre apparently used the north-African shore only as a resting place on the long journey to Spain. It soon became valuable in itself because of its agricultural possibilities, as well as its caravan connections with tropical Africa. Carthage, the latest and greatest of Phoenician settlements in Africa, was never a mere port of call.

The first Phoenician objective was Spain. Tradition places the founding of Gades at 1100 B.C. The distant site was well chosen, for the men of the Baetis (Guadalquivir) valley, the Tartessians, were exploiting the silver, copper, and lead deposits of their own country, and were receiving tin and amber from the far North by sea. Before the coming of the Phoenicians Spain had made definite though small contributions to European civilization. It had passed on megalithic culture to the entire Atlantic area of Europe, and had been the source of migrations which reached central Europe and the upper Po valley. Implements of Spanish copper were probably the first to replace those of stone in western Europe. But it was the Phoenicians who brought the Iberian peninsula into direct and continuous contact with the civilized East. Their settlements increased in number both east and west of

the Straits of Gibraltar, and by 800 B C they were well established in the kingdom of the Tartessians. In the meantime, they had gradually assumed control of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. It is probable, also, that the trade of the Rhone valley was controlled by a Phoenician factory at Massilia (Marseilles). For more than three hundred years the ideas and goods of the East came to the western Mediterranean in Phoenician hands.

One exception must be noted to Phoenician guidance of the West. This exception was the peninsula of Italy, a land of great variety, both in physical structure and in its peoples. Even before 1200 B C the original Mediterranean stock had been forced to give way to later *Italy* comers. Archaeologists have noted so many variations in the cultures of different districts, and so many breaks in the culture of any one district, that they assume migrations from Illyria, from the Danube, and from Spain. The evidence of language, however, convinces some that all except the Etruscans spoke a language essentially Indo-European. One statement and one alone is generally accepted, namely, that the history of primitive Italy was the history of its invaders.

Civilization came later to the Italian peninsula than to the regions lying east of it. Italy was too far removed from the great river-valley civilizations to be strongly affected by them. The forbidding Adriatic coast discouraged intruders from the Balkan peninsula, while the Alps and the swampy, heavily timbered valley of the Po kept invaders from using that approach. Attractions of climate and soil, however, brought men to the peninsula in spite of the barriers. The Apennine highlands which separate the peninsula proper from the Po valley, and then, turning to the Southwest give an alpine character to the entire eastern section, are ideal grazing districts. Prolongations, to the west of the main range divide the gradual western slope into the plains of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. The soil of these plains, enriched by the outpourings of volcanoes, encouraged and rewarded the farmers. Italy was superior to Greece in the amount and quality of its tillable soil. With a climate as equable as that of its neighbor, Italy offered a complete living to its inhabitants. They were landmen, and remained hostile to the sea to the end.

Copper may have come to Italy from the west, bronze apparently came from Crete to Sicily and to South Italy, and to the northern districts from the Danube. The use of iron was quite clearly the gift of late arrivals from the Danube, who brought with them the custom of burning their dead and a language destined to outlive all of its competitors in the form of Latin.

A final group of early invaders remains to be noted, the Etruscans. Whence and at what time they came are not known. But by 750 B C they had made the Etruscan (Tuscan), or Tyrrhenian, Sea their own, and were masters of the land between the Tiber on the south and the Apennines on the east and north. As seafarers they furnished the links between Italy and the more ex-

perienced East. As able organizers, they held out the only promise of unity to the medley of cultures then existing in the peninsula.

The solid worth of Egyptian and Sumerian civilizations had been demonstrated by their long lives. Generation after generation of barbarian neighbors and invaders had been taught the lessons of better living without exhausting the sources of instruction. The time was *Hellenic leadership* coming, however, when the old teachers were to retire in favor of younger and stronger members of the profession. While the East was plunged in a series of wars to determine political supremacy, the Greeks were combining new ideas with old, formulating an original rule of life. The agony of the East was the opportunity of the West. When the East, united under Persian (Indo-European) kings, strove to impose its culture upon the West, the Greeks were prepared to oppose with their Occidental culture.

The four centuries which follow 750 B C were definitely Hellenic. Within that brief period the Greeks developed a well rounded civilization, defended it against the military and cultural attacks of the East, and finally spread the Hellenic point of view throughout the Mediterranean world. Their mistakes were many and unmistakable. Equally unmistakable were their successes and the fundamental reason for their triumph. It lay in the fixing of definite limits to each task, and the use of the power of reason in completing the task within those limits. Many of their achievements have been lost, but the method, which the term Hellenism implies, remains a permanent contribution to human civilization.

The story of Hellenic leadership falls naturally into periods of growth, maturity and decline. Two centuries and a half (750-500 B C) of preparation were characterized by the establishment of colonies and the development of political institutions at home. A decisive struggle with the new forces of a changed outside world was followed by fifty years of glory. The final period was a century of painful transition. The political rise and fall of the Greeks were as brief as their cultural influence was lasting.

The habit of migration and the small amount of agricultural land were the most powerful incentives to a movement of colonial expansion which followed hard upon the establishment of peace in the Aegean area. The first motive is reflected in the poetic tales of the rhapsodists, *Colonization* singers who recounted the deeds of the Achaean heroes, the Trojan adventure, the wanderings of Odysseus, the voyage of the Argonauts, and the travels of Herakles. In sharp contrast to these ideal stories of bygone days and faraway places, was the harsh description of eighth-century life in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod. The greed and dishonesty of the powerful, the oppression and hardships of the weak, which he laments, show that his native land, Boeotia, was not a place in which to live well. Hesiod perhaps belonged to that class for whom comfort in life is impossible, but there were many of his

fellows who suffered, in spite of ability and energy Nor was Boeotia the only district which experienced the evil effects of overpopulation

The Hellenic peninsula had only a limited amount of arable land, the islands could not support a large population, and the refugee cities of the

Motives Asia Minor coast were effectively restricted to the shore by the hostile natives of the interior Unequal distribution of land aggravated a naturally difficult situation and encouraged many Hellenes to seek agricultural opportunities away from home A nascent industrial development was threatened by the exhaustion of local supplies, and led to an intensive search for raw materials abroad The cities of Anatolia which had advanced more rapidly, were looking for new markets for their manufactured wares as well as for those obtained from Asiatic traders Political discontent drove some from their home cities, and the love of adventure attracted others to new lands But the chief reasons why the Greeks left home were economic

Colonial expansion did not cease until every available site on the Mediterranean and Black Sea had been occupied by Hellenic settlements The northern
Extent shores of the Aegean, both sides of the Propontis, and the entire shore-line of the Black Sea were dotted with Greek colonies There were a few fishing villages on the southern side of Asia Minor, some trading pioneers on the island of Cyprus, a flourishing settlement at Naukratis on the Nile Delta, and another on the then fertile promontory of Cyrene Where Carthaginians and Etruscans were unsuccessful in excluding them, the Greeks took possession of the western Mediterranean shores Two-thirds of Sicily, the lower portion of Italy, a large part of what is now southern France, and a few footholds south of the Pyrenees were theirs

Each colony was sent out with the blessing and under the auspices of the mother city An informal, but none the less real, guidance was afforded by the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, whose advice was almost

Character uniformly solicited Encouraged by the party in power as a means of allaying local discontent, and embraced by the colonist as a solution of his political or economic problems, the colony left the mother city with ties of kinship, bonds of religion, of trade, and of friendship unimpaired Political ties were completely severed since the colonists, from the moment of departure, constituted an independent and sovereign body politic

The normal relationship between colonist and native was one of peace, since the colonial groups were too small to conduct wars of conquest Wars, however, were not infrequent, especially on those frontiers, where the Greeks were confronted with organized opposition of trade rivals Modern commentators emphasize the cultural rather than the political conquest, and speak of the spread of Hellenic civilization over the entire Mediterranean world The evidence supporting this assertion is still incomplete: Sicily and South Italy were so thoroughly permeated

Relations between colonists and natives

that Hellenic civilization dominated. But Hellenic language, law, and religion found little or no foothold in other parts of the colonial areas.

The effects of expansion upon the homeland are more easily discernible. Much of the economic development within the Greek peninsula during the seventh and sixth centuries is directly attributable to the colonies. The quantities of cheap grain shipped back from Sicily and South Russia greatly reduced the importance of the agriculturists at home. Cheap foreign grain forced the stay-at-home farmer into a more intensive form of agriculture, to the cultivation of olive and vine. The demands of the colonists for the familiar articles of the old home life greatly stimulated industry. Improvements in shipbuilding and increased production of naval stores were direct results of rapidly growing trade. A rising group of industrialists challenged the superiority of the land-owning capitalist. Some communities encouraged the immigration of craftsmen in order to build up their industrial output. The presence of a growing number of resident aliens was in itself a problem, and the introduction of coinage as a medium of exchange added another complication to economic life. The reaction of representative city-states to coinage is interesting. Sparta attempted to exclude the dangerous novelty by confiscating all gold and silver and by limiting official coins to iron. Athens accepted coinage and all other economic novelties. Thebes sought to control the innovations by excluding from political office those who could not prove a ten-year abstention from trade. This was the great cause of suspicion, the fear that the economic revolution would be succeeded by a political change. The political development of the city-state was indeed greatly influenced by the economic changes introduced by colonization.

The economic basis of the political power of the oligarchs has led to the assumption that economic factors were responsible for the origin of the *polis*. But other factors were present and deserve consideration. Cities were there before the northern invaders entered the Greek peninsula. Topography encouraged the establishment of small compact units. The need for defense was great. Finally, there was the sense of unity, based on kinship, and the worship of the same deities, which made possible the acceptance of civic organization.

No other period in antiquity, no other area, has presented so many plans for living well together. The infinite variety of the experiments makes generalization concerning them dangerous when it is not absurd. It is dangerous, perhaps, to accept Aristotle's statement that the city-state was a union of villages. It is absurd to speak, without reservations, of a period of oligarchic rule, or of an age of tyrants, or of the era of democracy. For there was never a time in which each form of government, once established, did not have representatives.

No matter what reason be ascribed for the origin of the *polis*, there can be little doubt that the most effective cause for political development was eco-

Relations between colonies and mother country

City-state development

Development of the polis

nomic With increase in population, there came a shortage of land So important was land that ownership of a portion was universally one of the qualifications for citizenship As the allotments diminished in size through division among sons, it became increasingly difficult to make a living Some citizens became debtors for their food, serf-tenants, others gave up their land and citizenship in order to obtain food in industrial centers, or in colonial foundations The two latter groups, the colonists and the resident alien craftsmen, were the agents of an economic revolution which directly affected the political institutions of many city-states

The geography of Greece was responsible for the most significant omission in the series of political experiments, namely, national unity Physical discontinuity had apparently developed local patriotism and a
Bonds of unity love of independence which was almost fanatical On the other hand, elements of unity were not lacking An alphabet had been developed out of numerous experiments with that of the Phoenicians, an alphabet with vowel as well as consonant signs It was used by trader and author to bind men of business to the written contract, and men of thought to common traditions Hesiod used it in his "Theogony" to remind the Greeks of national deities and national heroes Then, too, the Olympic Games in honor of Zeus were duplicated for many other national deities Smaller groups formed amphictyonies, unions to worship a local deity and to discuss the welfare of the worshippers Trade and colonization were also unifying factors in that they made the Greeks conscious of the differences between themselves and barbarians, and of the resemblances between themselves and other Hellenes But serious consideration of the possibility of a pan-Hellenic union came too late Even the ideal communities of Plato and Aristotle were city-states limited in size and in number of citizens This effective control by geography is remarkable when one considers the encouragement to union offered by language, religion, habits, and customs which were national in scope But the idea of a national state, with which we are familiar, never entered the minds of men in antiquity If the Greeks ever considered a national union, they left no written record of the thought.

Practical politics engaged the attention of the Greeks throughout the early period of city-state development It was not until the fifth century that the
Political theory in Greek letters literary record gives proof of interest in the general question of the best form of government The historian Herodotus discussed the relative merits of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy Critics and advocates, teachers and political pamphleteers filled the first half of the fourth century with their writings The *polis* was then slowly dying, and these doctors gathered round the bedside with diagnoses and prescriptions of every sort The last contribution was made by the philosophers, who, drawing heavily on the distant past, constructed their Utopias. Much of the illustrative material was taken from the experiences of Sparta

and Athens, the two most powerful, the two most widely contrasting city-states of ancient Hellas

In Sparta, the most striking example of the conquest type of *polis*, a small group of conquerors extended their rule to include the entire Eurotas valley. The conquered natives were either reduced to serfdom, tilling the soil for their masters, or were granted freedom without political rights. Helots, and perioeci, as they were called, performed all of the economic tasks of the community, thus relieving the Spartan citizen body. Archaeology (as well as what is known of their literature) has proved that the Spartans at first made use of this acquired leisure to keep pace with the rest of the Greeks in cultural development. The conquest of neighboring Messenia gave to the Spartans the relief which other states found in colonies. But soon after the Messenian wars, probably about 600 B C, cultural development ceased and Sparta became an armed camp. The Spartans of later days did not know when this change occurred. They placed it too far in the past. But they were probably correct in attributing the change to one man, to a genius, whom they called Lycurgus. The aims of this reformer were to retain for Spartan citizens and their descendants a political monopoly of the land which they then held, and to extend that monopoly to the remainder of the Peloponnesus. Efficiency through discipline was the essence of his method. The attention of the Spartans was riveted upon military strength. The results of the reforms of Lycurgus are to be found in the history of Sparta, partial success followed by complete failure. The causes of failure are not difficult to understand. The Spartan had no leisure time. He was culturally bankrupt. Economic forces ultimately swept over the artificial barriers erected to exclude them, and ruined the state which would not and could not adjust itself to new conditions. Since the military power was too weak to advance the northern boundary of Sparta, the policy of conquest was replaced by one of federation. But even the Peloponnesian League failed. It had nothing new, nothing constructive to offer, and was, at its best, a means of defense, at its worst, an agent of destruction.

The refugee city of Athens had a far more diversified story. Traces have survived of early village groupings and of inter-village strife in a pre-Athenian Attica. Theseus, the hero who, according to legend, united these villages into the city-state of Athena, was not one of those who followed Agamemnon to Troy. And yet Theseus delivered his people from the tyranny of Minos before Troy fell. Probably the number of Achaeans in Attica was small, and many of the ancestors of the Athenians were, as their descendants claimed, autochthonous, that is "sprung from the soil." Nevertheless, strangers from many places found refuge there. Tradition records the foreign origin of many of the kings, and Mycenaean finds in Attica prove that foreign wares were not excluded.

The story definitely begins with the success of this mixed group in warding

off the Dorian invaders. When that danger had been averted, the people of Athens settled down to the solution of their local problems by and for themselves. The differences between parts of the citizen body were those which develop naturally in any community. The more successful increased their power and authority at the expense of those who were less successful. The powers of the kingship held by the Medontid family had been distributed among three officers, the archon, or chief executive in time of peace, the polemarch, or military leader, and the basileus archon, or religious head. Tradition tells of the election of an archon with life tenure from the Medontid house, then of the limitation of the archonship to a ten-year rule, and, in 714 B C., of the election of the first non-Medontid archon. In 683 B C. the archonship was limited to one year. An aristocracy of birth controlled the Athenian state when tradition gave way to history. This aristocracy was a land-holding group. It exercised authority over religion, law, finance, and reserved to itself the defense of the state. Driven probably by the greater complexity of seventh-century life, the aristocracy introduced two changes in the government of the city. Six judicial officials were added to the board of archons, all of them now elected annually by and from the land-holding aristocrats. A new classification of citizens was also introduced, based on wealth and designed to increase the military strength of the state by incorporating the middle class as heavy-armed infantry.

The unexpected result of this reform was an increasing demand for privileges by the mass of unprivileged. The demand found its first expression in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a popular dictatorship. It was answered by the nobles, who assigned to Draco the task of codifying and publishing the laws. Equality before the law was an improvement, but it did not satisfy the majority. One generation after Draco a much more drastic reform program was carried out by Solon, chosen from the Medontid house to be chief archon for the year 594 B C. Solon, the aristocrat, was a remarkable man. Poet, orator, soldier, philosopher, and man of affairs, he brought to his task an exceptional wealth of experience and thought. He prepared his fellow citizens for entrance into the commercial and industrial life of the Aegean. At the same time, he tried to quiet political discontent by a distribution of governmental authority among the different groups of citizens. Some legislative powers and the right to elect the magistrates were given to the assembly, in which all free men were now included. From the assembly there was chosen, by lot, a final court of appeal from the decisions of the magistrates. The first class, or citizens of greatest wealth, retained the highest magistracies.

The constitutional reforms of Solon were efforts to maintain peace by compromise. They produced, instead, factional strife. One faction, called the party of the Coast, fought with another, the party of the Plain, until a third faction, the party of the Hills, seized control of the

state under the leadership of Peisistratus. If we may believe the picturesque account of Herodotus, Peisistratus failed as a "third-party" leader, and again as leader of a coalition. His final effort, backed by outsiders and supported by the masses of Athens, was successful. Securely entrenched as a "tyrant," resembling the American political boss in that he held no office, Peisistratus unwittingly continued the march towards democracy by equalizing the economic and political status of the citizens of Athens. The wealthy landowners were deprived of political power. Their estates were, in part, divided among tenant farmers, who now became landowners. Of equal importance to the future of Athens was the foreign policy of Peisistratus. He built on the foundations laid by Solon, encouraging production of objects of trade, opening new markets for Athenian traders, and fighting his way into a dominant position at the entrance to the Propontis. The ultimate failure of his sons to retain power brought partisan quarrels once more to Athens. But again a statesman appeared who completed the structure to which many reformers had contributed a share.

Peace had been secured by Peisistratus through his domination of all the factions. Cleisthenes secured peace by a reorganization which made factional control an impossibility. He divided the state into thirty districts, ten each of Coast, Plain, and Hill. These districts were united in ten tribes, each tribe including one district from the Coast, one from the Plain, and one from the Hill. Ambitious nobles found this new organization impervious to political manipulation. Every one saw in it the threat, or promise, of democracy. But neither attack from without nor opposition from within the state could prevent the establishment in Athens of the rule of the people.

By the year 500 B C, the Hellenic world had reached the limit of its colonial expansion. Colonist and stay-at-home were swept along in a current of commercial and industrial activity. Political readjustment was as rapid and frequently more violent in the colony than in the mother city. Above all in importance was the flood of new ideas, which excited a naturally active intellectual curiosity. There was little in life which escaped the attention and study of some Greek. Quickened by Oriental speculation, the scholars of Ionia sought to derive a formula which would explain the origin and nature of the universe. These same men, taking the astrological data of the Near East and applying pure reason to the compilations, laid the foundations for the science of astronomy. Others described the newly discovered lands. From Ionia, too, came the first expressions of individual thought and emotion, the poems of those who believed that their loves and hates were worthy of preservation in verse. At the close of the century two states stood prominently in the lead. Sparta, with her state-imposed discipline, was the great military power, head of a league which included almost all of the Peloponnesus. Athens, choosing liberty rather than disci-

*Cleisthenes and
Athenian
democracy*

*Hellas at the
close of the
sixth century*

plined as the highway to success and efficiency, was rapidly growing more wealthy and more powerful

The history of Hellas is not merely that of Sparta and of Athens. These two were extremes, exceptions. Spartan stubbornness and Athenian poverty kept them out of the main current of Hellenic life. The record of general development, however, is fragmentary. Corinth, Aegina, Chalcis, and Miletus are more truly typical city-states of the period 750-500 B C. It was they who led in industry, trade, and colonization. The Anatolian coast and the Corinthian Gulf were the great centers of commercial activity. In their progressive communities the first triremes were built, the systems of weights and measures developed. It was there that the struggle between rich and poor first brought forth champions of the people, who ruled as "tyrants." These men were patrons of art and letters, they increased the wealth and fame of their homes, and continued the intense trade rivalries, which frequently led to relentless wars. Nor were they hostile to a new religious movement, which swept through the Hellenic world. The worship of Dionysus, an emotional cult, was welcomed with enthusiasm. Even after being subdued and controlled, this new form of religion was a menace to Hellenic faith in the Olympian deities. Promising an immortality of bliss in return for a life of purity, the new cult was a permanent addition to the religious life of the Greeks. Its progress can best be studied in the accounts of the City Dionysia and the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Athenians.

This world of activity was the background of fifth-century Athens. The explanation of Athenian greatness lies here. For Athens drew heavily upon the Hellenic world, as well as upon the more remote background of the barbarian neighbors of Greece.

To the Hellenic historian, the relations between his people and those of the East had been marked by two epoch-making conflicts. "From the capture of Troy to the crossing of Xerxes" indicated the beginning and end of an era. The narrative of that era from the Greek point of view is given in the pages of Herodotus. A native of Halicarnassus, a Dorian city of southern Anatolia, Herodotus possessed the frontiersman's interest in the vast barbarian world, which lay just beyond the borders of his home. The interest was quickened by the facts that barbarians had conquered his home and that a state of war existed between Greek and barbarian for the first forty years of his life. The task which he set for himself was an inquiry into the events and causes of that struggle. His purpose was to preserve the memory of the deeds of barbarians as well as of Greeks in that conflict. Hailed as the Father of History and derided as the Father of Lies, Herodotus is today respected as one who tried to discover the truth and to make his account interesting. His History is of value to the student of economics, anthropology, the history of religion, and

General development to 500 B C

The East, 750-500 B C

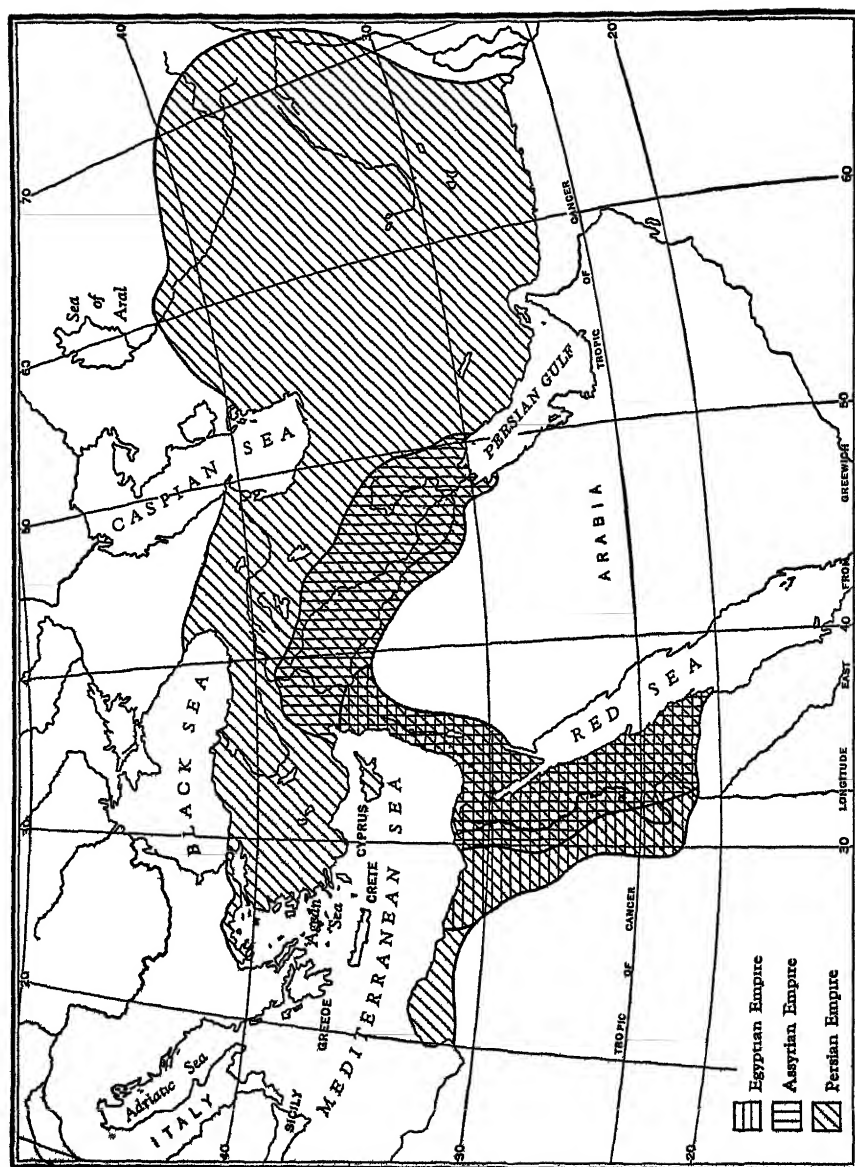
of literature, for he was writing for likeminded men of his own day. In strict pedagogical manner, Herodotus begins with his own day and the nearest neighbors of the Greeks.

A darkness similar to that brought to the Balkan peninsula by the Dorians shrouded Anatolia for centuries after the fall of the Hittite Empire. It, too, was introduced by Indo-European invaders, and in like manner the clouds were dissipated as the invaders began to accept the elements of native culture which they had failed to destroy. *Phrygia and Lydia* The feudal aristocracy established by the invaders gradually developed into a Phrygian kingdom with a half legendary Midas as monarch. A throne at Delphi was known to the ancients as the gift of the Phrygian king to Apollo. The attention of Midas, however, was directed to the East, whence he was threatened by hostile Assyrians. But it was from the north that a wave of nomads, Cimmerians, brought death to Midas and destruction to his kingdom. In the western portion of Phrygian territory arose a new kingdom, Lydia, whose king, Gyges, led his people against the Cimmerians. After the expulsion of the invaders, the Lydians began to subjugate the Asiatic Greeks. Croesus, the last of the Lydian kings, was master of all but Miletus. His attitude toward the Greeks was not that of an oppressor. In spite of a plan to build up an Aegean-sea power, Croesus was generous with his gifts to the Hellenic deities, and negotiated an alliance with Sparta. To this friendly intercourse the Greeks owed much. Their indebtedness is expressed by Herodotus, who attributes a Lydian origin to coinage, the music of the flute, and many of the refinements of life.

Croesus was also ambitious to extend the boundaries of his kingdom to the east. His predecessor had withstood an attack of an eastern horde called the Medes. Against their successors, the Persians, Croesus renewed the conflict. An initial success, however, was followed by defeat, capture, and the loss of his kingdom. The Persian conquest of Lydia was quickly completed by the annexation of the Hellenic cities along the coast. Greeks and Persians were then enemies and neighbors. Questions concerning the origin, history, and character of these Medes and Persians were answered for Herodotus, and for us, by the traditions and the historical records of the Fertile Crescent.

The year 745 B C. was the beginning of a new and terrible epoch for the eastern world, since it was then that the Assyrians renewed their aggressive imperialism. The campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser IV and his successors forcibly united many unfortunate peoples in a huge military monarchy. *The third Assyrian empire* Homage and tribute came to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, from Elam, Babylonia, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt. Nine "kings" with Hellenic names acknowledged the authority of the Assyrian monarch in Cyprus, and Gyges of Lydia sought his aid against the Cimmerians.

The policy of the Assyrians was one of utter ruthlessness. Death, slavery,



THE GROWTH OF EMPIRE, 1500 TO 500 B C

deportation, or a life of fearful misery were the usual gifts of the conquerors. But an empire based on force alone could endure only while its army was strong. It succumbed at long last to the fury of oppressed subjects and the raids of nomads more barbarous even than the Assyrians. Nineveh was captured and destroyed in 612 by a coalition of Babylonians and Medes. There were left for contemporaries, only a memory of horror, and for posterity, a record of insane ambition.

The Assyrian did not devote all his time to unjust and inhuman practices, however. Ancient Sumerian and the contemporary language of trade, the Aramaic speech of North Syria, were taught in Assyrian schools. Eight different musical instruments were used to entertain the war-lords in their moments of ease and to do honor to the gods. The hunting of wild animals and the building of roads, for which they were famous, were natural by-products of the military character of Assyrian life. Other products of leisure hours were usually nothing more than imitations of Babylonian models. If one excepts the skill of the sculptors in reproducing animals to the life, there is no reason to regret the destruction of Nineveh, a destruction so complete that its location was unknown for more than two thousand years.

The fall of Nineveh did not bring the millennium to the Fertile Crescent. An Egyptian army, strengthened with Greek and Carian mercenaries, carried the authority of the pharaoh to the banks of the Euphrates. The challenge was accepted by the Babylonians, who *From Assyrian to Persian rule* drove out the Egyptians and made themselves masters of the land bridge. The energetic Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, is remembered for his capture of Jerusalem and the deportation of the entire population of its kingdom. His building operations in Babylon were so magnificent that he, or his wife, was known as the builder of the fabulous Hanging Gardens. But neither Babylonian nor Egyptian rulers could stir their subjects to protracted effort. Future greatness was destined for the nomadic conquerors of Assyria, the Medes.

After the fall of Nineveh, the Medes pushed on directly westward to the Halys river, where they were halted by the Lydians. Of the early history of the Medes not much is known. The story of Herodotus is open to criticism, and the Assyrian references give little more *Aryan advance* than the names of tribal chieftains who have acknowledged Assyrian overlordship. It was probably Assyrian oppression that united the nomadic groups of Iran under Median leadership and gave them the strength and will to destroy Nineveh. That union was not greatly disturbed by a revolution, which shifted the commanding position from Medes to Persians. The difference was so slight that the Greeks spoke of Persian dress and customs, but called a man who accepted Persian rule, a medizer. The Hebrews solved the difficulty by speaking of the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

Out of the revolution came Cyrus, a man of energy and ability, conqueror



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GREECE IN THE DAYS OF PERICLES

and organizer, worthy to be listed among the great men of history. His conquest of Lydia and of the Hellenic cities was for him a simple task. Greater effort was involved in the capture of Babylon. *Cyrus the Great*

But his real ability was demonstrated in the organization of the new imperial possessions, for Persian rule was accepted by the conquered without question. Cyrus (died 528 B C) was hailed as a deliverer by the lesser cities of Babylonia, and he was called messiah by the Jews, since he freed them from captivity and contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. The humanity of Persian rule won over all the Babylonian conquests in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. The great king died in the course of a campaign against border tribes far to the north and east of the plateau of Iran.

But it was not to the east that the future of Persian expansion lay. The second king, Cambyses, continued the western movement begun by Cyrus, incorporating Egypt within his empire as well as the Hellenic settlements in Cyrene. Two unsuccessful campaigns into the desert angered Cambyses to the point of insulting his *Westward expansion*

Egyptian subjects and violating their gods. Further expansion was definitely halted by news of a palace revolution at home. The death of the king on his return journey did not aid the cause of the usurper, who was killed by Darius, one of Cambyses' generals and a member of the royal family. Darius fought for ten years against the rebels before he could resume the westward movement. In 512 B C, the Persians entered Europe, acquiring all of Thrace and the recognition of Persian supremacy by the king of Macedon. But Thrace could not be held permanently, nor could any advance be made along the North African shore, until the Aegean and the Greek peninsula itself were subjugated. A revolt of the Asiatic Greeks in 499 B C, supported by Athens and Eretria, emphasized the Persian need for advance to a more easily defended frontier. Expeditions of 492 and 490 B C, were but preliminaries to a mass attack. That attack was postponed by the death of Darius. It was finally launched in 480 B C by his successor, Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Old Testament.

The Persian Empire was ruled by a king whose authority was in many respects absolute. He was military leader, he assumed a position superior to that of the priesthood, and he was the sole source of law. His absolutism was checked by privileges granted to a few noble families and by the weight of public opinion as expressed by Persian advisors. Even the law of which the king was the source came to be greater than the king and had to be obeyed by him (*Daniel* 6, 8-15). Below the king were the Persian nobles, whom he used for the chief military and administrative positions in the empire. Below them were the Persian tribesmen, whose position was superior to that of the subject peoples. *Organization of the Persian Empire*

The empire was divided into districts, each of which was governed by a royal appointee, called the satrap. These districts varied in number from twenty to thirty-one, and represented administrative rather than racial divi-

sions of the empire The duties of the satraps were administrative, fiscal, and judicial They had to maintain and pay the troops stationed in their districts, although these troops were controlled by other royal officials They had the right to coin silver money and they dwelt in palaces rivaling those of their king and master It was within their power to conduct diplomatic negotiations with foreign neighbors and, in general, to assume royal powers within their domains In order to prevent revolt, an elaborate system of checks was built up by the central power The satraps were connected by marriage with the royal family The troops in their satrapies were controlled by a royal general, directly responsible to the king Royal secretaries were to be found in each court The king's Eye and Ear, a corps of traveling inspectors, was liable to descend at any moment upon the satrap and to demand of him an account of all his actions Finally, there were a number of subordinate officials who had the right to appeal directly to the king for redress of grievances These subordinate officials were sometimes native rulers, like the high priests at Jerusalem and the tyrants of the Greek city-states, or semi-independent Persians The chief duties of subjects were the payment of tribute and service in the military forces of the empire

The absolutism of Persian rule was tempered with a benevolence of exceptional breadth The assistance given to the home-coming Jews in the rebuilding of their temple is only one illustration of the religious toleration of the Persians Political toleration dictated the abolition of tyranny in the Hellenic cities after they had been subdued (499-494 B C) Payment of tribute was made easier by a broad policy of economic improvement The Red Sea and the Nile were once again united by a canal A great reservoir gave a regular water supply to an arid district The universal daric (coin of Darius) was a great asset to inter-provincial trade Roads were improved and extended in order that royal messengers and royal armies might move rapidly from one part of the empire to another High standards of justice were set and maintained for governing officials

*Imperial policy
of Persia*

The relations between the Persians and other peoples outside the Persian Empire are not known to us, with the exception of their relations with the Greeks We find that their feeling was not always hostile, that although the Persians were always looking down upon the Greeks because of their less pure religion, their lower standard of morals, and their fondness for talk, still, they recognized that the Greek intellect had many useful qualities, and that Greek individuals could be used by them to great advantage We find, for example, that the leader of an exploring expedition down the Indus River and over to the Arabian coast was a Greek; that the court physicians of the Persian kings were Greeks, that the engineers who assisted the Persian armies in their crossing of the Danube River and of the Hellespont were Greeks; that the Greek mercenaries were the most

Foreign policy

trusted non-Persian groups, and that Greek artists were employed to decorate the Persian palaces. In brief, Persian foreign policy very closely followed domestic policy in these respects. It was based on toleration, religious and political, and it sought only to obtain from both subject peoples and foreign groups, advantages, industrial and commercial, for which it was willing to make payment.

Why, then, did the Persians fail in their effort to subjugate the Greeks? The usual answer attributing the failure to racial characteristics, to forms of government, to differences in ideals, is inspiring but not scientific. The same liberty-loving Greeks fell before the attack of another autocrat, Philip of Macedon, they accepted, even invited, Persian interference and Persian guidance from about 411 B C, they put into practice a form of imperialism which made Persia's efforts seem mild and inefficient. One need not regret the successes of the Greeks at Marathon and Plataea, for they rendered possible the glories of Periclean Athens. But the political institutions of imperial Rome and of the modern imperial states are those of Persia rather than of the Greeks. Persia failed in 490 and 480 B C for good military reasons. For similar reasons she had failed consistently against the Scythians along her northern frontier. The records of antiquity do not speak of democracy, of love of liberty, or of the Occidental character of the Scythians, although these are usually given as the reasons for the victories of Greece over Persia.

The continuity and uniformity of civilized life remained powerful factors even in this period of many states and many wars. The right of one man to rule his fellow men was still generally acknowledged, and to it was added the right of one group to rule other groups. This form of union of many groups, which is called an empire, was not simply an enlarged kingdom. It was based on a feeling of superiority of the ruling *people*, as well as that of the ruling monarch. Perhaps the most interesting imperial union was the Hittite Empire, since the independent Hittite kings united by treaty (a federation) to lord it over non-Hittite groups.

Phoenician and Greek political experience followed a different direction. The kings of the city-states lost their power to small groups who established oligarchies or governments by the few. The Phoenician oligarchs were men of wealth. Rule by the wealthy is called plutarchy, or plutocracy. The Greek oligarchs, wealthy at least in land, based their right to rule on birth, and called their rule aristocracy, that is, government by the best. The final step in this development was taken by Athens, for there the rule of the few was replaced by the rule of the many, or the rule of the people, democracy. This was indeed a political innovation. Only to the Athenian did it seem a natural outgrowth of his past. Monarch and oligarch considered democracy unnatural and dangerous. One century alone was needed to prove its strength, its weakness, and its capability of combining with the apparently opposite form of government, imperialism.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK LEADERSHIP, 500-146 B C

At the close of the sixth century there were still traces of immaturity in the Greek mind. No greater evidence of this immaturity may be found than in the indifference of the Greeks to the persistent advance of the Persian imperial boundaries. The conquest of the Asiatic cities, the annexation of the colonies in Cyrene, the presence of Persian garrisons in Thrace, aroused no alarm. Local matters received the undivided attention of the Greeks in spite of the Persian menace.

Greece before the Persian attack

Sparta and Athens were but two of a great number of ambitious and prosperous cities. Corinth, with its industrial aristocracy, Thebes, ruled by its great land-owners, and Argos, bitter opponent of Sparta, were prominent on the mainland, Corcyra and Syracuse commanded respect in the West. The cities of Anatolia, leaders in thought and in the arts, had lost little of their vigor under Persian rule. All of these cities watched with great interest the remarkable development of Athens. Spartan interest had led, in 510 B C, to armed intervention, which drove out the son of the tyrant Peisistratus and restored the oligarchs to power. A second intervention, in 508 B C, put a temporary halt to the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes. Then a coalition of Sparta (with her league forces), Thebes and Chalcis was formed to stamp out, once and for all, the democratic peril, to make the Hellenic world safe for oligarchy. In a last and desperate move Cleisthenes threatened to appeal to Persia for aid. The sudden withdrawal of the Peloponnesian forces by Cleomenes, the Spartan leader, induced possibly by the threat of Cleisthenes, was fortunate for Athens. The Athenians scored a great victory over Thebes and Chalcis. A few years later, in 499 B C, the Athenians reversed their attitude towards Persia, supporting the Ionian cities in their effort to throw off Persian rule. The task was too great, but the Persian counter-attack, a strong expedition designed to replace the expelled tyrant in Athens, met with defeat on the famous field of Marathon. The ability of the Athenians to defend themselves against Greek and barbarian enemies had been demonstrated. The victory over Thebes and Chalcis had given democracy a place in the Greek sunlight. It closed a chapter of Hellenic history. The victory at Marathon, however, opened a new chapter, presented a new problem, forced the Greeks to determine their attitude toward the "king of kings."

It was by no means a united Greece which defied the Persians in their

ponderous westward movement. The influential Oracle of Apollo at Delphi advised submission, advice which was accepted by three quarters of the cities which met to worship the god. The oligarchs of Thessaly and of Thebes were medizers, sending earth and water in token of submission to the Persian king. Only thirty-one states sent representatives to discuss plans for defense at a congress held in Corinth. The western Greeks needed all of their strength to repel the invading armies of Carthage, while Corcyra cannily held to a strict neutrality. But the destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis, and the decisive defeat of the Persian army at Plataea, ended the hopes and fears of an Oriental conquest.

*Persian influence
in Greece*

The repulse of the Persians led to an outburst of gratitude to the protecting deities of Greece. Athena gained what the medizing oracle had lost, and more. The feeling of reverence was most nobly expressed in the immortal tragedies of Aeschylus. But gratitude toward the gods did not prevent the Greeks from enjoying the fruits of victory. The scars of Persian occupation were quickly covered. Trade and industry were renewed with energy. An increasing knowledge of the comforts of life led to a desire for their enjoyment. Democracy and oligarchy, now on equal terms, joined in a struggle for supremacy. In the contest democratic Athens finally wrested Greek leadership from oligarchic Sparta. For it was Athenian policy and Athenian energy that swept the Persians from the Aegean, freed the Greek cities of Anatolia, and launched an ambitious counteroffensive against the king of kings.

*Immediate results
of victory*

The alliance of the victorious Greeks took the usual form of a religious union. It was ostensibly a league of the worshippers of Apollo of Delos. The specific purpose of the Delian League was to punish the Persian king for his offenses against the gods of Greece. Xerxes was thus responsible for the formation of the league. He and his people might also claim credit for the course of its development. For the retreating Persians had left behind them an idea, the idea of imperialism, which brought power and authority, wealth and reputation to those who practiced it successfully. It was that idea which converted many Athenian patriots into ardent imperialists and which led to the transformation of Athens from leader in a league of equals to mistress of an empire. In the beginning, an Athenian had fixed the assessments of each ally in ships or in money, Athenian stewards had administered the funds, and an Athenian commanded the allied fleet. Before thirty years had elapsed the assessments had become tribute, the league funds had been transferred from Delos to Athens, and cases between citizens of league members had to be tried in Athens. The cities which attempted secession were compelled to return as Athenian subjects. The forces of the league were used against

*The Delian
League*

the Hellenic enemies of Athens, and a portion of the league funds was used to adorn the city

Many years before, when the Athenians had taken the island of Salamis, and again in 509 B C after the defeat of Chalcis, settlements of Athenian citizens in the conquered territory had been made. Each citizen had been given a *kleros*, or lot of land, and the entire settlement was called a cleruchy. The new colonists did not lose their citizenship, but no colonist could return to Athens until a son had grown up to take his place. This semi-military type of colony had been so useful in keeping peace and in relieving the city of its surplus population that the Athenians used it freely in the organization of their empire. Rebellious allies were not only forced back into the league, but were also compelled to cede some of their land to Athenian cleruchs.

*Athenian
cleruchs*

Imperialism, or the rule of many states by one, usually calls for an emperor, monarch, or dictator, one man who controls his fellow imperialists. The Athenians were the first to reconcile political equality at home with political dominance abroad. It is true that in Athens there were a large number of slaves (perhaps half the population) as well as an important group of resident aliens (perhaps three-tenths), and that admission to the charmed circle of citizens was restricted to those whose fathers and mothers were citizens (never more than forty thousand). But within that circle there was complete equality of opportunity. The assembly of adult males was the supreme legislative body. From its number fifty men from each of the ten tribes were chosen by lot to serve as a council and executive committee. The choice by lot was also used for determining all except ten of the twelve hundred or so officials. Final judicial authority was vested in a jury panel of six thousand, also chosen by lot. Election was reserved for the commission of ten *strategoi*, who served as chief executives and military leaders. Every conceivable safeguard was introduced to make supreme the will of the people gathered in assembly. It was a complete and unadulterated democracy which governed Athens in the days of her imperial greatness.

*Athens, an im-
perial democracy*

How could a group of thirty-five to forty thousand men agree upon domestic and imperial policies, even if they met ten times the thirty days scheduled for regular meetings each year? They solved the difficult problem by following leaders who gained their position by ability, and retained it by persuasion. Control of the assembly was by no means easy. The citizen body was critical, austere in its punishment of those who failed, or those whom it disliked. But the opportunity was there for great men, and there were great men ready for the opportunity. Prominent among them was Themistocles, who led the allied Greeks to victory at Salamis, who persuaded the Athenians to construct a navy second to none in the Greek world, and who vigorously promoted a

*Imperialism and
individualism*

policy of westward trade and expansion. The Athenians gladly fortified Athens at Themistocles' suggestion. They improved and fortified the harbor town, Piræus. But their disapproval of his anti-Spartan policy forced him into exile, from which he never returned. Another leader was found who combined friendship for Sparta with a hostile attitude towards Persia. It was under this leader, Cimon, that the Delian League gradually became an Athenian empire. And it was because of Spartan coolness even to her friend Cimon, that Sparta was included in the list of Athenian enemies. Cimon was ostracized, and his place was ultimately taken by the greatest of all Athenian leaders, Pericles.

Pericles (c. 495-429 B C) was an aggressive imperialist. Under him the war against Persia was continued in an effort to aid the Greek cities of Cyprus and the Egyptian rebels. Diplomacy and arms were used to gain access to the mineral districts of the Strymon valley and the grain fields north of the Black Sea. The Aegean became an Athenian lake. Alliances and conquests made Athens supreme in central Greece. Two severe checks halted this remarkable advance. A great Athenian fleet was utterly destroyed in Egyptian waters (459-54 B C) and an Athenian army routed in central Greece (447 B C). The Athenian eastern line was withdrawn to the fringe of Hellenic states on the Anatolian coast (445 B C), and her land empire given up. The next moves of Pericles were pacific. He called a pan-Hellenic Congress, to which none but Athenian subject-allies sent representatives. He sponsored a pan-Hellenic colony, Thurii, but a factional strife, in which the Dorian (oligarchic) element was victorious, caused that plan to fail. Convinced that Athens would soon be confronted with a coalition of her enemies, Pericles built up reserves, strengthened his navy, and revived the plan of Themistocles to make Athens supreme in the western Mediterranean.

In the meantime, Pericles had a manifold and well co-ordinated domestic policy. It was imperative that every citizen should assume a full share of civic and imperial duties. In order that the poor would not neglect this burden, pay for public service was introduced. It amounted only to a minimum living-wage, but accomplished its purpose. A large majority of the citizens were farmers. The other tasks essential to the life of a busy city were performed by slaves, or by the increasing group of resident aliens or metics (*metoikoi*). It was the policy of Pericles to attract these strangers to Athens, thereby strengthening the commercial and industrial groups of the city. There remained the task of filling the leisure hours of the citizens with worthwhile pursuits. Pericles' solution was democratic in that he achieved his aim, in part, by the distribution to the poor of tickets to the theater, the center of Athenian intellectual life.

The creation of an imperialistic democracy was a difficult task, brilliantly achieved. The maintenance of that empire presented greater problems. It

demanded, in particular, a justification other than the right of might This justification Pericles sought in intellectual superiority Under
The education of the Athenians his guidance the Athenians became the most highly educated group in Greece

In their attitude towards the gods, the Athenians, like all other Greeks, combined devotion with liberalism The gods of old were remembered in
In religion Athens as in all Greece The ethical content of the old beliefs had been increased, and men approached the divine family of Olympus as children come to stern but just parents The Athenians tolerated many new gods as well Dionysus was a resident of long standing and was worshipped both in the city and in the countryside The metics, Greek and barbarian, had brought their gods with them Pericles even attempted to extend the boundaries of toleration so as to include agnostics and sceptics At the same time he encouraged devotion by giving to religious buildings and religious ceremonies an awe-inspiring beauty The annual festival in honor of Dionysus, the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, but above all the quadrennial Panathenaia, attracted many strangers Athens became the haven of the unorthodox and the goal of the devotee It was the chief religious center of Greece

The masterpieces of architecture and sculpture, which crowned the Acropolis, were dedicated to the gods They were also object lessons in art, unsurpassed models for a lifelong course in art appreciation
In art The Acropolis was an essential part of the university which Pericles meant to make his beloved Athens Imperial funds contributed to its construction, citizens and metics put their hearts into its buildings All of the artistic ideas of Hellas were combined in a synthesis of beauty for its adornment The influence of the Acropolis was manifest in the minor arts, in sepulchral monuments, in vase painting, and in the later attempts to make whole cities beautiful through scientific and artistic town-planning Clarity, simplicity, and perfection in detail were the ideals realized in metal, marble, and clay Chief credit is assigned to Pheidias, who was at once worker, teacher and director extraordinary

The same ideals governed the writers of poetry and prose in fifth-century Athens. The natural intellectual curiosity of the Athenians, increased by the wealth of information available in the busiest city of Greece,
In literature drew men of ideas from all parts of the Mediterranean The Athenian audience was also critical, insisting upon high quality in the words of those who addressed it Clarity and simplicity were the fundamentals of an art which was still transmitted orally There were at most only a few copies of the written word, no book stores, no libraries Prose and poetry alike were recited to groups of listeners, who demanded excellence in form and in content.

Public speaking was stressed in the education of a democracy which held

that each citizen must seek redress or defend himself in person before juries of his peers. Political success was dependent upon oratorical skill. The growing interest in the art of speech accounts for the popularity of Protagoras, lecturer on good citizenship, and of Gorgias, teacher of rhetoric. Interest in man extended beyond the law court and the assembly. Not many, it is true, were attracted by the speculations of Anaxagoras about the origin of the universe and the nature of its parts. Possibly only a few were aware of the discoveries of the great physician, Hippocrates (460-377 B C). But the descriptions of barbarian neighbors, of men dwelling on the remote fringes of civilization, and of their own ancestors—these the contributions of Herodotus—were popular. The greatest interest was reserved for tragedy and comedy.

Drama alone preserved the older literary form of verse. Its rapid development in Periclean Athens was in form rather than in content. The beauties of epic, lyric, and choral types were combined and perfected in tragedy, just as Doric and Ionic were joined in the Attic style of architecture. Both were fundamentally conservative, and both were dedicated to the gods. The nearest approach to perfection in form was in the tragedies of Sophocles. These still expressed a profound belief in the gods, and although the characters were treated sympathetically and with a deep understanding, there appeared no criticism of the gods, nor any doubt of the validity of divine judgment.

The conservatism of comedy was much more aggressive. New ideas, new leaders, were ridiculed unmercifully and the old customs strongly upheld. Comedy expressed the views of a large, inarticulate group, the agricultural class. Tolerant in many respects, the farmer disliked extreme change. His most famous spokesman, Aristophanes, flourished at the very close of the period. But the power of his dramatic satire can be seen in the reaction to some of the advanced ideas and practices of Pericles. Impiety and impropriety were the successful charges which led to the fining of Pheidias, the banishment of Anaxagoras and the persecution of Aspasia, foreigner and wife of Pericles.

The economic foundations of Periclean Athens are noteworthy because of the differences between Athenians and moderns in theory and practice. The Hellenic saying, "Nothing in excess," applied both to work and to wealth. The Athenians were contented with *Economic life* little, and bent their minds to wiser spending rather than to greater earning-power. Socrates voiced a general opinion when he said, "We work that we may have leisure." Accumulation of wealth by an individual was a result of accident and incident rather than design. Manual labor, except that of the farm, was considered menial. Almost all of the business activities, therefore, were assigned to slaves or left to metics. It should not be inferred from this that the Athenians were lazy. Three hundred court days each year, with full

calendars, kept the six thousand jurors busy. Some twelve hundred others were devoting their time to the duties of magistracy. Military service was demanded of all able-bodied men and was needed for imperial defense. Life on the farm was not easy, but it was on their farms that a majority of Athenian citizens lived, in the days of Pericles.

A list of the occupations in which the metics dominated is all-inclusive. The building trades, all phases of the clothing industry, textiles, ceramics and metal work, retailing, manufacturing, the importing business, shipping, and banking were in their hands. Their contribution to the arts was considerable. The names of the most famous vase painters were those of metics. They held their own with citizens in sculpture. The greatest painters were metics, and the greatest of all town planners was not an Athenian citizen. Sophists and speech writers, orators and philosophers, astronomers and physicians were, in many instances, men from abroad.

There was no sharp line between public and private economics. The wealth of her citizens and residents was the wealth of Athens. The general opposition to a personal tax or to a regular property-tax was based on a feeling that these were beneath the dignity of a citizen. Metics and slaves paid a poll tax. All men submitted to indirect taxes, tolls, harbors dues, market duties, and a tax on sales. A large revenue came from the state-owned mines which were leased to private contractors, as were other bits of state property. The tribute from imperial subjects furnished probably the largest item of revenue, but many tasks, which we should consider public works, were undertaken by wealthy private individuals. Since the prevailing sentiment was that wealth like life itself, was something that the state might demand at any time, request and response were made as a matter of course. These tasks, called liturgies, included superintendence and maintenance of the civic athletic grounds, feasts and other celebrations in honor of the gods, equipment and command of a trireme, or man-of-war. The last named could be performed only by a citizen, but metics might and did perform the other liturgies. Modern economists smile over this primitive method of balancing the civic budget, this confusion of mine and the state's. The method was at least tolerable, for it persisted for many centuries.

There were other primitive elements in Athenian economic life. Free men ordinarily worked only while working was a pleasure. There was little competition among craftsmen. Prices were fixed by custom rather than by supply or demand. There were a few men of great wealth and only the beginnings of a credit system. "Beautiful temples but no sewers" is a valid criticism, especially to those who benefit from the latter.

But in spite of unhygienic conditions, Athens was a flourishing city. Speedy settlement of legal disputes in the Athenian courts, accuracy of weights and measures, well-policed and well-regulated markets, a large array of manufactured articles, a strong demand for the raw materials of

the north and the rare objects of art from the east and south — all of these brought traders, and made Athens the economic heart of the Aegean

Economic, political and cultural factors were so closely interwoven in Athenian life that it is impossible to assign leadership to any one of them. Nor can the respective shares of Pericles and of Athens in this eternal glory that was Greece be estimated. It is impossible to imagine Pericles in any other environment than that of Athens. They were fitted one for the other. On the other hand, weaknesses may be observed both in the leader and in his followers. Athens was ready to be "the school of all Hellas," but few of the pupils were willing to attend school. The Athenians themselves had been educated to the point where "thought broke free," but they were unprepared to withstand the explosive results of that liberation. Finally, intellectual superiority as a basis for imperialism was challenged. There was no substitute in Periclean organization for the one desideratum of the Greeks, political freedom. The only reply of Pericles to the demand for freedom was a return to the use of force.

*The contribution
of Pericles*

Thucydides, the contemporary historian of the struggle between the Athenian Empire and the Peloponnesian League, states the causes of the war in political terms. He stresses the general love of independence and the rivalry between democratic Athens and oligarchic Sparta. Economic and cultural differences have been emphasized by later writers. Thus, the trade rivalry of Athens and Megara, or of Athens and Corinth, the "fear (in Sparta) of the Athenians and their increasing power," and the fear, in Athens, of the conservative element and its increasing power, are given as important causes. Megara and Corinth were threatened with the destruction of their commerce and industry. Sparta, too, felt the pressure, of Athenian commercial expansion, since it was threatening her economic isolation and her system of life based upon isolation. Her generals had been corrupted by Persian gold and luxuries. Her citizen-body would soon be corrupted by the prosperity, the comforts of life, and the abundant leisure of which the Athenians boasted. There were, then, economic differences sufficient in themselves to cause a war. To them may be added cultural differences, differences in ideas and ideals. The Spartan ideals may be gathered from their actions, the Athenian ideals were presented in the famous funeral speech of Pericles. The phrases used to describe them, "Efficiency through discipline" and "Efficiency through freedom," have the merit of showing that both states sought the same end, though the means used were radically different. Both were trying to maintain a government in which the proper relation between the state and the individual would be secured. Sparta proposed to destroy individualism, to make every citizen like every other citizen, and to control every act and thought of man, woman, and child. Athens encouraged individualism, applauded and rewarded special ability and skill, and asked only that each citizen serve the state when

*The Pelopon-
nesian War*

the state needed service. There were, of course, Athenians who preferred discipline to freedom, just as there were Spartans who hated discipline and longed for freedom. But in 435 B.C. these dissenters were neither powerful nor dangerous in either state. Granting that the immediate incentives to war were economic, the profound differences of every sort made conflict inevitable.

As an exhibition of military or naval skill, the war was a failure. After ten years of fighting, peace was agreed upon by Athens and Sparta. But the failure to consider the economic differences between Athens and the allies of Sparta led to a renewal of fighting. The effort of Athens to capture Syracuse and dominate the West brought Sparta back into the war. Athenian failure in the Sicilian expedition was a severe but not irreparable loss. But it was followed by the active intervention of Persia on the side of Sparta. This third and international phase brought in forces with which Athens was unable to cope, and, in 404 B.C., the proud city of Athens surrendered.

Divisions of the war

In many respects the war aims of the victors were not realized. The dream of freedom was rudely shattered by Sparta. Athenian imperialism was succeeded almost at once by a Spartan imperialism, which brought more burdens and fewer compensations to the subjects. Again, Athenian trade and commerce were not utterly destroyed, nor was democracy annihilated.

Results of the war

The democratic idea had spread, bringing with it civil strife. This *stasis*, or civil war, had ruined many a city which would have been untouched by the original conflict. Athens did not escape and was for a time ruled by the oligarchic faction. War for the sake of political principles became habitual. To the weakness of civil war was added the harmful intrusion of non-Hellenic forces. Persia achieved a dominant position in Hellenic politics, while Carthage gradually acquired one city after another in Sicily.

Spartan rule was too drastic and too realistic to be tolerated for long. It was applied to friend and foe alike. An attempt was made to wrest from the Persian king the Asiatic Hellenic cities which had been allotted to him as the price of intervention. A strange coalition of Argos, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, aided by Persian gold, checked the Spartans and forced them to sue for peace. The document which brought at least a temporary end to hostilities, was called the King's Peace. It asserted the right of the Persian king to rule the Greeks of Asia Minor, and threatened with punishment any island or mainland city which might venture to take up arms. Sparta, as a sort of sergeant-at-arms under this peace, renewed her efforts to control the Greek states by force. The Spartan program, too negative to be long successful, included suppression of democratic groups and opposition to various attempts at federation. But the King's Peace and Sparta's strength were both mirages. Spartan character had been undermined by the fortunes which her victorious generals had

Spartan Hegemony

amassed and by the very exercise of authority over fellow Greeks Restrictive laws had been repealed Spartan land had gradually come into the hands of a few (men and women), who controlled the state and refused to permit the reforms that might have made Spartan hegemony possible The challenge to Spartan supremacy came from two sources, from a diplomatic democracy working on the sea, and a militant democracy working on land

Thebes had recovered from the stigma of medism and had steadily resisted the efforts of Athens to establish a land empire in Central Greece After the close of the Peloponnesian War, most of Boeotia had submitted to Theban leadership Although Thebes was strongly *Theban imperialism* oligarchic, her success in federation aroused the suspicion of the Spartans The presence of a Spartan garrison in the citadel of Thebes produced a democratic revolution Led by a skilful statesman and a brilliant general, the Thebans regained their liberty and prepared for the inevitable conflict with Sparta An alliance between Thebes and Athens restrained the Spartans for some years Another alliance with Jason, tyrant of Thessalian Pherae, is significant, since it marks the entrance of the backward northern states of the peninsula into Hellenic politics But without help from Athens, or from Thessaly, Thebes inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra in 371 B C The result was a revival of democratic hopes, especially in the Peloponnesian cities, and a renewal of the terrible *stasis* Active support of this movement by Thebes so weakened Spartan prestige and authority, that the king of Persia quickly recognized the new power as his representative in Greece But the ambitions of the Thebans were too great for their strength To the suppression of Sparta were added attempts to extend authority into Thessaly, from which an assassin's hand had removed Jason, and into Macedon The sea power of Athens was also challenged The loss of her statesman, Pelopidas, and of her general, Epaminondas, was irreparable, even though a second defeat was inflicted upon the Spartan army in 362 Theban hegemony evaporated as had Spartan, leaving no monuments, no results

Athens had been saved from utter destruction in 404 B C by the Spartans, who hoped thereby to retain a balance of power in Central Greece Athens, however, joined the coalition against Sparta in 395 B C, and with Persian assistance rebuilt the walls which her enemies *Second Athenian Empire* had so joyfully destroyed Renewed hope led to some premature attempts to establish a second empire But the influence of a moderate group in the city prevailed and federation was substituted for imperialism An invitation was extended to the independent states of Greece, that is, those not subject to the King of Persia, to unite for the purpose of compelling Sparta to observe the terms of the King's Peace Chios, the first state to unite with Athens (377), was followed by some seventy others before the end of 375 B.C. The welcome accorded to the new venture was proof of the

belief in the sincerity of Athens and the general desire for a permanent peace. The league was a union of equals. It put an end to Spartan aggression, accomplishing its purpose without threatening local independence. But this success brought out the essential weaknesses of the organization. With the Spartan menace controlled, voluntary contributions to the federal treasury diminished. The withdrawal of Thebes was a serious blow. Athens, too poor to carry on unaided, unsuccessfully sought new allies to replace the old. She resorted, finally, to the practice of coercion. The results were the end of the league and the exhaustion of Athens.

This second failure of Athens left the entire Greek world exhausted and without a plan for recovery. An unstable peace was maintained by hostile groups in Greece. The anti-Spartan cities of the Peloponnesus looked to Thebes for guidance. In central Greece power was divided between Thebes and Athens. Rural aristocrats and urban tyrants divided Thessaly, while in the Chalcidice the rivals were Athens and Olynthus. The barbarian kingdom of Macedon was just emerging from the usual war of succession following the death of a monarch. In the west a similar political chaos prevailed, Hellenes and barbarians fighting among themselves and with one another. The only promise of strength, the only threat to Hellenic freedom, lay in Caria. There, the local dynast, Mausolus, had checkmated the Athenians and was preparing the way for an Aegean empire, when death overtook him in 353 B.C. Beyond Caria was the Persian empire, a helpless, enervated giant.

The story of Persia is one of almost steady decline. The defeat at Plataea was the beginning of a period of stagnation. Internal history is reflected in the story of Esther. Xerxes, assassinated in 465 B.C., was succeeded by Artaxerxes, who blundered through harem intrigues and revolts to domestic peace. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah give a picture of a portion of his empire. On the frontiers Artaxerxes regained Egypt in spite of the Athenians, and finally compelled Pericles to make a peace, which reduced the Athenian sphere of influence to the Greek cities on the Anatolian coast of the Aegean. Persia remained neutral in the Peloponnesian War until 424 B.C., when Darius II, successor of Artaxerxes, demanded tribute of the Ionian cities, and in 412 B.C. joined Sparta against Athens. His younger son, Cyrus, was given complete control of the west in order to consolidate Persian power. It was he who inflicted the final defeats on Athens. But he is better known for his revolt in 401 B.C. against his older brother Artaxerxes III. Accompanied by a large force of Greek mercenaries, Cyrus marched to the east, crossed the Euphrates and met the royal army at Cunaxa. The Greeks defeated their opponents, but without ultimate success, for when they returned to the field of battle they found their Asiatic allies defeated and their employer killed. The dramatic story of their march up to Cunaxa, the "Anabasis," and the more dramatic

account of their return, the "Katabasis," were told by one of their leaders, Xenophon the Athenian. The Retreat of the Ten Thousand was most important as a demonstration of Persian military weakness.

Persian authority, however, was retained by her unlimited wealth and the power which that wealth could buy. It was used to resuscitate Athens, to humble Sparta, and to secure for Persia the position indicated in the King's Peace of 387 B C. For the next fifty years Persian money invested in Greek mercenaries kept the empire intact and maintained Persia as the dominant power in Greek politics. It is customary to attribute the escape from that power to military success. But victory in battle was preceded by a revolution in Hellenic thought.

The Peloponnesian and succeeding wars inflicted great losses upon the Greeks. Greatest among them was the loss of faith, faith in the gods, in the city of one's birth, and in one's fellow citizens. The successes of preceding centuries had been based on the unswerving *Changes from 450 to 350 B C* loyalty to one's city. In 350 B C, patriotism was a rare virtue, self-preservation and self-advancement were the rule. The development of individualism had been slow but constant. As early as 450 B C some men had commenced to question the right of the city to demand so much, and to doubt the value to the citizen of offering his time, his wealth, and his talents so completely to the *polis*. These lecturers and teachers, the sophists, began to suggest new standards and to criticize the old ones. Some of them found errors in the city's laws and insisted that there was a superior law, a law of nature. A few boldly asserted that justice and equity were unnatural, that the only right recognized by nature was the right of might. The ensuing general discussion of the best form of government increased the number of those who substituted for loyalty to the state, loyalty to a political principle. A staunch old oligarch described the democracy of Athens as a government by rogues, paupers, and base men. Even in the states where civil war had been avoided, oligarchic clubs were formed, bound by oath to harm the people, or democratic clubs with the ideal of a share to every citizen.

Discussion invariably was limited to the reform of the sovereign, independent city-state. The efforts to replace independence with inter-dependence in amphictyonies, leagues, and empires had failed, and even the philosophers considered the city-state as the only form worthy of study. Plato (427-437 B C) and Aristotle (384-322 B C.) both looked to the past for the model of their ideal state, and found it in Sparta. They retained the limitation in size, the complete independence of the *polis*, and the complete subservience of citizen to state.

The critics were frequently punished, but destructive criticism continued. Mercenary soldiers (their number was estimated at fifty per cent of the male population in 380 B C) would return to their homes and describe laws and customs of other cities and peoples. Many of these they thought superior to

laws and customs of their own cities. Scholars and literary men travelled widely and spread ideas of intellectual brotherhood, of friendship with men of other cities and countries stronger than the friendship for fellow citizens. The individual finally came to believe that he was the one to decide what his life should be. His ideal state was one that would offer the greatest opportunity for self-realization.

The growth of individualism can be seen in literature, art, philosophic and religious thought. Among the first to sound the individualistic note in literature was Euripides, the writer of tragedy. He was the champion of the underdog. In his "Medea" he presented the case of the despised barbarian and the unprivileged woman. He condemned the Athenians for their unwarranted destruction of the people of Melos, and he dared attack Apollo for an unjust act. After his death no great writer of tragedy appeared. Public interest then shifted from the play itself to the leading actor and his interpretation. The change in comedy is noticeable in the later plays of Aristophanes, in which he abandons political satire for a description of social types. History became decidedly individualistic in tone. Xenophon's "Anabasis" is autobiographical, his "Education of Cyrus" a biographical essay, his "Memorabilia" recollections of his friend and teacher Socrates. The tendency towards specialization in prose is also found in Xenophon: the "Oeconomicus" is a guide to the managing ownership of a landed estate, the "Cynegeticus" a treatise on the gentlemanly art of hunting. This specialization in literature was encouraged by the introduction of papyrus as a writing material, which made possible many copies of a single work, an active book trade, and a reading public as wide as the Greek world. Thanks to the great orators of Athens and to the constant interchange of goods, the Attic dialect had become the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean and Near East. Thus, the appeal of Hellenic literature was universal as well as individual.

The same characteristics may be ascribed to Hellenic art. The artists of the period no longer worked exclusively for church and state. The Mausoleum, masterpiece of the century, was dynastic, not civic art. The sculptured tombstones were secular, not religious in character. Painter and sculptor became home decorators for wealthy patrons. The reproduction of reality and of emotion in marble or bronze was an innovation.

Natural philosophy had been laughed out of existence by the sceptics. Among the sophists who succeeded them, was one, Gorgias, who maintained that there was no such thing as truth; that if there were, it could not be expressed, and that, if expressed, it could not be understood. The reply to this nihilist was made by Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.), who asserted that truth and wisdom did exist, and that it was humanly possible to ascertain at least a part of them. In conformity with the trend of his time, Socrates confined himself to search for that which was true, right, and good in human conduct.

Openly and sincerely a lover of his city, Socrates upheld a doctrine that was bound to destroy it. Theoretically, there can be no dispute between the ideal state and the wise man. But an Athenian jury felt justified in condemning Socrates to death for corrupting the youth. One of his pupils was largely responsible for the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Another almost ruined Athenian democracy. A third, Xenophon, preferred exile to the performance of his civic duties. A fourth pupil, Plato, retired to private life, where he tried valiantly to achieve a rational compromise between civic loyalty and individual freedom. Other men, less gifted intellectually, satisfied their craving for freedom in the promise of a future life of complete happiness.

In spite of war, in spite of economic distress and of party struggles, many an individual of the year 350 B C. was enjoying a much broader life than he could have even in the Athens of Pericles. He found artists who were willing to make his home more beautiful, craftsmen and merchants who could make it comfortable, guests who had time to enjoy his home with him, authors who described for him the private lives of other men, philosophers who taught him how to live a good and happy life, religious teachers who brought him the hope of immortality. Slowly but certainly these men thought their way through to a new type of state in which they might enjoy more thoroughly the hints and promises of the age of transition. They hoped for a larger state, ruled by a benevolent and wise monarch who would give peace, prosperity, and justice to his subjects.

An immediate and more practical solution of the political problems of the Greeks had been offered by political pamphleteers. If the Greeks must fight, said they, why could they not fight a common enemy? If poverty compelled men to leave home, why not select the land of a weak but wealthy barbarian? A war with Persia was the solution. The unity demanded for this war need not be permanent. It appealed, therefore, to all groups, to conservative and liberal, to democrat and oligarch, to rich and poor. The selection of a leader defeated the plan time after time, for every one wished to lead, none wished to follow. It was obvious, in 350, that, if unity was to come to Greece, it must be imposed by some external authority.

The name of Philip II of Macedon had been suggested by Isocrates, most influential of the political writers of the period, as a suitable leader of the Greeks against Persia. In 359 B C., Philip had acquired control of Macedon. He had observed Hellenic political and military organization during the years he was held as a *The rise of Macedon* hostage in Thebes. To the Greeks he was the barbarian king of hunting, drinking, fighting, barbarian subjects. Much to their surprise, he proved to be an organizer and leader of troops, a subtle diplomat, and an effective administrator. Within five years he had crushed revolts of Paeonian and Illyrian vassals, extended his sway over parts of Thrace, allied himself to the king of Epirus, and outwitted the diplomats of Athens. The occupation of

Thessaly by Philip brought home to the Greeks the threat and promise of Macedon. The highly centralized monarchy threatened the liberty of the independent city-states, even though it promised an end of civil strife and of war among the cities. For fifteen years (352-338 B C) the advocates of liberty struggled in vain against the power and skill of Philip. Their failure is in part attributable to the political rivalries, the losses in wealth and population, and the decline in Hellenic morals and morale. But liberty, in and for itself, had lost its charm as a cause for which to fight and die. The most telling arguments of the great Athenian orator, Demosthenes, were those that asserted the right of Athens to dominate other Greeks, to maintain her empire. The victory of Philip in 338 B C was not so much the sudden destruction of Greek liberty by an outsider, as it was the termination of a century-old struggle for Greek unity through the dominance of a single power. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had failed, Philip had succeeded. His plan for the future had precedent. It was the resumption of the original aim of the first Delian League — the punishment of Persia for offenses against the gods of Hellas. It was to be undertaken by a United States of Greece, of which Philip was the president. The plan was successful, in spite of Philip's assassination, because of the greatness of his son, the young Alexander.

Few men deserving the title "Great" have been born in surroundings better suited to the display of their talents. Political, social, economic, and cultural developments in Hellas had laid the foundations for the broader Hellenism which Alexander carried to the Indus River. The physical strength of Macedon and the intellectual strength of Hellas awaited the combining and guiding power of one man. The East had long been preparing for a new master. And yet the magnitude of his achievements conceals the significance, even the existence, of the forerunners of Alexander.

Similarly, the growth of legend concerning this remarkable youth obscured his true personality so quickly that even contemporaries combined fact and fiction in their accounts of him. These records, known to us only in the biographies of later centuries, picture him as either madman or genius. Modern studies, no matter how scientific, cannot avoid the emotional tone which brands him as the villain, or hails him as the hero, of his generation. His ability to think rapidly and clearly was equal to that of his father, his pride and emotional instability came, perhaps, from his mother. An extraordinary intellectual curiosity was quickened and broadened by his tutor, Aristotle (384-322 B C). Of practical experience in war or administration he could have had but little, since he was less than twenty when his father was killed. And yet, within thirteen years, he destroyed much that was old, and revised or created institutions that remained unchanged for centuries.

The problems first confronting Alexander were those of the absolute

monarch There were other claimants to the throne, for the Macedonian monarchy was elective These claimants Alexander quickly eliminated A public appearance in the recently conquered *Alexander in Europe* Hellas gained him succession to his father as the leader of the united Greek states A spring campaign against the rebellious Thracians carried him beyond the Danube The rumor of his death in that distant campaign encouraged the Greeks to revolt His absence alone was excuse enough for the Illyrian subjects to seek independence A brilliant campaign against the Illyrians was followed, in fifteen days, by Alexander's presence at Thebes The city was captured and destroyed The other states submitted There was no time, probably no desire, to punish them, since Alexander wished to complete his father's design of an attack upon the Persian Empire

No trace of insanity has been discovered in the actions of Alexander up to this point But the approach to Asia, a duplicate of that made by his reputed ancestor, Achilles, has been explained in widely different terms Were the journey to Troy and the sacrifices in honor *Alexander in Asia* of his ancestor, Achilles, which followed, proofs of insanity, of overweening pride, or acts to kindle the imagination of the Greeks, arousing enthusiasm for this second Trojan War? Probably the last, since the Hellenic cities had given only the minimum of support to Alexander It is certain that the first part of his Asiatic campaign was wisely planned A Persian force gathered to stop him was defeated at the Granicus The rest of the year was devoted to the occupation of the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor, possible centers of revolt and naval bases for the fleets of Persia The defeat of the Persian army, led by its king at Issus, did not divert the Macedonian from his first plan He continued his march south from Cilicia through Phoenicia to Egypt, and completed the task of clearing the Mediterranean of Persian ships and Persian influence In an exchange of communications with his Persian opponent after the battle of Issus, Alexander denied to his rival the status of an equal, and asserted his own right to rule the entire empire It was a claim made good in Phoenicia, in Palestine, and in Egypt

Although the men of Tyre and of Gaza fought against him, Alexander was generally hailed as a liberator The Egyptians accepted him as their legitimate ruler, a true son of the sun A subsequent visit to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the distant oasis of Siwah will *Alexander in Egypt* always remain a mystery No official report of that private interview was ever made But the widely circulated rumor that Alexander was addressed as the son of Zeus had a greater influence in Hellas than in Egypt What pleased the Egyptians was the foundation of a city named Alexandria in honor of their new god-king

One more defeat, at Arbela, proved to the Persians that Alexander was their master The original war-aims had been achieved A spectacular demon-

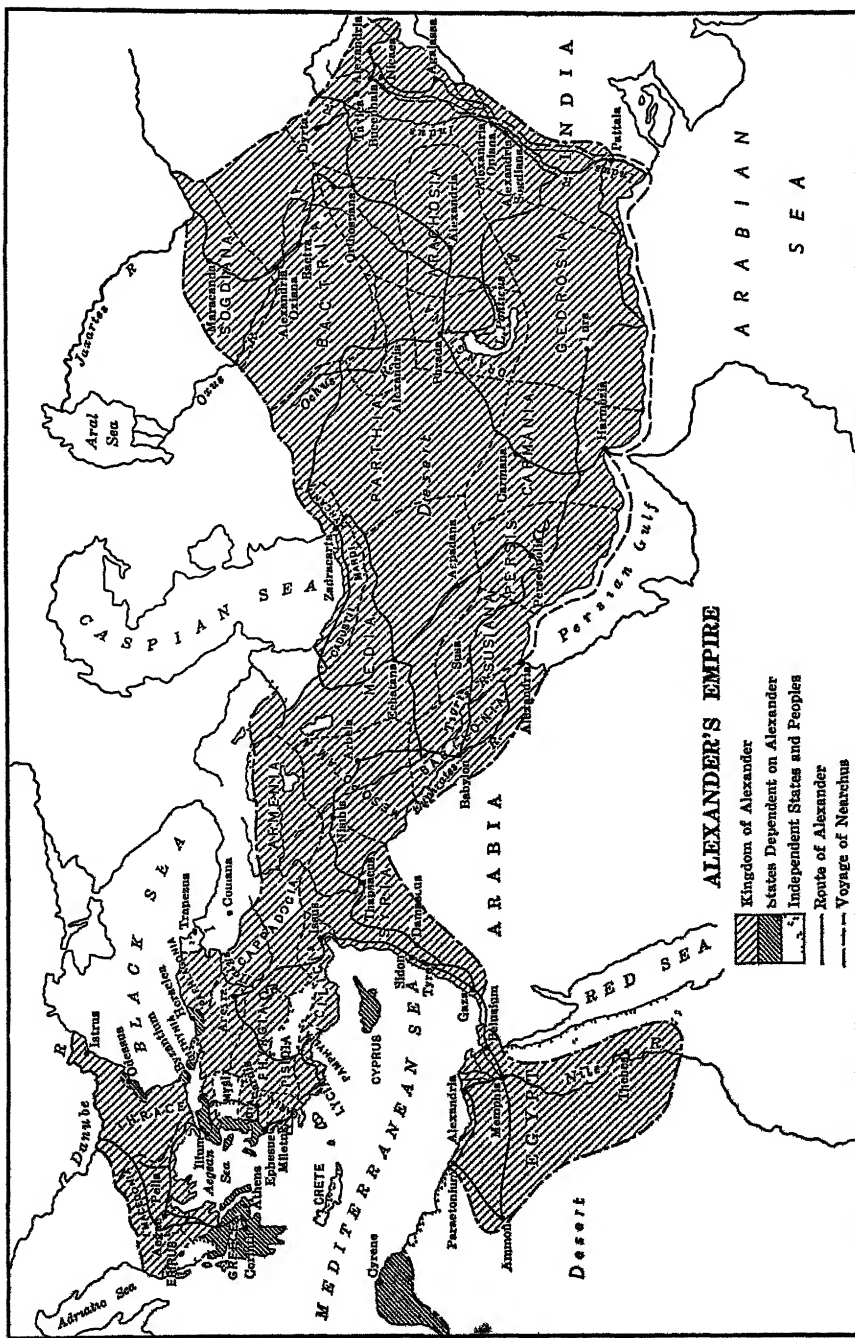
stration of this fact was given by the destruction of Xerxes' palace. It was followed by the discharge of Alexander's Hellenic allies, who were given the alternative of going home or of joining Alexander in a new venture. For five years he pursued rebellious subjects, quieted the restless nomads of the northeast, and forced a powerful king of the Indus valley to become his ally. A mutiny of his weary troops put an end to the forward movement. Alexander led them back to Mesopotamia. There he devoted himself to the organization of his conquests, a task from which death removed him in the summer of 323 B C.

*Conquest and
expansion of the
Persian Empire*

Alexander, it is said, was the first to give reality to the idea of world empire. The statement requires analysis. In the first place, the word, "world," should be defined. To Herodotus, probably the greatest traveler of the fifth century, the world was much smaller than the world of today. Reaching from the Atlantic to India, from the Baltic Sea to the Niger, it was not a large area, nor was it well known even within these limits. Geographers, discoverers, and explorers had done little in the period between Herodotus and Alexander to extend the boundaries of geographical knowledge. Philosophers, it is true, had imagined other lands and other peoples, but to kings and statesmen the world was limited to areas in the west, which had been seen by Carthaginians or Greeks, and to areas in the east, which had been reached by the Persians. The idea of unifying the civilized world, the *oikumene*, had never found expression among the Greeks. To Athenians, in the most brilliant days of their success, world empire was an idea beyond the reach even of dreams. Pericles had tried to unite Central Hellas but had failed. His plan of overseas empire did not include the non-Hellenic people of Asia Minor, or of South Russia, or of Egypt. In the western Mediterranean it was only the Greeks whom he wished to make subject to Athens. Even in his plan for a peaceful federation, no barbarian had a place. It was to be a pan-Hellenic union. Evidence from the Near East, however, indicates that the idea of world empire was old. More boastful than true were the words of Lugal-Zaggisi (2800 B C), who "subdued all from the rising to the setting sun, from the lower sea to the upper sea." More pride than fact was reflected in the title of Naram Sin (2700 B C), "King of the Four Quarters." Assyrians and Persians, however, had sought to make these claims real, and the title, "King of kings," was not unjustly assumed by the Persian monarchs. Darius the Great was not far from world empire. The accomplishment of Alexander, then, was not so much the discovery and application of new ideas, as the use and expansion of ideas that had long been current.

*Alexander and
world empire*

The ruler of the empire was a god-king. Alexander was not the first to assume that position. Egypt had been ruled by god-kings for over three thousand years. Oriental states had not deified their kings, but had placed them far above all other human beings, above the law and close to deity.



Even the Greeks had offered divine honors to victorious generals (Brasidas, Lysander), and their philosophers had discussed the possible existence of a man born to rule others, an "archic" man. Alexander claimed all of these titles *Organization of world empire*

This archic man, superhuman ruler, and god-king divided his earthly realm into convenient administrative districts. Within the districts he made few changes. The boundaries were old ones, the forms of government remained unchanged, — kingdoms, theocracies, oligarchies or democracies, the religions were unaltered, local law unchanged. All of this was Persian practice. It was oriental imperialism applied to a larger area than the realm of Darius.

One of Alexander's noteworthy accomplishments was the foundation of numerous Hellenic cities in the Oriental part of his empire. The system of colonization used in those cities was new in method and motive. Hellenic colonies had been sent out by cities and under city auspices. Their destination had perhaps been suggested by the Delphic Oracle. They were ordinarily politically independent of the mother city. The colonists of Alexander's foundations came from any and all parts of the Hellenic world. They were under Alexander's supervision from the beginning. This was a directed and controlled colonization with no precedent in Hellenic experience, unless it be found in the Athenian cleruchy. There were marked differences, moreover, between these two types, none of them so striking as the difference in motive. Athenian cleruchies were founded primarily for military reasons. A new motive lay behind Alexander's foundations, if we may trust tradition and modern opinion. It was his hope that these cities would be fusion centers, that in them East and West would mingle and, in the end, become one. It is possible that fusion was the result of Alexander's action without being his conscious aim, that he wished merely to take advantage of the administrative experience of his Hellenic subjects. *City foundations*

The attempts to hasten fusion through wholesale intermarriage and incorporation of Persian troops in the army, were not successful. But the indirect encouragement of amalgamation bore fruit after Alexander's death. A uniform silver-coinage, based on Attic standards, stimulated the interchange of goods. Along the channels of trade flowed an increasing stream of ideas, which, in the end, not only Hellenized the East, but also Orientalized the West. The economic and cultural union of East and West, that is, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, lasted for nine centuries. *Other indications of fusion*

Opinion concerning the significance of Alexander's accomplishment frequently reflects opinion concerning Alexander the individual. If, as some believe, he was a madman, his contribution to world civilization can not have been great. If, as others are certain, he was a genius, his work must have

been extremely valuable. A saner estimate may be made if consideration is limited to those plans of Alexander which were accepted and developed by his successors. No one has credited them with genius, or accused them of insanity. The generals, administrators, and statesmen of Alexander's generation were practical men. They accepted a strange environment and adjusted themselves in business-like fashion to a new situation. There was not a new world created by their youthful leader, but it was a changed world, a world changed by the conquests of Alexander the Great.

During the years 323 to 281 B.C. the successors of Alexander tested every part of the political structure which he had built. Many parts were rejected, many were accepted. The resulting structure, Hellenistic monarchy, is worthy of study not only because of its influence upon economic, social, and cultural development, but because it was the model used by the Roman Caesars. It became evident on the death of Alexander that his position was not to be hereditary. The minority who supported the principle of heredity were soon defeated by the armies of other claimants. The next step was to determine the possibility of union under any other ruler. That possibility was removed after the defeats of Antigonus Cyclops in 301 B.C. and the assassination of Seleucus I in 281 B.C. Political unity was relegated to the world of ideas, where it remained for two hundred and fifty years. In its stead there stood the principle of division, represented by three great first-rate powers (Egypt under Ptolemy I, Syria under the successor of Seleucus I, and Macedon under a grandson of Antigonus Cyclops), several second-rate powers (the Kingdom of Pergamum, the Republic of Rhodes, the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues of Hellas), and many minor independent states.

The policy of fusing East and West lost ground for a variety of reasons. Opposition to foreign rule was sufficiently strong to secure independence for Parthia, Bactria, and other eastern sections of Alexander's empire. An invasion of nomad Celts barbarized Thrace and postponed the Hellenization of that area for centuries. Neither the Ptolemies in Egypt nor the Antigonids in Macedon looked with favor on the policy. The only successors of Alexander in attempting to unite East and West, were the kings of Syria. Fusion was accidental and incidental, but none the less vital.

To the Greeks the political novelties of the Hellenistic period were the theory of sovereignty and the concept of the state as a territorial unit. The divinity of the ruler was generally accepted in the East. The Greeks at least looked upon the kings as absolute despots beyond human control, and were ready to offer divine honors to the Roman generals of the second century B.C.

The Hellenistic monarchies were territorial units. They were the personal

property of the kings, to be increased by war, diplomacy, or matrimonial alliances, to be disposed of as the monarchs saw fit. The Hellenic *poles* which were not immediately absorbed by these large monarchical units, sought to ward off the danger by permanent federations.

The political relations of these kingdoms, leagues, and independent cities were intricate, and are known to us only in incomplete and inaccurate accounts. The history of Syria may be summed up as a series of defeats and losses of territory. The accession of Antiochus *Political history* III in 223 B C brought no change at first, since he was defeated in an attempt to regain prestige at the expense of Ptolemy. But he followed this with the recovery, in quick succession, of Sardes, Armenia, Parthia, Bactria, and Palestine. A second westward drive gave him much of Asia Minor and a foothold in Europe, where he was met by Rome.

The Ptolemies followed an aggressively imperialistic policy in order to secure markets for the vast agricultural and industrial products of their kingdom. With sea power and with gold they controlled the eastern Mediterranean. The accession of an infant and the immediate coalition of Syria and Macedon, in 204 B C, placed Egypt in peril of her existence, a peril from which she was rescued by Rome.

Macedon was a prize for which many of Alexander's successors fought. It did not achieve unity and greatness until the rule of Antigonos Gonatus in 277 B C. Harassed on the north by barbarians and on the south by the Greek leagues, the Antigonid kings seldom ventured from their peninsular home. It was Philip V (221-179 B C) who, by his alliance with Hannibal, brought upon himself and his people the vengeance of Rome.

The minor states came into being as a result of the weaknesses of the three great kingdoms. Their continued existence depended upon the rivalries and jealousies of their more powerful neighbors. Pergamum was secured from Syrian or Macedonian attack while Egypt remained strong. The Aetolian League looked to Macedon for aid in the frequent clashes with the Achaean League. The latter received moral and financial assistance from Egypt. But Egyptian support of a rejuvenated Sparta against the Achaeans upset the delicate balance of power in the peninsula. Sparta was defeated, and Macedon assumed a dominant position in Hellas. The weakness of Egypt and the friendship of Syria and Macedon could be answered only by the intervention of an outside power. Embassies from Egypt, Pergamum, Rhodes, and Athens were sent to Rome.

The elevation of the ruler to a superhuman position had the effect of clearing away the old distinctions of race, religion, birth, and political opinion. Before a god, all races are equally humble, and all who serve him receive rewards based on the quality of service, *Social conditions* not on the social position of the servant. Praise of democracy, or of oligarchy,

became treason when the ruler was a god Foreign affairs, local government, even private life were subject to divine ordinance Endless political discussions were replaced with other, less dangerous topics Home life assumed greater importance The position of women was noticeably improved Interest in human beings as social rather than political animals developed a spirit of humanitarianism, which applied to slaves as well as free men New lines of cleavage began to appear Those who served the king as soldiers, and those who served as administrators, formed separate groups Intellectual interests and occupational pursuits determined other groupings But the really sharp lines were drawn in accordance with nearness to divine majesty The royal family became a sacred family The ministers and servants of the court caught a reflected glory from their master The citizens of the royal capital felt superior to those who served an unseen king

Alexander's conquests had brought a temporary economic unity to the world His successors did not give up all the advantages of commercial intercourse when they established independent kingdoms

*Economic
conditions*

Important changes in the flow of trade resulted from the foundation of new court-capitals Alexandria and Antioch were great industrial as well as commercial centers Improvements in ship-building and in the science of navigation made possible the use of longer and more direct routes between East and West The cities of central and of southern Greece declined as a result, Corinth alone retaining any degree of prosperity On the other hand, Rhodes profited A skilful maintenance of the balance of power among the ambitious sovereigns, and the effective control of piracy in the Aegean, enabled the Rhodians to become the international bankers of the Hellenistic world Under the leadership of Rhodes the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor grew prosperous

The capital which formed the basis of this commercial activity came largely from the stored treasures of the Persian kings, which Alexander had released Royal monopolies, royal merchantmen, royal estates, and royal industries kept this wealth in the hands of the kings and of their favorites In spite of humanitarian sentiment, poverty and want were widespread

Unequal distribution of wealth was not a novelty to the Greeks It had sent them out to new homes in the eighth and seventh centuries It was a legacy of the imperialistic attempts of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes It was similarly present in the territories of the Persian kings The Hellenistic monarchs made no effort to correct the evil Serfs and slaves did most of the work in field and factory, Free workers were gradually pauperized Trade and service as a mercenary were the only secure avenues of escape from poverty for the members of a rapidly dwindling middle class.

For the farm laborer, there was no leisure The urban masses were more fortunate Religious festivals, royal processions, athletic contests, and the

regular feast of the craft guilds afforded a variety of entertainment. A still greater variety of distractions was offered to their more fortunate fellow townsmen.

The use of leisure

Alexander and his successors had made Greek, or rather the Attic dialect, the official language of their empires. It became the language of literature. Manetho retold the history of Egypt, Berossus the story of Babylonia, in the new tongue. Religious teachers and men of business used it. Written on parchment or on papyrus, both of which were plentiful and relatively cheap, the literature of the Hellenistic period reached a wide reading-public. In order to meet the demands of this enlarged group of readers, successful writers followed one of two methods. Some attempted the universal note, appealing to the human traits, which all men held in common. Others, by concentration on a limited field of knowledge, directed their writings to the small group of specialists, with interests similar to their own.

Literature

Although the literary output was enormous, there were few contributions to the drama. That which survived was the "new" comedy, or comedy of manners, a type well suited to the cosmopolitan and sophisticated audiences of a "modern" world. The tragedies of Euripides were not forgotten. The realism of his plays, the intricacies of his verse, and the intensely human character of his heroes and heroines kept his plays alive, but there was none to follow him.

Poetry

Other forms of poetry show clearly the great change which new political conditions had wrought in men's thoughts and feelings. Religious feeling and patriotism were conspicuously absent. The old epics which had described a distant past were considered diffuse and rambling. They were replaced by shorter, more compact poems with modern themes. Elegy and epigram recalled the lyric poetry of an earlier day in form and content. But the differences were marked. Alcaeus, Sappho, and the older lyric poets had written their thoughts without caring for the approval of the reader. The Hellenistic poet had his reader constantly in mind. He tried to attract attention to his trivial subjects by a display of technical skill, by the use of unusual words and of hidden meanings. The poet ventured frequently to instruct. A catalogue of the stars, the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, was issued in verse form. Another poet, filled with the scientific spirit, announced, "I sing nothing for which I cannot produce evidence." The pastoral poetry of Theocritus almost persuades the reader that it, at least, was genuine, sincere. It may well have been. If so, it is the only form in which creative genius was displayed.

Prose writing was frequently personal in tone, taking the form of autobiography, memoirs, letters of the author, or biographies of other men. A public of tired business men and tireless women demanded and received instruction in good manners and in the art of shopping. Text books and encyclopaedic works were produced. The specialists and

Prose

the polymath were equally active, and of the writing of books there was no end. It may be true, as one critic has stated, that men of the Hellenistic period were supremely unconscious of their decadence. It is certain that they were supremely conscious of the greatness of their predecessors. Antiquarians collected decrees and inscriptions, and wrote learnedly of games and sacrifices. The literary masterpieces of the past received critical editions with biographical and textual commentaries. Marks of punctuation and a system of accents were invented to facilitate reading, and the first Greek grammar, with its parts of speech, declensions, and conjugations was published. Hellenistic prose writers had little originality. It was from them, however, that the Romans learned the Greek classics. They were teachers and scholars, not creative artists.

Patronized by kings, the scholars were given leisure and materials for research. The great library of Alexandria, the collections of plants and animals, and the Museum, a research institute rather than a
Science home of the Muses, were justly famous. A passion for facts spread from this and other royal centers to the smaller cities. The donations of wealthy citizens or funds from municipal treasuries placed elementary and sometimes more advanced instruction within the reach of free-born boys. From their ranks were recruited the group who continued their study in the field of philosophy or science.

Leisure and the materials for research have been cited as two of the aids to the productive research of the Hellenistic period. To them may be added the wealth of new facts which Alexander's conquests had unearthed, the cosmopolitan character of the royal court centers, and the tolerant spirit of the new era. The boundaries of the known world were extended, and its parts more accurately described. Mathematical and physical geography reached a culmination in the pronouncement of the heliocentric theory. Megasthenes described the land and people of northern India; Nearchus charted the water route from Mesopotamia to the Indus. Eudoxus explored the east coast of Africa, Hanno, the Carthaginian, reached modern Sierra Leone, on the western coast. But the most adventurous of all, was Pytheas, who penetrated the Baltic. Meanwhile Eratosthenes determined the size of the earth; the precession of the equinoxes was measured with remarkable accuracy; Aristarchus advanced the heliocentric theory. Geometry was organized by Euclid and developed by Archimedes. The latter and Ktesibius laid the foundations of mechanics and hydrostatics. Medicine and surgery were greatly benefited by the anatomical discoveries of Herophilus and Erasistratus. In all these fields there remained a formidable residue of superstition and unscientific hypotheses. The simultaneous development of astronomy and astrology illustrates this unnatural union. The promises of astrology attracted the practical man, the philosopher and the superstitious masses. The insistence upon predestination and the assertion of ability to predict the future, gave to the astrologer an importance which made his lore a veritable cult.

Other phases of Hellenistic religious thought reflect the political and economic conditions of the period. World empire had its counterpart in world religion, and just as there were many god-kings, so there were numerous cults struggling for victory in the field *Religion* of religion. In the conflict, the deities of classical Greece were worsted by the invading cults from the Orient. There were features common to all of them which illustrate the truth that the appeal to the individual is a universal appeal. Magna Mater, Mithras, and Sarapis (to mention only the most important) appealed to the senses in their use of color, sound, and perfumes. All of them promised individual immortality. Each had its mystery, revealed only to those who were initiated, and each had its astrological content. The logical weaknesses of these cults and their failure to state clearly the moral responsibility of the individual, turned some men to philosophy. There were, indeed, many who professed a religion and practiced a philosophy at the same time. One thinks today of philosophy as a speculative study. In the Hellenistic period, it was much more a rule of life. Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Cynicism all emphasized the ethical side and taught men how to live.

The art of the Hellenistic Age illustrates the changes in life and manners. Architectural masterpieces of the time were more ornate. The palaces of the kings were Oriental in size and splendor. Houses of private citizens (those possessing means) were made more beautiful *Art* and more comfortable. Sculptors found it more satisfactory to humanize their representations of the gods, found it possible to create works of art which had no religious significance whatever. The dignity and aloofness of classical sculpture were replaced with realistic duplication of models, attempts to portray emotion and character. There was a great advance in technique, a more exact representation of the human body (based, no doubt, on the anatomical discoveries of the Alexandrian surgeons). Many of these changes can be explained by the shifting patronage of art and artists. Kings and private citizens wanted artistic products for their homes, or their tombs. Big business, too, had its artistic desires, represented by the Colossus of Rhodes, which appears to have been an advertising "stunt." Business men wanted granaries, warehouses, harbors, docks, lighthouses, and ocean liners. In this work the artist and the engineer joined hands.

Much of this development in art began before the days of Alexander. Literature, religion, and science had their transitional periods before 336 B C. To Alexander and his successors is due the credit for the acceleration of a movement already under way, and the encouragement which made the transition complete.

Interest in the Hellenistic period, neglected for many centuries by admirers of classical Greece, was reawakened in 1833 by Droysen. The *Conclusion* texts of today bear witness to the permanence of this interest. The intensive study devoted to Hellenistic life and thought is justified on

three grounds. In the first place, the civilization was predominantly Greek. Greek reason and Greek artistry permeated its cultural products. Not until the fourth century of our era did the Oriental elements triumph. In the second place, Greek civilization was given a searching test in the fourth century B C. Only those elements of that civilization which were real and solid endured the test and issued from it triumphantly. A study of the Hellenistic world reveals the permanent contributions of classical Greece. On the other hand, Roman civilization was profoundly affected by the Hellenistic East. The Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids may have been dull and tedious, their subjects may have been commonplace, but they carried on the Hellenic tradition, and were the guides and teachers of the Romans. The reasons for the obvious decline of the second century B C were the real poverty of the Hellenistic states and the ruinous effects of the Roman conquest.

CHAPTER V

RISE OF THE WEST, 750-200 B C

The western Mediterranean in the eighth century B C presented a drama similar to that which was being produced in the Aegean area. The actors were city-states of diverse origins, independent, competing, and bellicose. Phoenician, Etruscan, and Hellenic communities fought among themselves with as much zest as they did against natives or one another. The weakness of Tyre forced her colonists and traders to shift for themselves. The Hellenic colonies came without much hope of aid from their mother cities and bore with them the hatreds which divided Hellas. Only among the Etruscans was there any semblance of unity.

Out of this chaos of trade rivalries and wars there developed three international or interracial conflicts. The first and most persistent was that between Phoenician and Greek. Almost two centuries of unorganized warfare preceded the rise of Carthage as an imperial city. But *Phoenician vs Greek* by 550 B C Carthage was recognized as the leader of all Phoenician action. Carthage drove the Greeks from southern Spain, defended the Phoenician holdings in western Sicily, gained control of Sardinia, and, with the help of the Etruscans in 535, forced the Greeks out of Corsica. With the exception of the northern shore from Pyrenees to Apennines, along which Massilia had successfully entrenched herself, the western Mediterranean was to be a Carthaginian sea. Definite attempts were made to strengthen Carthaginian control of the Atlantic coast both north and south of the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). An extant treaty between Carthage and Rome, dated about 508 B C, is the chief source for this description of Carthaginian policy.

The policy was changed, because of a forward movement of the Greeks, to one of aggression against the Hellenic possessions in Sicily. A great Carthaginian expedition, however, was destroyed in 480 B C. Tradition placed this Hellenic victory on the day of the battle of Salamis, and the temptation to unite Carthaginian and Persian attacks as parts of an international agreement, is difficult to resist. But no evidence of any pact between Carthage and Persia exists. The way was opened for a great Hellenic forward movement, but no western Pericles appeared. A long duel, instead, between Dorian and Ionian settlements followed, interspersed with local quarrels. It was climaxed by the famous Sicilian expedition, a formidable armada sent by Athens to capture Syracuse. The account of this expedition in the pages of Thucydides

takes the form of a Tragedy of Errors, of defeat and destruction Syracuse received scant profit from her successful defense The real victor was Carthage, to whose armies one Hellenic city after another succumbed in the years which followed Even Syracuse was threatened with siege in 406 B C In that year the position of Carthage in Sicily was stronger than that achieved by Persia in Greece at the time of the King's Peace

The man who saved Syracuse was the most remarkable individual of his generation Having obtained absolute authority in Syracuse, Dionysius began extending his power over neighboring Hellenic and native cities The intervention of Carthage only lost for her the territory she had recently acquired In the intervals between the three separate wars with Carthage, Dionysius became master of Southern Italy, dominated the Adriatic, and sent expeditions into Etruscan waters

The tyranny of Dionysius was based on force alone The army with which he gained and retained control of his empire was composed largely of freed slaves and mercenaries In artillery and siege equipment he was unexcelled His navy was efficient and greater than that of Athens, by 398 B C Arsenal, dockyards, and granaries were built to support the huge war-machine, which at the time of his death, in 367 B C, included 400 men of war, 100,000 infantry, and 9,000 cavalry The funds necessary for its upkeep came from heavy taxation, debasement of coinage, and the looting of temple treasures It is difficult to discern in his career anything more than the satisfaction of a lust for power He saved Sicily from Carthaginian control, and yet allied himself with barbarians in order to subdue the Greeks of southern Italy In many respects he was as much a "precursor of Hellenism" as his contemporary, Xenophon Although a constant ally of Sparta throughout the period of her greatness, Dionysius turned towards Athens in his later years But a celebration in honor of a victory, which he had won in the annual dramatic contest at Athens, brought on the illness that ended his life

The death of Dionysius afforded no relief to the Greeks of the West Syracuse was plunged into civil war, Hellenic Sicily was little better than an armed camp, and the Hellenic cities of south Italy were the objects of renewed attack by barbarian natives Carthage, fortunately, did not take any active interest in Hellenic affairs for more than twenty years But in 345 a new defender against Carthaginian attack was needed

The savior, this time, was Timoleon, a leader sent, on petition of the people of Syracuse, from Corinth His success in holding Carthage at bay and in freeing all Sicily from tyrants is told in all its miraculous detail by Plutarch But chaos followed Timoleon as it had followed his predecessor This alternation of chaos and tyranny is characteristic of Hellenic Sicily Agathocles (317-289 B C) and Pyrrhus (278-276 B C) are names to be added to the list of saviors of Hellenism The details of their military and political exploits add little that is new, Agathocles inaugurated the practice of carrying the war

into Africa, and Pyrrhus introduced to the West the elephant as a fighting machine. But both saviors failed to expel the Carthaginians, or to bring a lasting internal peace.

The second international conflict took place on the northern frontier of the Hellenic settlement in Italy. The meeting place was the land around the Bay of Naples, since the Etruscans had gradually occupied Latium and Campania, reaching as far south as Pompeii. *Greek vs Etruscan* Hellenic settlers, coming by sea, had established themselves at an early date at Cumae. The later colonies of Massilia and of Alalia, in Corsica, aroused the Etruscans to action. A combined attack of Etruscans and Carthaginians upon Alalia, in 535 B C, checked the Greeks for a time, and afforded an opportunity for Etruscan advance across the Apennines to the central and lower reaches of the Po. Hellenic land victories in Campania and in Latium, together with local revolts and domestic quarrels, compelled the Etruscans to withdraw to a position north of the Tiber. An effort to re-establish Etruscan influence to the South through a naval expedition, was ruined by a king of Syracuse, who defeated the Etruscans off Cumae in 474 B C. This was the last threat of the Etruscans, who spent the next, and last, century of their independent existence, in vain struggles against former subjects and barbarian invaders from the north.

The Greeks, too, had native opposition to reckon with. The opposition was at first unorganized and ineffective. But before the Etruscan danger was completely removed, some of the larger cities formed temporary *Hellenism vs. Barbarism in Magna Graecia* alliances to conduct military operations against the Lucanians, Messapians, and Bruttians. Bitter quarrels among the Hellenic cities, and civil war within their walls weakened them, while the natives increased in numbers and became more efficient fighters. Disaster came in 390 B C, when Dionysius of Syracuse joined the Lucanians in a campaign which deprived almost all the Hellenic cities of their freedom. The death of Dionysius encouraged the Lucanians to recover his empire for themselves. Military assistance from Sparta and from Epirus warded off the evil day for a time, but in 272 B C, Tarentum and Rhegium, the last Hellenic cities to remain free, fell into the hands of men from the north.

One great barbarian group brought trouble alike to Carthaginian, Greek, and Etruscan. They were the Gauls, or Celts, whose migrations carried them across Europe from east to west, and down into the Mediterranean peninsulas. *The Gauls* Carthaginian contact came late, and in far western Spain. The Greeks of Massilia knew them well and feared them. Dionysius I used them as mercenaries. They were best known, however, to the Etruscans, who were driven by these land-hungry wanderers from their settlements north of the Po. The pressure of great numbers gradually broke the Etruscan control of all land north of the Apennines. Although the majority of the Gauls settled in the Po valley and became industrious farmers

in the land which bore their name, Cisalpine Gaul, bands of raiders crossed the Apennines in intermittent expeditions for the next half century, 400–350 B.C. It was probably the desperate defense of their homes by the Etruscans which saved southern Italy from Gallic conquest.

The ambitions of leaders, fanatical adherence to political doctrines, fear and hatred of foreigners, were truly the immediate causes of the interminable wars which were waged in the western Mediterranean. But the prize for which all of the contestants fought was the largest possible portion of the apparently inexhaustible wealth of western Mediterranean lands. It was the wealth in raw materials which made recovery from the ravages of war so rapid. Carthage, with but a small citizen-body, bought her way to power with Spanish ore and African food-stuffs. Sicily was an excellent investment, even after two hundred and fifty years of war. The wealth of southern Italy was a commonplace in literature. During the last century of her independence, Tarentum could afford to employ kings as leaders of her mercenary armies. The Etruscans were notorious for their luxury, and even Massilia, shut off in a distant corner of the sea, was prosperous.

Wealth, luxury, and prosperity are relative terms. It is easy to exaggerate the meaning of Hellenic contemporary writers by reading modern concepts into their accounts. But the existence of objects of trade, of an active industrial life, and of a flourishing commerce can not be denied. Archaeologists have found little, save in Etruria, to support literary tradition. A consideration of the domestic and foreign policies of the important states, however, reveals the steady and powerful influence of the economic factor.

The Phoenicians, as a whole, were traders, preferring peace to war. This was true in Carthage also, whose citizens rebelled rather than undertake naval or military duties. It was this rebellion which led to the

Carthage

employment of mercenaries. The leaders of the mercenaries and the war party in Carthage were recruited from the land-holding aristocracy. It was this party, no doubt, which dictated the destruction of Tartessus and laid the foundations of a Carthaginian empire. The "closed-sea" policy, which drove the Greeks from Spain, Sardinia, and North Africa, is known through treaties reported by Polybius, the historian of Rome's imperial success. Its application has aroused more criticism from modern commentators than from the contemporaries affected. For Carthaginian traders frequented Etruscan and Hellenic ports without molestation. On the whole, Carthage appears to have indulged in war only when war seemed likely to pay. Had the Carthaginians followed, from the first, an aggressively imperialistic policy, the occupation of Messina would have been attempted long before 265 B.C.

The Etruscans did not concentrate on the carrying trade. Phoenician and Hellenic merchantmen were not excluded from Etruscan ports. The squadron which helped to drive Hellenic colonists from Corsica in 535 B.C., fought

only to preserve the iron deposits of Elba from Hellenic exploitation. The iron, in smelted or manufactured form, followed a land route, through Latium and Campania, to trade terminals in Hellenic territory. Trade by land and expansion by land were the normal procedures of the Etruscans. They were particularly successful in cultivation of the soil. The most important Etruscan settlements in the Po valley were agricultural centers, and the Etruscan overlords of Latium were skilled farmers. Archaeology confirms tradition with evidence of an intricate system of subsurface drainage, or irrigation, in Latium, and with the contents of Etruscan tombs, which are real treasure-houses.

A number of factors made land lovers of the seafaring Greeks in south Italy. The soil was much more fertile than that of the homeland, and the harbors much less usable. The only formidable natives, for a century or two, were the Iapygians, who kept the colonists of Tarentum near the sea. Again, easy access to the western sea was controlled by Rhegium, whose citizens tried to block entrance to all comers save their friends. The greatest enemies of a Hellenic colony were its Hellenic neighbors. The separation caused by trade rivalry is illustrated by a whole series of competing neighbors. Thus Miletus, Eretria, Megara, and Sybaris united in competition with Samos, Chalcis, Corinth, and Croton. Sybaris solved the immediate problem of her friends by dominating a land route across Italy, leading to the Sybarite colony of Laos.

Grain, vines, olives, and sheep were the chief sources of wealth. Wine, oil, pottery, hides, and wool were the industrial products of the large urban populations. The Etruscans brought their wares to Campania and received in exchange the luxury articles which the Greeks brought from the Aegean. In like manner, Carthage depended on Hellenic colonists in Sicily for luxuries, as well as for the essential oil and wine. The Greeks of Sicily, too, found a fertile soil. They were thus, like their cousins in Italy, both middlemen and producers.

The most active cultural element in the western Mediterranean was the Hellenic. This was not a mere echo of the life and thought of the homeland. Quickly acquired wealth made the westerners more boastful than the Greeks of the Aegean, fonder of display and of size, more attracted by extremes in thought and in act. Cities shifted from the rule of the mob to the rule of one man and back again with bewildering rapidity. The ruins of the largest Hellenic temples stand in Sicily. The wildest tales of effeminacy are told of the Sybarites. For many years Pythagoras ruled Croton with a completely ascetic discipline. The greatest physician of his day, Democedes, the greatest rhetorician, Gorgias, and the greatest mountebank, Empedocles, were children of the West.

But much that was less spectacular was carried by the Greeks to the barbarians of the West. The alphabet of Cumae was adopted by the Etruscans

and their Latin subjects. The gods of the Greeks were received by the natives of South and Central Italy. Hellenic bronzes and Hellenic vases had a decided effect on Etruscan art. Even the conservative Carthaginians were not untouched by Hellenic influence, imitating Hellenic wares, learning the language of Greece, and welcoming the goddesses Demeter and Persephone.

Carthaginian culture, like Carthaginian character, had a bad name. It is indeed difficult to find any trace of Carthaginian influence outside of Africa. To the outside world the Carthaginians were traders during centuries in which trade and piracy were closely allied occupations. They had among them famous explorers, but refused to make public the results of their explorations. They perfected the system of plantation cultivation, upon which the Romans of later days looked as an accursed legacy. They produced many famous generals, from whose genius the Greeks of Sicily suffered. Their customs and dress remained oriental, as did their religion. The abject submission which their gods demanded of them, they in turn demanded of their subjects. It may be that their snobbishness annoyed their contemporaries, or that contempt for them was inspired by fear. In either case, Carthaginian influence was largely negative.

In the Etruscans appears a mingling of Carthaginian and Hellenic civilizations. Etruscan religion was a gloomy one. Cruelty, superstition, and a strict attention to form in worship were the prominent characteristics. But the Etruscans were not unaware of the pleasures of this life. They had skilled craftsmen and artists and were greatly stimulated by the contacts with the Hellenes. Thoughts and products of Ionian origin inspired them in days when Athens was still culturally poor. The Etruscans had solved their economic problems by setting up a feudal aristocracy in control of native subjects. The leisure thus acquired was spent in a life of pleasure, of comfort, and of increasing wealth and power. The cultivated Etruscan, therefore, could appreciate the religious thought of the Carthaginian and yet sympathize with the Greek in his love of life and his understanding of beauty.

The lower reaches of the Tiber attracted neither the primitive men of Mediterranean stock nor the invaders from the north. The few elevations only accentuated the extensive lowlands, which were almost wholly marshes renewed by the spring flooding of the river. About thirty miles by boat from the mouth of the Tiber, the land was sufficiently high to escape complete flooding, and the number of hills increased. On a group of these hills near the river, traces have been found of habitation by men of two groups, those who cremated and those who buried their dead. The former were clearly Latins of Indo-European origin. The latter have been identified as descendants of the neolithic Mediterranean race, as immigrants from Illyria, or as a part of a later Indo-European invasion which settled in the southern Apennines. The language of the inhumators was Oscan, an Indo-European dialect. Whatever their

*Beginnings of
Rome*

origin, they were not Latins, and the significant fact remains that the immediate ancestors of the Romans were a mixed group

Many years before the hill dwellers formed a city and named it Rome, they lived there as members of independent villages. They were shepherds and, in a very primitive manner, agriculturists. Settlements on hilltops were normal, although the selection of this group of hills appears to have had a special purpose, namely, to serve as an outpost from which the advancing Etruscans could be observed. If one admits, as most scholars do now, the existence of kings in Rome, the admission is based on the need for uniting the villages into a city and for the selection of royal protectors. The traditional date of the founding of the city, 753 B C, corresponds to Etruscan penetration of the interior and to the beginnings of Hellenic expansion into Italy. Rome was born at the time when Hellenic and Etruscan influences were at hand ready to contribute to the city's development.

The importance of the foreign factor in Rome's early history was great indeed. The trail used by the hill folk to reach the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber, the Via Salaria, passed through the Roman domain. This gave the Romans contact with the non-Latin groups of the interior. The land routes north and south converged at Rome, where the shallow Tiber offered a foot crossing for travelers. Hellenic and Etruscan traders soon made this a well frequented road, and tradition records the efforts of kings to make the Roman ford more popular than its competitor some distance upstream. Tradition also preserved the memory of a visit from an Etruscan noble, who drove into Rome in a cart, and remained to be king of the city.

The pleasant story of the visitor who became a permanent resident, probably covers actual conquest, a conquest which was part of the Etruscan domination of all Latium. The effect on Rome was revolutionary. Technical skill and efficient leadership increased the *Etruscan kingship* crop yields and made pasturage a secondary occupation. Industry was stimulated by the demands of Etruscan overlords and by the presence of trained Etruscan craftsmen. Increasing numbers and greater spending-power meant a larger importation of goods from Greece and the Orient. The political development of Rome, and of Latium, kept pace with economic growth. Villages were replaced with cities, and the amphictyonies (religious unions) were transmuted into political federations. In this development, Rome took the lead, becoming the most prominent city of Latium, greater, in fact, than many of the older Etruscan foundations north of the Tiber.

To the ideas which accompanied the foreign rulers and merchants the Romans were not so receptive. Etruscan and Hellenic deities were substituted for the formless powers which the Latins had been wont to worship. The pleasure and will of the gods were determined, in the Etruscan manner, through the examination of the sacrificed animals, and, in the Hellenic man-

ner, through consultation of the oracular responses of the Sibyl of Cumae. Nevertheless, the Etruscan rulers, the Tarquins, changed the character and institutions of the Latins no more than did the Norman conquerors of Sicily in the Middle Ages. The love of country life, the exceptional power of the head of a household (*patria potestas*), the fundamental agricultural and family flavor of Roman religion, remained untouched. The Etruscan contribution was primarily a political and military organization which enabled the Romans for many centuries to preserve and to enjoy their own manner of living.

At the close of the sixth century the Romans achieved independence. Tradition unfolds a dramatic story of the expulsion of the third and last Etruscan king in 509 B.C. It is probable, however, that the Romans were not the only interested parties. Etruscans controlling the next ford up the Tiber at Fidenae were jealous of Tarquin success, and their leader, Lars Porsenna, may have held Rome for a short time. Then, too, the Greeks of Campania would be pleased with any weakening of their Etruscan competitors. In any event, Rome reverted to its original task. At first an outpost against the Etruscans, then the base of Etruscan operations south of the Tiber, Rome in the sixth century again guarded the Latin frontier against northern attack.

For over one hundred years the attention of the Romans was turned to the solution of domestic problems. Foreign relations did not cease, nor were foreign influences barred. Sea-borne trade was left by treaty almost entirely in the hands of the Carthaginians. The demand for Hellenic objects of trade fell off with the departure of the Tarquins, but the Hellenic idea of gods in human form and with human needs for homes (temples) and food (sacrifices) was retained. Greeks and Carthaginians concentrated their energies in the struggle for Sicily. The Etruscans, defeated by the Greeks at sea and harassed by barbarians from the north, had declined to the status of neighbors, dangerous, but not invincible.

Rome's history begins, in tradition, with an elective monarchy. The supporters of monarchy were those who elected the kings, a small well-organized group, called patricians. While the kings were all-powerful, it seems clear that their power was given them by the patricians, and might conceivably be taken from them whenever patricians desired. It seems clear, also, that the fear of recall led one king, a man of humble origin, to organize the rest of the population as a check upon the patricians. The plebeians, as the organized populace came to be called, lost their champion and took only a passive share in the revolution which drove the next, and last, king from Rome.

patricians They gave to these men the *imperium*, that is, complete executive and judicial power The only checks were the veto, which one consul might employ against the act of his colleague, and the body of unwritten customs In actual practice, however, the advice of a select group of patricians, the Senate, came to have the force of law But in time of crisis all checks were swept away, and one man with complete and absolute authority was elected, a dictator There was also an assembly, which included all the citizens and their dependents, but it did little more than register the will of the powerful oligarchs The government was, in brief, a rule of force applied by a small but well organized minority to a larger group without leaders and without a policy

The internal history of Rome for the first two centuries of the Republic is a record of the struggle by the majority, the plebeians, for equality with the patricians At the beginning of the struggle the plebeians had small ground for hope Their royal champion had given them membership in a legislative body, the assembly of the centuries The units of this assembly were organized, however, in such a manner that the patricians could always outvote the plebeians He had also shifted the basis of citizenship from birth to ownership of land, thereby affording to the plebeian an equality of economic opportunity with his patrician fellow citizen These rights the patricians recognized, and added to them the privilege of voting for the new patrician officials

*Patricians vs
plebeians*

Patrician oppression of the leaderless plebeians continued In 494 B C it led to a secession of the plebeians and the first steps in the establishment of a new city At this point the patricians gave way and granted an additional privilege, namely, the election by and for the plebeians of their own officials To these tribunes of the plebs was given the duty of protecting their fellows from the unjust attacks of individual patricians The tribunes were placed under the protection of the gods To interfere with them in any way was to violate the divine law, for which the penalty was death

A second secession gave the plebeians equality before the law Five years later, in 445 B C, the right of intermarriage was recognized The offices of the state were gradually opened to plebeian candidates A plebiscite, or decree of the plebeians in assembly, was recognized as having the force of a law to be obeyed by patrician and plebeian alike By 300 B C the distinctions between plebeians and patricians were distinctions between equals The latter had gained legal, political, religious, and social equality.

Under the Etruscan kings Rome had become the dominant city of central Italy, the ruler of the Latins The expulsion of the Tarquins, the Etruscan kings, meant the loss of that hegemony, but some of the lost ground was recovered, in 493 B C., when an alliance was negotiated between Rome and the Latin League With the assistance of a third group, the Hernici, the allies were able to subdue the

*Roman expansion
to 265 B C*

Aequi and Volsci. In the meantime, the Romans warded off Etruscan attacks and ultimately succeeded in capturing the fortress city of Veii.

A disastrous and almost fatal attack by the Gauls, in 387 B.C., checked Roman advance, but was followed by quick recovery. Later Gallic raids were repulsed with ease. Northward expansion continued. A secessionist movement in the Latin cities was crushed, and Rome became mistress of Latium. The challenge of the Samnites was accepted, and they were overcome. Barbarian Gauls in the north and Macedonian veterans, under Pyrrhus, in the south could not halt the triumphant march of the Roman legions. By 270 B.C. Rome was mistress of peninsular Italy.

Far more important than the military conquest of Italy, was the organization effected by the Romans during the years 387 to 270 B.C. As parts of this organization, should be noted the changes in domestic institutions, the development of a military machine, and the application of novel ideas in the relationship between conqueror and conquered.

*The Roman state
in 270 B.C.*

The ultimate success of the plebeians in obtaining political and social equality with the patricians by 300 B.C., has been mentioned. A new alignment on the basis of wealth necessitated many institutional changes. Domestic changes. The original division into three tribes of ten curiae each, had been replaced by an artificial division into four city tribes and seventeen country tribes. Patricians and plebeians alike were enrolled in these tribes, and as additional territory was acquired by the state, new tribes were formed. This process continued to 241 B.C., when the total number reached thirty-five. The tribal assembly had become the chief legislative body of the Roman state. It had replaced the purely plebeian assembly (the *concilium plebis*) as the democratic organ of the state. The old centuriate assembly retained some of its electoral powers. The final step in the complex procedure of declaring war was still in its hands. Even the old assembly of the curiae continued to function in legalizing adoptions and in conferring the *imperium* upon officials elected by the centuries.

As the tribal assembly was the voice of the people (the democratic element), the Senate was the voice of the nobility (the oligarchic element). It was characterized by a continuity in dignity and authority, which survived all changes. Its legislative acts, decrees, were obeyed by all. Control of war, finance, and foreign affairs was vested in it. Composed of ex-magistrates who had a reasonable expectation of life tenure, the Senate contained the most successful and, in general, the best minds of the old nobility of birth and of the new plebeian nobility of accomplishment.

In the magistracies ancient commentators noted the third and complementary element of an ideal state, the monarchical. The magistrates, armed with the *imperium*, were, in theory, supreme masters of the state. In actual practice, magisterial authority was severely limited. The dictator held office

only for the duration of the crisis which he was called upon to combat, and never to exceed six months. The annually elected consul was checked by the veto of his colleague in office. A part of the consular power was now exercised by independent censors. Judicial authority was given to a subordinate magistrate, the praetor. Perhaps the most effective control of magistracy was exercised by the Senate, since the social and political future of a magistrate depended on the judgment of that body.

The great Struggle between the Orders, that is, between patricians and plebeians, had produced this efficient and satisfactory combination of Magistrates, Senate, and Assembly. But it had also brought into being an independent assembly of the plebeians with its independent officials, the plebeian tribunes. Here was a state within a state. If no other proof of Roman skill in government existed, it would be completely proved by the fact that these two states existed without armed conflict for more than a hundred and fifty years.

The history of Roman expansion begins, as it ends, with a paradox. Rome's last wars were fought in the name of the Prince of Peace. Its first acquisitions of territory were gained as a result of wars of self-defense. No war-like action was taken until a special group of priests, *Military organization* the *fetiales*, conducted an inquiry and determined that an aggressive act had been committed. Then, and only then, did the Senate demand redress. If that were refused, preparation for war was begun, and the centuriate assembly was asked for its decision. If the assembly voted in the affirmative, the Senate assumed control of operations. It is probably for this reason that no standing army existed. A call for volunteers followed the declaration of war or the news that an enemy was invading Roman territory. War was at first a seasonal occupation, carried on in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the business of making a living. In the early period, the divisions were those indicated by the centuries of the assembly, the more wealthy men forming the cavalry, the middle class the infantry, and the landless poor the light armed troops. The development of this force of farmer-citizen soldiers into the Roman legions of quasi-professional character, was the result of centuries of war. But from the first, at least since the days of the Etruscan kings, the Roman soldier was well disciplined. The patriarchal absolutism of the Roman *pater familias* made the Roman youth a tractable recruit. The *imperium* of the consul, or his representative, on campaign was as great as that of the father on the farm. The construction of a fortified camp each night was and is at once a proof of this discipline and an indication of intelligent leadership.

Changes in the military system came but slowly. The prolonged siege of Veii brought pay for military service. The desirability of continuity in command led to the proconsulship, which was merely an extension of tenure beyond the year of office for the consul in command of troops. The foundation of military and maritime colonies furnished advance bases for the Roman

armies as frontiers moved farther and farther away from the city. The Via Appia, built in 312 B.C., was the first of the vast network of military highways. The only valid excuse for war, namely, self-defense, remained unchanged. But the protecting arm of Rome embraced those who had allied themselves to her, as well as those who had been forcibly federated.

The wars undertaken during the first century of the Republic were in general those of the allies,—Rome, the Latin League, the Hernici. After a successful war, these allies used to confiscate some land of the conquered and establish on it a colony of Romans and Latins. *Treatment of the conquered* These colonies became members of the Latin League, bound to Rome and to the others by treaty. They were military outposts, protectors of the conquered against other enemies, and preservers of peace in the recently subdued area. Meanwhile, Rome fought and conquered independently of the League. On the territory gained by these wars, Rome placed Roman citizens, either in colonial groups or individually. The treaties of peace dictated by Rome after her wars invariably contained the terms of an alliance with Rome. Victory gave to Rome the right to dictate the terms, which varied from town to town, or from tribe to tribe. Rome reserved the right to control the foreign affairs of her new ally, and asked for a military contingent. But local self-government and freedom from taxation were granted.

In 340 B.C. the Romans were supreme in central Italy. The state included Rome and Roman colonies, which were themselves replicas of the mother city, inhabited by Roman citizens and subject to Roman law and to Roman magistrates. There was also the Latin League, the original members and the new Latin colonies, allied to Rome on a basis of equality. Then there were the inferior allies who had surrendered some of their sovereignty to Rome. The total was a federation.

Fearing that the equality which they enjoyed would not be permanent, some members of the Latin League announced their withdrawal in the year 340 B.C. Rome interpreted this secession movement as an act of hostility, declared war, and subdued the Latins by 338 B.C. Then was applied a new principle in political expansion. The citizens of towns which had remained loyal were granted all the rights of Roman citizenship. Their cities were called *municipia civium Romanorum*. Other towns were granted only the private rights of Roman citizenship. They were called *civitates sine suffragio*. A third group, in which were found the most dangerous or least trustworthy of Rome's foes, were denied citizenship and placed under the supervision of a Roman colony, or of a Roman official.

This novel form of expansion would probably be looked upon with little favor today, although it has been accepted by the men of the Transvaal. But in the fourth century B.C., defeat meant extermination, slavery, or subjugation. The alternative offered by the Romans was acceptable to the Latins, and, used sparingly at first, was extended to other non-Latin communities in Italy.

The effect of this new policy was slow in developing. For the next two generations men fought just as bitterly against Roman advance, but the ultimate and crucial test of the federation, applied by Hannibal, found it an indissoluble union.

No list of reasons for the success of Rome would be complete without some reference to location. Accessible in time of peace, easily defended in time of war, Rome was the logical capital of Latium. The military strategist would note that, in the struggle for control of Italy, Rome fought along interior lines. Etruscan training and Etruscan leadership for a century gave great advantages to the Romans. The stubborn refusal of the Romans to acknowledge defeat at the hands of an enemy saved them from ruin on more than one occasion. This attitude toward outsiders is in marked contrast to the spirit of compromise which made the Struggle between the Orders a gradual evolution. But superior to these qualifications and more lasting in their effects, were the rigid adherence to treaty obligations, the political tolerance, and the voluntary extension of citizenship rights. These were the foundations of the "grandeur that was Rome."

The conquests of Alexander the Great had turned the attention of the Greeks to the East. The division of his great empire into kingdoms, leagues, and independent city-states produced situations so intricate that the interest and energy of soldier, statesman, and merchant remained fixed in the eastern Mediterranean. The West was left to work out its own political and economic problems. The Carthaginian answer was a sea closed to all but her own merchants. She sought political control only for the protection of her traders. The Roman answer was the search for and maintenance of a frontier which would ensure peace to Rome and to Rome's allies. Commercial treaties and a formal alliance of the two states against Pyrrhus are indications of the help which each could give the other. But the incorporation of the Greek seafarers of south Italy in the Roman federation, increased the possibilities of friction. It was more by accident than by design that the Straits of Messina became the background of the first conflict. Carthage needed control of the Straits in order to perfect her closed-sea policy. Rome needed control in order to protect the interests of her new subject-allies.

Cultural differences used to be cited as the underlying cause of the contest between Rome and Carthage. More recently, the occupation of Sicily has been emphasized on the ground that it was a part of a comprehensive plan of Roman expansion. It is difficult to reconcile these ascribed causes with the thesis that Rome waged war only in self-defense. It is possible that both were important reasons for prolonging and enlarging the struggle. But it seems clear that the Carthaginian *mare clausum*, which worked against Rome's allies, and the Roman policy of protecting her allies, would inevitably lead to war.

*Elements of
Rome's success*

*The Mediterranean
world of
265 B C*

*The First Punic
War*

Rome won in a contest which stretched out over twenty-four long years. Her rewards for victory were the islands between Sicily and Italy, all of Sicily save the territory of her ally Syracuse, and an indemnity of thirty-two hundred talents (\$625,000 gold). Through a liberal interpretation of the rule of self-defense, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica were acquired (238 B C.)

A returned-soldiers settlement act of 238 B C., granting lands to veterans in the northeastern part of the peninsula, disturbed the long peace between

The interval Gauls and Romans. Gallic raids in the newly settled territory led to a war which advanced Rome's northern frontier to the Po River. Piratical attacks upon Italiote-Greek shipping in the Adriatic resulted in a war, which ended with Roman occupation of naval bases on the eastern side of the sea. By 220 B C. Rome was not only stronger but also much more interested in western-Mediterranean commerce. The interests of Massilia, an ally of Rome, were threatened by Carthaginian expansion in Spain. The representatives of Rome secured from the Carthaginian commander in Spain a promise that he would not advance north of the Ebro River. But further intervention by Rome, south of the Ebro, impelled Hannibal, the Carthaginian leader, to an attack upon the heart of the Roman federation.

Hannibal's memorable conquest of the Alpine passes, his decisive victories over three Roman armies, did not result, as he had hoped, in a dissolution of the federation. Without re-enforcements from Carthage, or assistance from his ally, Philip V of Macedon, he maintained himself for fourteen years in the Italian peninsula. In 202 B C., Carthage paid the price for Hannibal's error in judgment. An indemnity of 10,000 talents, the surrender of all war elephants, of all save ten triremes of her navy, of title to any part of Spain, of all land in Africa, except that near the city of Carthage, of the right to wage war outside of Africa, of the right to wage war in Africa without Rome's consent—these were the terms accepted by Carthage.

Effects of expansion on Rome In 200 B C. Rome held Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, the Po valley, and exercised control over the Adriatic. The results of this rapid expansion were not altogether bad. In spite of the great loss of life and property, there were compensations in the slave labor of countless war captives, in the cash indemnities received in installments from Carthage, and in the revenues from the newly acquired territories. The old regime of small farms, however, had passed. Trade and industry obtained a greater amount of attention, large estates replaced the small farms, and slave labor was used on the land. There was a shift from cereal culture to that of the olive and the vine. In some of the districts devastated by Hannibal were great cattle-ranges given over to slave herders.

The prolonged and distant campaigns had developed two new economic groups. Many farmers, in despair or disgust, had left their farms and entered

military service as a more satisfactory form of making a living. Other men, with some capital, had found it profitable to undertake public contracts. Food, clothing and munitions for the armies had to be furnished in large amounts and on short notice. The rewards were very attractive and the returns certain. In time of peace, the state accepted bids for the building of roads, temples, and public buildings as well as for the collection of all taxes. The system was old, but the volume of business thus transacted before the Punic Wars was small. As the business of the state increased, the wealth and power of these public contractors, *publicani*, advanced.

The constitution weathered the storm without much change. Senate and Assembly worked in harmony, the former tending to assume all responsibility. The responsibility was an enormous one and brought with it a corresponding increase in power. The Senate frequently forgot its constitutional limitations, but this usurpation of authority was not challenged by the Assembly, in part because the Senate accomplished the work so efficiently, and in part because there was no Assembly machinery for transacting imperial business. The action of the Assembly in 212 B C (see p 100), however, proved that it could intervene in foreign affairs when senatorial action was displeasing to it. The practice of changing officials each year was in part given up, for when a competent general was found, he was allowed to remain at his task as pro-consul until it was completed. The judicial work formerly handled by one official, the praetor, increased to the point where a colleague was elected to assist him. This officer, the *praetor peregrinus*, judged cases between resident aliens (an indication of increasing business activity in Rome). New praetorships were created for the administration of the new provinces. In general, it appeared that the government which could include all of Italy in its scope could again be expanded sufficiently to meet the needs of a power controlling the entire western Mediterranean.

One important result of the First Punic War was the acquisition of Sicily. This was the first possession of Rome outside of Italy, and the decision concerning its relation to the rest of the state was of vital importance. Sicily might be treated as a part of Italy and receive *The new provinces* the federal type of organization used in the peninsula. It might, on the other hand, retain its pre-Roman organization. The Romans preferred the second alternative. Only three cities were granted treaties of alliance similar to those so freely used in Italy. Some land was confiscated and administered in much the same manner as our public land in Alaska. A few cities were granted special favors, but over three-quarters of the island was governed, as it had been before the conquest, in accordance with Hellenistic theory. Rome simply took the place of local king, or tyrant, demanded a tribute in kind, levied other taxes, and treated the population as subjects. Administration of the province was vested in an annually elected praetor with military, judicial, and executive authority. Thus, in 237 B.C., when Sicily received her charter of

organization, the *lex provinciae*, and her first praetor, Rome became an imperial state

The occupation of Sardinia and Corsica was not so easily completed. Lack of natural wealth and the wildness of the native population had discouraged the Carthaginians from undertaking a thorough conquest. What the Romans acquired was land half controlled, half free. The lowlands were tilled by peasants, either native or imported from Africa, while the highlands were occupied by refugees, brigands and raiders. In spite of frequent attempts, the Romans were unable to establish peace until 175 B.C., when Tiberius Gracchus the Elder returned to Rome with a report of 80,000 natives killed or captured. Even then, peace was but temporarily secured, and the islands were little more than imperial burdens throughout the first century of their rule by Rome.

Spain was a troublesome acquisition from the first. Size, distance, and the fighting power of the natives were factors which combined to make organization extremely difficult. The unusual problems demanded unusual solutions, for the plans, which were adequate for the administration of Sicily, could not be applied to Spain. There was little pre-Roman organization on which to build, and the distance from Italy negated any extension of the Roman federation to Spain.

The defeat of a Roman army in 212 B.C. almost induced the Senate to postpone the struggle until Hannibal could be dislodged from Italy. Nevertheless the plebeians insisted that the war be carried on, and conferred the *imperium* on an inexperienced youth, Publius Cornelius Scipio. With the support of the people, but without the blessing of the Senate, Scipio reopened hostilities, succeeded in driving the Carthaginians from Spain, and returned to Rome, after a five-year campaign, during which he had governed the peninsula with truly regal powers. His was the first great extraordinary command, extraordinary because it was granted to one who had held no office of state, and because it came in the form of a *plebiscitum*, a decree of the *concilium plebis*. Scipio continued his royal manner in the conduct of the last phase of the war. For it was he who, as consul, carried the war into Africa and defeated Hannibal, at the battle of Zama.

The government of Spain by *plebiscitum* continued until 197 B.C., when the peninsula was divided into two provinces, and two praetorships were created for Hither and Farther Spain. The former was based on the partially Hellenized district of the Northeast, and the latter on the Punicized valley of the Baetis. Beyond each province was an unknown area occupied by tribes of varying degrees of culture. The natives had welcomed Scipio as a savior, but they had no desire to exchange Carthaginian for Roman rule. The occupation of Spain thus brought to Rome a new frontier threatening Roman peace, and a new type of commander threatening the republican constitution and senatorial control.

Before the year 200 B C Rome came to resemble the Hellenistic states in many respects. The presence of Greek slaves, war captives from South Italy and Sicily, was rapidly changing the domestic life of the nobility. Slave teachers, doctors, and business men began to take over the duties once performed by the heads of households. Greek men of letters were making the Romans proudly conscious of their past. They invented a Trojan origin for Rome (the Aeneas legend) and linked that distant beginning to historic Roman records with a picturesque account over which scholars still dispute. Homer was translated into Latin to serve as a textbook for children, Greek comedies were translated and presented to amuse the populace. Kings and city-states of the East sent embassies seeking alliance with this victorious power of the West. In 204 B C the Romans themselves sought help from the East. Since their gods had failed to drive the gods of Hannibal from Italy, they petitioned the Great Mother of the gods to aid them. The *Magna Mater* arrived from Pessinus in Asia Minor accompanied by her priests. Within two years Hannibal had left Italy and been defeated in Africa. The Great Mother had earned permanent residence, and she remained to share honors with the Hellenized gods of Old Rome.

*The influence of
Hellenism*

The three centuries from 500 to 200 B C are, in many respects, the most important in the history of European civilization. Institutions have changed since that time, old prejudices have given way to new, and machines have replaced slaves. But what may be termed the fundamental rules of the game of life are today about what they were twenty-one hundred years ago. Philosophy, religion, law, politics, the fine arts, and literature were so indelibly marked by the great minds of the earlier time that our contemporaries find it exceedingly difficult to alter them. Many so-called innovations, or discoveries, are revivals of their suggestions, or extensions of their methods.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROMAN WORLD, 200-31 B.C.

Before the Romans could make good their losses, or grow accustomed to their new position, they were called upon to enter the complex political life of the eastern Mediterranean. The call was made upon the basis of treaties of friendship. A weakened Egypt and a frightened group of smaller states begged for assistance against a coalition of the two great kingdoms, Syria and Macedon. The Senate had first to decide whether a friend, *amicus*, had a right to the protection which Rome had always granted an ally, *socius*. After obtaining the consent of the fetal priests to the more liberal construction, the Senate had to overcome the unwillingness of the army to vote for war. Why was the Senate so eager for war? Speculations of modern commentators vary from altruism through a desire for reputation and distinction, down to pure greed. In their arguments before the assembly of the centuries, the senators pointed out that war with Macedon was inevitable. If any connection exists between results and causes, altruism, phil-Hellenism, was the dominant idea of the Romans. For Rome returned from the war with Macedon, and from another with Syria, without territorial gains, with nothing but indemnities, which barely paid her expenses. The public declaration of her policy came in the proclamation of 196 B.C., in which the freedom of the Greek city-states was made a part of Rome's foreign policy. Three years later, Roman diplomats offered to relinquish this protectorate over the Asiatic Greek cities in return for a promise from the Syrian king to keep out of Europe. But the refusal of the offer by Antiochus, and his subsequent defeat, made it unnecessary to explain this deviation from the earlier stand. On the whole, Roman armies had defeated enemies, protected friends, and retired from the East with glory and honor.

The effects of this intervention in the eastern political arena were not wholly beneficial. There were proofs that the ideals which prompted intervention could not be upheld, and that the experience gained in the East was changing Roman character and institutions. In the first place, a change can be noted in the feeling of Rome toward her allies in Italy. The last Latin colony was founded in 184 B.C. From that year, all rewards for service to the state in the form of land allotments were reserved for Roman citizens. The policy of assimilation was checked, and Rome began to treat Italians as she did her subjects. In the

second place, a change may be noted in the attitude of the Romans towards treaty obligations, particularly in the West. Provincial governors were careless in the observance of treaties with border tribes. The Senate not only failed to reprimand the governors, but even encouraged abrogation of treaties which impeded the advance of the Roman frontiers. In the third place, the attitude of the Romans towards the Greeks changed. Distrust, contempt, and haughtiness replaced the earlier sentiments of friendship and respect. The result was that the champions of Greek civilization, the idealists who followed Scipio Africanus the Elder, had to give way in the Senate before the attacks of practical men like Cato, who hated the Greeks. Cato and his followers controlled the situation during the next war with Macedon, and dictated the terms of settlement after the battle of Pydna, 167 B C.

But even Cato was unable to hold in check the passions and desires which his policy had encouraged. He wished to punish and retire, just as Scipio wished to protect and retire. A third group included those who were eager to punish, to conquer, and to remain in conquered territory that they might exploit it. It was this group which added to Cato's policy of blood and iron, elements of frightfulness, terrorism, insult, and robbery. Their growing influence is illustrated in the events of the period from 167 to 133 B C.

Incompetence and cruelty are the mildest terms with which to describe Rome's foreign policy. After the defeat of Macedon in 167 B C, the Romans punished friend and foe alike. They divided the kingdom of Macedon into four republics, and retired, leaving only a few *The years 167 to 133 B C* observers to report the results of this preposterous experiment.

A pretender aroused the king-loving Macedonians to revolt. Rome intervened, crushed the rebellion, and organized the kingdom into a province (146 B C). Throughout the period the cities of the Achaean League (friends and allies of Rome) were increasingly restless. One thousand of their leading men had been summoned to Rome in 167 B C, accused of treachery, but had never been brought to trial. In 150 B C, the return of the three hundred survivors resulted in war. Rome was once more successful, proving her mastery by the capture, sack, and utter destruction of Corinth. Greece then became a Roman protectorate of isolated cities. Another ally of Rome, the king of Pergamum, was suspected of treachery because he had attempted mediation between Rome and Macedon. Deprived of territory and insulted, he was at least permitted to retain his throne until his death. The brother who succeeded him, recognizing the inevitable, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome upon his death in 133 B C. Syria, weakened by dynastic quarrels and rebellious subjects, was subjected to interference and intervention, which she resented but was forced to endure. Rome also intervened in Egypt with the intention of profiting by Egyptian weakness, and with the result of destroying what little power was left to the last of the Ptolemies.

Throughout the long struggle with Philip of Macedon, Antiochus of Syria, and Perseus of Macedon, the West occupied a secondary position in

*The West
200-133 B C*

Roman thought The natural desire of Rome to control the entire peninsula of Spain met with an equally natural desire for freedom on the part of the natives The resultant wars were interrupted by the demands for military concentration in the east, and became more inhuman in conformity with the changing character of the Roman people A long sustained resistance in the center of Spain, from 153-133 B C, ended with the capture of Numantia At that date the Romans controlled about two-thirds of the peninsula The peace which followed brought a measure of comfort to the inhabitants But many decades were to elapse before the memory of past wrongs was replaced with the benefits of good government

Carthage recovered from the severe losses of the Second Punic War with remarkable speed, thanks to the administrative ability of Hannibal But Roman fear led to intervention before which Hannibal fled A long series of persecutions followed They provoked the Carthaginians into a violation of the treaty of 202 B C, a violation accepted by Rome as an excuse for war Carthage met the same fate as that of Corinth, and her territory was added to the list of Rome's provinces, although Rome's ally and catspaw, the king of Numidia, had hoped to receive it as a reward

It is customary to comment somewhat regretfully upon the domination of the Mediterranean world by Rome The regret arises from a consideration

*A changing
world*

of Roman weakness rather than of eastern strength A glance at the respective offerings of East and West may clarify this statement The East had little to offer along political and military lines Its contribution to the new era lay concentrated in defenseless Athens The former greatness of Athens on the sea and in diplomacy had vanished None of the earlier civic activities of the Athenians remained to attract their interest And so we find the people of Athens turning their attention to music, athletics, and art. Philosophy and religion also played an important role in Athenian life, The humanitarian spirit, the other ethical features of Hellenistic philosophy and Hellenistic cults, the refinements of life, nicety of thought, clarity of expression, and a general urbanity were the positive contributions But the Romans found in Athens, and throughout the East, greed, luxury, and an undue emphasis upon the right of the individual to self-realization. These evils they either fought against in vain, or surrendered to with little effort

On the other hand, the Roman state represented the best in occidental life in the third century B C The development of the Romans in agriculture had not passed the primitive stage, their industrial life was in its infancy, their religion was simple, and their institutions in general immature But they did have certain elements which were worth while, — the strict disci-

pline of family life, the sober judgment of honest, practical, hard-working men, and a contempt for effeminacy. The ideal combination of the best of the two offerings was not realized. The period from 220 to 167 B C was a time of decline, of failure, and of survival of the worst in Hellenism, as it was a period of increasing growth of the disease of empire in Rome. Rome was strong enough to destroy the armies of the East, but she was too weak to withstand the counteroffensive of a decadent sophisticated culture.

After a century and a half of conquest, Roman society had greatly changed. The social groups were headed by a senatorial class, ambitious, jealous of power, and, to a great extent, zealous in the pursuit of happiness through vice. Almost equal in prominence was a capitalist group of bankers, landlords, and investors. Many of them remained in Rome, but a large number were seeking a quick and easy road to wealth in the provinces. The veterans of the frequent wars formed a large body of semi-professional soldiers, corrupted, increasingly unruly, and eager for campaigns which promised loot rather than glory. The Roman populace, composed of landless freemen and emancipated slaves, was little better than an unruly and selfish mob. Beneath all these and affecting the lives of all above them, were the slaves, drawn from every quarter of the empire, many of them catering to the vices of their masters and depriving the honest poor of the means of livelihood. Romans of the old school were still to be found on the farms of central and north Italy, but the spread of the plantation system was steadily reducing their numbers. The few owners of small farms followed the lead of the great landlords, and substituted olives and vines for cereals. Textbooks and skilled slaves increased the quantity and improved the quality of these new products. For grain the Roman people depended more and more upon Sicily, Africa, and southern Spain. The slave gangs of the great estates were mercilessly driven. The result was a violent outburst in Sicily, in 134 B C. This was only the first of a series of revolts. But the number of slaves was constantly replenished by wars and by the activities of Roman slave-dealers at Delos. The latter resorted to wholesale kidnapping when the supply of war captives was inadequate. Aside from this lucrative trade, the Romans refrained from commercial ventures. Commerce and industry were left largely to provincials and allies. Roman capital was invested in agriculture, money-lending, and in tax-farming contracts.

*Social and
economic changes
in Rome
200-133 B C*

In oratory, history, poetry, and drama the Romans continued to follow the guidance of their Hellenistic teachers. Greek rhetoricians attracted and yet dismayed them with their subtleties. Those who could afford it sent their sons to sit at the feet of Greek sophists, and to get a smattering of Hellenistic philosophy. The rationalism and agnosticism of eastern visitors aroused a vigorous but unavailing protest from conservative Romans. The attacks of sceptics and the competition of

Cultural changes

the eastern mystery-cults undermined Roman faith in Roman gods. The results of the impact of new ideas upon Roman simplicity were often amusing, generally tragic. A cultivated gentleman like Aemilius Paulus supervised the education of his sons, taught them the pleasures of hunting in the preserves of the Macedonian kings, conducted them through the ruins of ancient Athens, and guided them in their study of Greek philosophy. But the untutored consul who destroyed Corinth could give orders that those who were transporting the masterpieces of Corinthian art, must replace lost articles with duplicates in subject, size, and colors. Another official, offering a musical contest to amuse the Roman populace, suggested that the competitors play different numbers at the same time, and thought that a fitting climax had been reached when the musicians began a free-for-all fight. Only a few had a true appreciation of Hellenistic culture, but all were influenced. Even Cato, the staunch opponent of Hellenism, erected a Greek structure for his banking colleagues, and mastered the language of the hated Greeks before he died.

The general decline in morals and morale affected politics. The Senate clung to its authority, opposing all efforts of outsiders to obtain membership in its body, and thwarting the ambition of those senators who sought to rise above its average mediocrity. Senatorial control of the Assembly was maintained through bribery and expenditure on public entertainment. Machine tactics kept unacceptable candidates out of the lower magistracies, and a law of 180 B.C. established a fixed order in which all magistracies were to be held.

The general contempt for slaves was extended to the successful individuals who had obtained freedom. Freedmen were useful as business agents and estate foremen, but their economic and political rights were limited. The freedman could not hold office, nor could he enroll as a soldier. Even though he had purchased his freedom by savings, he was frequently bound to contribute a share of his earnings, after emancipation, to his former owner. His foreign blood, his taint of servitude, and even his superiority to the poorer Roman freeman were the reasons, or excuses for despising him. The Roman attitude of superiority was gradually widened to include the Latin and Italian allies. With privileges diminished and duties increased, the allies were being reduced to the status of provincial subjects. The latter were the victims of a poor system manned by selfish individuals. The provincial governor was given absolute control for his term of office. His subordinates were, with one exception, chosen by and responsible to him. The officer in charge of collection and disbursement of funds, the quaestor, was a senatorial appointee, but his power to check an evil governor was limited and rarely exercised. Even the Senate seldom intervened between a governor and his subjects. This extreme centralization of power offered unlimited opportunities for oppression by needy and greedy officials. Unoffending neighbors were wantonly attacked by triumph-hunting governors, and the provincials were

mercilessly oppressed. The results were administratively and politically unsound. The future welfare of the provinces was sacrificed to the incessant demands of governors and their retinues, to the tax collectors and money lenders, and to the investing public of Rome. At the same time, the political and moral integrity of the Romans was undermined by the waves of unearned wealth pouring into the capital.

The great influence of corruption is demonstrated by the hopeless anxiety which it aroused in the uncontaminated minority. The leader of this group, Scipio Aemilianus, had maintained Rome's record of victory by destroying Carthage in 146 B C and blotting out Numantia, the Spanish revolt-center, in 133 B C. But it was Scipio who ended his censorship in 142 B C with a prayer, not that Rome might be greater, but that she might be safe. Son of Aemilius Paulus, but adopted by a childless Scipio, Aemilianus was an ardent phil-Hellenist. But it was he who threatened the Greek freedmen in Rome, the "step-children of Italy," with fresh chains. Trained to think clearly, and knowing well the forces which were undermining the strength of Rome, he lacked the fortitude to apply the remedies of reform. That task was left to others.

Thoughtful citizens of Rome realized that in spite of victories, of wealth, and power, the security of the state was threatened from many sides. Within the city walls was an increasing number of poor, unprovided for and uncontrolled. In Italy, the census figures showed a steady decline in the numbers of the citizen agricultural middle class. There was also growing unrest among the Latin and Italian Allies. Beyond Italy were the provinces, subjected to a government pitiless, inefficient, and without plan. The frontiers of the empire were without a permanent military guard, the Mediterranean was unpoliced. It was evident that the old constitution must be revised in order to meet the demands of a world empire.

For one hundred and two years the Romans experimented with their constitution. The first among the leaders of reform was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. He was the son of a famous plebeian statesman of the same name, grandson of the patrician Scipio Africanus, and brother-in-law of Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage. He was trained by his patrician mother, Cornelia, by a Greek rhetorician and a Greek philosopher of the Stoic school. He was advised by the best legal talent of Rome and by the greatest Roman orator of the age. His program was not one of unrestrained idealism, nor was it the unpatriotic plan of an insincere politician. Its purpose was to restore to its former proportion the number of the agricultural middle class and to reduce the number of the urban poor.

Upon seeking election to the tribunate, Tiberius announced that he would, if elected, present a bill calling for the enforcement of a law already on the statute books. This law limited each individual possessor of public land to a

*Tiberius Gracchus,
reformer*

total of five hundred iugera (about three hundred ten acres) In spite of this law many individuals had occupied larger portions of the public land It was the wish of Tiberius that land held in excess of the legal total be reclaimed by the state, in order that it might be allotted in thirty-iugera (eighteen-acre) farms to landless Romans of the urban populace

The right to present such a bill was not questioned by anyone, but the propriety of presenting it was doubted by those who had seized public land, and the advisability of distributing it to the poor was questioned by many conservatives Tiberius, however, was so convinced of the soundness of his plan that he resorted to unusual and extreme steps in order to insure its passage and enforcement

His first unusual step was to override the Senate's refusal to consider his bill and to present it to the Assembly without senatorial action In the Assembly the senators hostile to him found a tribune willing to interpose his veto, which prevented a vote on the bill Tiberius then introduced another unusual measure, the recall of the tribune whose veto blocked progress These unusual acts lost for Tiberius the support of the liberal group in the Senate, but his position was still constitutionally sound, and his bill became a law

Fearing that his work would be undone by the tribunes of the following year, Tiberius then violated the constitution by standing for re-election This gave excuse to the senatorial mob, which killed him with bludgeons

The work of Tiberius Gracchus had permanent results The possibility of independent legislation by the Assembly had been demonstrated Senatorial control of Assembly legislation by tribunician veto had been definitely challenged by the recall of the obstructing tribune The Senate was confronted with the unwelcome truth that its authority in the state could be maintained only by assassination The death of Tiberius could not destroy, it could only postpone, reform

The next ten years were marked by a return to normal procedure The Senate continued its control of provincial and foreign affairs The kingdom of Pergamum, bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C., was organized as the province of Asia in 129 B.C. Minor wars in Illyria, the Alps, and the Balearic Islands were waged under senatorial supervision In Italy the policy of degrading the Allies was continued Suggestions of liberal senators that citizenship be extended to Latin and Italian Allies were ridiculed, and the subsequent revolt of one city, Fregellae, was crushed In Rome the Senate acted with discretion The land law of Tiberius was not repealed, although obstructions effectively put an end to the process of redistribution

The fate of Tiberius Gracchus kept other reformers quiet, but in 123 B.C. the struggle was renewed when Gaius Gracchus was elected to the office which his older brother had held. Memories of the first conflict still lingered,

and the tactical errors then committed were avoided. Thus the Senate gave no occasion for the use of the recall. Gaius Gracchus, on the other hand, sought, through a more elaborate program, for stronger and wider political support. Not only was the land law restored to efficiency, but bills were presented to and passed by the Assembly, which pledged the State to sell grain at half price to the citizen poor of Rome, and to furnish equipment to the citizen troops, thereby strengthening Gaius' hold on the Assembly.

*Gaius Gracchus
Tribune of
the Plebs,
123-121 B C*

Gaius also allied to himself the knights (equites), by a law which gave the capitalists of Rome a practical monopoly on the contracts for collecting the taxes of the rich province of Asia. Another law assigned to this group alone the right to serve on juries chosen to pass judgment on provincial officials accused of extortionate practices.

With the support of populace and knights, Gaius was more than a match for the ultra-conservatives in the Senate. The management of Rome, the government of Italy, the administration of the provinces were all in his hands. For a year the entire empire of Rome was directed by Gaius Gracchus, the unofficial dictator of the State. His re-election to the tribunate had been made possible by a law of 124 B C. His decline came with an attempt to distribute favors to those who had little or no voting-power. A bill authorizing the foundation of colonies for the benefit of the urban middle class was passed by a bare majority of eighteen to seventeen. The populace found little advantage to themselves in this bill, and rejected flatly a proposal to extend citizenship to the Latins and Italians. Gaius was still a man of influence, but after his failure to obtain a third term his senatorial enemies felt strong enough to attack him. Under the authority of a senatorial decree of martial law (*senatus consultum ultimum*), an armed force put to death Gaius Gracchus and three thousand of his followers.

For the second time the Senate emerged victor. Control of affairs had been wrested from the Assembly, but the reforms authorized by Assembly legislation were not abrogated. The knights retained their jury panel, the populace their cheap grain, and the homesteaders their allotments.

Reaction, 121-111

The significant change in government was the substitution of selfish factional policies for the all-embracing policy of Gaius Gracchus. Laws were presented and passed under the direction of a middle-class coalition of senatorial moderates and equites. The legislation made the Gracchan allotments alienable, throttled the activities of the land commission, and finally guaranteed in their possession those who held an illegal amount of land. The logical conclusion came in 111 B C, when possessors of public land were given complete ownership by law. Colonies at Aquae Sextiae and Narbo, in southern France, compensated populace and knights for their potential losses with respect to the public lands of Italy. This victory of the moderate con-

servatives in the Senate was not the result of senatorial strength. It was rather the outcome of a leaderless opposition. For a time, the activity of foreign enemies preserved leadership of the moderates. But mismanagement of foreign affairs eventually weakened the Senate and made effective the challenge of a third champion of the people.

The ambition of Jugurtha, a prince of Numidia and an ally of Rome, was the first source of trouble. The Senate, reluctant to change of any sort, was forced into war by the ruthless acts of Jugurtha. Senatorial inefficiency in the conduct of the war brought to the consulship a new popular leader, Gaius Marius. His success in terminating the war made him the hero of the hour. In that position he was called to ward off a far greater menace to the security of the State. The Teutons and Cimbri, vanguard of the great Teutonic migrations, had already defeated five Roman armies. While these land-hungry wanderers journeyed through Gaul to Spain and back again towards Italy, Marius, in violation of law, was re-elected to the consulship four times. His destruction of Teutons and Cimbri at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae (102 and 101 B.C.) won for him a sixth consulship for the year 100 B.C.

The name of Marius should be included among the list of reformers not because of his leadership in the Senate or the Assembly, for he was not a skil-

Gaius Marius, general ful politician, but because of his reorganization of the army.

His reforms Compelled, or perhaps inclined, to the enrollment of landless men in the legions, Marius abandoned the former requirement of land ownership for citizen soldiers. With the exception of a small cavalry group, all Roman citizens were enrolled as heavy infantry and all armed alike. Cavalry and light-armed troops were furnished by those allies especially fitted for these varieties of service. It is possible that under Marius the size of a legion was raised from four to six thousand men, and probable that he was responsible for the shift from the maniple to the cohort (six hundred men) as the tactical unit. By giving each man a knapsack, and by enforcing the strictest discipline, Marius produced an army equal in power to those which had defeated Philip V, Antiochus III, and the wild tribes of Spain. If not under his order, at least with his encouragement, the legionary eagle came to have for the Roman soldiers the same significance possessed by the flag of today. The soldier began his service as one enters a profession. Sixteen years was the usual term of enlistment, and at the close each soldier expected a land allotment as a sort of pension. This was true only of Roman-citizen soldiers. For the Allies, there was no hope of reward, although Marius is credited with having bestowed citizenship upon certain of his more faithful auxiliary troops. The results of these reforms of Marius were (1) the democratization of the army, (2) the substitution of loyalty to the general for state loyalty, and (3) the development of a military class or caste, with its religion centering on the standard of the legion, with its ideas and ideals

different from those of the civilian group, and with a political program of expansion and aggressive imperialism

The brilliant military achievement of Marius was followed by a juvenile performance of the great general as a politician. He was driven from power by his senatorial opponents, and the Senate once again assumed control. Less than ten years of political bickering *His fall* passed before the Romans were forced to forget their political differences and to fight for the very existence of Rome against the infuriated Latin and Italian Allies.

For a long time the Allies had sought by peaceable means to obtain a position of equality with the Romans. Probably the social and economic factors of equality were of greater interest to the Allies than the political. Still, one of the earliest attempts to secure equality *Grievances of Latin and Italian Allies* was political in its character. A proposal was made by a Roman senator to grant to each Latin city representation in the Roman Senate. Although the proposal was rejected by the Senate, the non-Romans in Italy continued to hope for equality, but it was not until 133 B C that they found in Tiberius Gracchus a champion in Rome ready to present their offer in the form of a bill. His desire to extend citizenship to the people of Italy found no favor, and was not even formally presented to the Assembly. In the year 125 B C a consul of liberal tendencies announced his intention of presenting a similar bill to the Senate, but his intention was never carried out, and the only result was the vain revolt of Fregellae. In 122 B C Gaius Gracchus spoke for a bill enfranchising the Latins and Italians. In the accounts of his speeches as they have come down to us, there are references to the cruel treatment of the Latins and Italians by the Romans. The rejection of the bill by the Assembly and the death of Gracchus ended all agitation in favor of non-Romans in Italy. Senatorial opposition to the Latins and Italians was indicated in a decree of the year 95 B C which demanded the return to their original homes of all Latins and Italians residing in Rome. The decree was looked upon by the Allies as an insult, and was probably one of the causes for the war which broke out in 90 B C. The act which brought on war, however, was the murder of Livius Drusus.

Livius Drusus, wealthy and cultivated aristocrat, son of the man who had been the strongest enemy of Gaius Gracchus, was selected by the senatorial aristocracy as its champion in a campaign for the restoration of jury authority to the Senate. His program and his methods were too radical to suit senatorial taste. When the united efforts of his opponents threatened the success of his plans, Drusus turned to the Allies for support. Roman citizenship was to be their reward. His assassination was the signal for revolt.

The organization of the allied forces was little more than an adaptation of the Roman plan. A senate chosen from the constituent cities was more representative than that of Rome. In other respects the Roman model was

closely followed Roman citizenship was to the Allies an ideal status. They sought independence only as a substitute for the ideal which could not be attained. When citizenship was extended, in 89 B C, to those who had remained loyal, it was accepted. When it was offered to those who would desert to Rome, in 88 B C, the rebellion lost its reason for existence. Roman laws rather than Roman legions ended the War of the Allies. But a heavy price was paid for the delay in legislation. Three hundred thousand men were lost, and the fields of Italy suffered devastation from which they did not recover in antiquity.

Solution of the Italian problem

In the midst of this life-and-death struggle with the Allies, there came to Rome news of a general and terrifying outbreak in the East. Mithradates VI, the ambitious king of Pontus, was the leader of the anti-Roman movement. Supported by all who hated and feared the Romans, he quickly overran the client kingdom of Bithynia, the province of Asia, and the islands of the Aegean. The Greeks rose against the Romans, and an army of Mithradates was sent to support them.

The eastern peril

The man chosen by the Senate to attempt the reconquest of Rome's eastern provinces was L. Cornelius Sulla, one of the consuls of the year 89 B C. When the Assembly attempted to nullify the Senate's action by giving command in the East to Marius, civil war was added to the war against the Allies and that against Mithradates, for Sulla, delayed in departure by the siege of an allied city in Campania, led his army to Rome and drove the Marian faction into exile. There followed two terrible blood purges in Rome. The Marians, rallying after Sulla's departure, took possession of Rome and massacred all of his available followers. Then, in 84 B C, when Sulla returned victorious from the East, a systematic proscription took the lives of the democratic leaders.

Leads to civil war

The regime ushered in by the Sullan proscriptions was revolutionary. A senatorial decree conferred on Sulla the title, dictator, and gave him unlimited authority. The new dictatorship included the right to make laws, to put citizens to death, to found colonies, in short, the right to control every phase of government. It resembled the office of earlier centuries only in name, being much more closely related to the unauthorized autocratic rule of Gaius Gracchus. The reorganization effected by the new dictator was designed to make the Assembly impotent and the Senate a powerful successor to himself. The plebeian tribunate was stripped of all its powers, and the Assembly itself terrorized by the presence of ten thousand newly manumitted slaves. The Senate was strengthened by an increase of three hundred members chosen from the knights, and the jury panel for trials on the charge of extortion was returned to it. Control of magistrates was secured by legislation which reaffirmed the regular order in which magistracies must be held. The quaestorships, of which there were twenty, must precede the praetorships, of which there were eight. Praetor-

And to dictatorship

ship must precede consulship. The year of office was to be spent in Rome in civilian tasks. In the year immediately following domestic service, each magistrate was assigned to provincial duty. These and many other changes formed a structure designed to perpetuate the rule of a conservative aristocracy. For at least two reasons the plan lasted less than ten years. Sulla could give the Senate power, but he could not make it strong. He could make laws, but could not restore respect for law. Then, too, he failed to give to the new constitution elasticity sufficient to cope with emergencies. The result was that emergencies, for which his acts were in part responsible, forced the Senate to violate the instrument forged to protect it.

A civil war in Spain, led by officers of Marius, took one of the two competent senatorial generals. Renewed war in the East took the other. A call from Spain for reinforcements and a serious slave-uprising in Italy compelled the Senate to grant military authority to two men who were ineligible under the Sullan constitution.

*The Senate
fails again*

One of them, Gnaeus Pompey, had held no office. The other, Marcus Crassus, had not completed the required preliminary service. When these two men returned with victorious armies, demanded triumphs and the right to stand for the consulship in the following year, 70 B C, the Senate was too weak to deny their requests as unconstitutional.

Sixty-three years had passed since the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus. Many dangers to the State had been averted, but the impression of insecurity remained. The poor of Rome had been provided for by a series of grain laws which authorized the free distribution of corn. But no permanent success had been achieved in controlling the mob.

*The Roman State
in 70 B C*

The agricultural middle-class of Italy, recruited by the Gracchi, continued to decline. Latins and Italians were now citizens. Their enfranchisement was the one great forward step of the period. Provincials were even more pitilessly oppressed than before. The army reforms of Marius had not been discarded, but the frontier remained unprotected and the Mediterranean unpoliced. One bitter lesson of these dreary years was the knowledge that without military force reform was impossible. Neither Senate nor Assembly was capable of assuming leadership. The only remaining implement was the magistracy, a magistracy held by a man possessing statesmanship and power. From 70 B C to the last days of the Republic, one may imagine the Roman world waiting for a man who would combine military leadership and reform program.

The twenty-six years from 70 to 44 B C, produced leaders of every political hue, from conservatives, like Lucullus, to radicals, like Catiline. The degree of success of each leader depended upon the amount of magisterial authority which he obtained and held. The solution of Rome's problems was thus reached by an actual restoration of the kingship. But the road to monarchy was long and difficult.

*The approach to
monarchy*

The Senate took the first step when, in 74 B C, it assigned to Lucullus extraordinary military authority in the provinces of Cilicia and Asia, with instructions to lead Rome's forces against Mithradates. This monarch had recovered from the defeat inflicted by Sulla, and again challenged Rome for the possession of Bithynia. The unusual feature of Lucullus' authority was that it was prolonged from year to year. In a series of masterly campaigns Lucullus forced Mithradates back, overran the kingdom of Pontus, and defeated the Armenian allies of the Pontine king. He might have put an end to Mithradates had he not been attacked in Rome by political enemies, some of whose agents were present in his camp. A mutiny of his troops in the winter of 69 B C, the activity of Mithradates (once more in his own kingdom of Pontus), and the failure of the Senate to support him in Rome brought Lucullus' command to an inglorious end in 66 B C.

*Lucullus
and Senate,
74-70 B C*

Lucullus was a ruler of a past age. His strict discipline, his phil-Hellenism, his sense of justice remind one of the third century B C, but new times demanded new and different qualities. The aristocracy had no man of the new type to take his place, and so leadership fell into the hands of those who had obtained control through their wealth: the Equites. Their candidates were Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus.

Crassus had earned the gratitude of Sulla by his military service, and had been permitted to bid in many estates confiscated by Sulla in the days of the proscriptions. The Senate had turned to him in 71 B C as the only available soldier to put down a serious revolt of the gladiators and other slaves in Italy. His success in this task encouraged him to demand a triumph and the right to stand for the consulship. This was a direct violation of the Sullan constitution, but Sulla was dead and the Senate was unable to withstand the pressure applied not only by Crassus, but also by Pompey.

*Crassus, Pompey
and the Equites*

Gnaeus Pompey also made his first appearance in public life as a lieutenant of Sulla. He had fought against the followers of Marius in Italy, Africa, and Spain. On his return from Spain, he had destroyed the last group of rebellious slaves in North Italy and thereby obtained much of the credit for ending that peril. Far less wealthy than Crassus, he was much more popular with his troops. When the two men, with their armies behind them, made identical requests and agreed to unite against opposition, the Senate yielded.

The domestic and foreign policies of the equestrian order were carried out to the letter by Pompey and Crassus. At home, the chief desire of the Equites was to reduce the power of the Senate. The powers of the plebeian tribunate, abolished by Sulla, were restored to that office, and the Assembly became once more the important legislative body of the Roman state. The coalition of knights and people reduced the Senate to impotence, as it had in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus.

Domestic policies

The foreign policy of the Equites was one of aggressive imperialism and exploitation. They wanted more territory subject to Rome, they wanted peace in the territory already under Roman sway, and they wanted complete freedom in their economic exploitation. Reduction of senatorial membership in the jury panel for cases of extortion gave the knights their desired freedom from control. The chief obstacle to peace at that time was the piracy which prevailed in every corner of the Mediterranean, even at the mouth of the Tiber. Through a law passed by the Assembly (the Lex Gabinia), Pompey was given supreme command for three years on the sea and control of the shores of the Mediterranean for a depth of fifty miles. He was able, in eighty-nine days, to clear the sea of pirates, to punish some, and to settle others in communities where they could be watched. Pompey's success in this operation made him the logical choice as conqueror of new territory. The Assembly acted again (Lex Manilia), making Pompey the successor of Lucullus and granting him extraordinary authority over the entire Roman East. Pompey's campaign was little more than a victorious march from one subject state to another. His reorganization of the war-ridden area was a real achievement, carefully planned, skilfully executed, and, in its main outlines, unchanged for more than three hundred years (see page 123 on client kingdoms). From the point of view of the knights, the expedition was a complete success.

*Foreign policies
of the Equites*

In fact, Pompey's success had been too great to be completely satisfactory. His power, his prestige, his popularity were so great that absolute control of the State was his for the asking. Political leaders of all groups feared him, but no concerted action was possible, because each man feared and hated even those who joined him in fearing and hating Pompey.

*Pompey's
leadership*

Two men endeavored to form coalitions which would bring some order into the chaotic political arena. One of them, Gaius Julius Caesar (c 100-44 B C), tried to unite the enemies of Pompey. Using his own popularity with the masses, the money of Crassus, and the discontent of many ruined aristocrats, Caesar evolved a program revolutionary in tone.

*Challenged by
Caesar*

Caesar's chief opponent, M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 B C), owed his prominence in politics to his oratorical abilities. As one of the consuls for the year 63 B C, Cicero defeated Caesar's legislative program and unearthed a conspiracy planned by the most desperate of Caesar's colleagues, the notorious Catiline. The orator, too, had a coalition in mind. He would have the respectable members of the two orders, senatorial and equestrian, resume their former co-operative activities and accept Pompey as a prominent member of the group.

And by Cicero

Cicero's plan failed for two reasons. He could not bring himself to resign leadership in favor of Pompey and thereby lost Pompey's confidence. Then,

too, Pompey himself spoiled the plan, for, by disbanding his army at Brundisium on his return, he gave renewed confidence to his enemies

The solution was finally reached by Caesar. It was a coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and himself, the First (unofficial) Triumvirate (60 B C). Pompey was promised the ratification of his eastern settlement, which he could not secure from a hostile Senate, and land allotment, for his veterans, which he had failed to obtain from a hostile Assembly. Crassus was promised a revision of the excessive amount bid by the *publicani* for the right to farm the revenues of Asia. In order to secure the required legislation, Caesar was to be elected to the consulship for the year 59 B C.

The coalition was a complete success. The money of Crassus, the veterans of Pompey, and the political skill of Caesar were irresistible. The bids for farming the revenues of the province of Asia were reduced by one third, Pompey's settlement of the East was ratified, and his veterans received the lands promised them. The Senate was crippled by a law requiring the publication of its proceedings, and the chief opponent of the Triumvirate, Cicero, was driven into exile.

The strength of the Triumvirate had been demonstrated. It remained to secure the permanence of the coalition. Matrimonial alliances bound the three leaders more securely, and political manipulation secured their control of the machinery of government. Caesar's reward was the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, to which the Senate added Transalpine Gaul. The jealousy of Pompey and Crassus was renewed in Caesar's absence, and the enemies of the Three-Headed Monster, as Cicero described the Triumvirate, sought to destroy it. A conference at Luca in the year 56 B C restored unity to the coalition. The new agreement included an extension of Caesar's government in Gaul for another five years. Pompey was to be governor of Spain, with the right to govern his provinces from Rome. Crassus was granted the governorship of Syria, in order that he, too, might gain military glory in a campaign against the Parthians.

The defeat and death of Crassus in 54 B C destroyed the nice balance of power among the three rulers of Rome and led directly to a struggle between the two survivors. Out of that struggle Caesar emerged victorious. Victory went to the better general. It went to the man who preferred facts to fancies, who substituted honesty for deception, who recognized the weaknesses of the state and did not hesitate to eradicate them.

The death knell of the Roman Republic was tolled when Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Sulla, in 88 B C, and Caesar, in 49 B.C., claimed to be champions of the constitution. But Sulla's march from the south and Caesar's march from the north

The new state of Caesar could not be developed in more than outline form. His campaigns against Pompey and the Pompeians left him less than seventeen scattered months for peaceful work. Within that time he established himself in a position based on a cumulation of offices and magisterial powers. With these offices and powers he controlled a Senate of nine hundred members, a sort of imperial advisory council. The power of a tribune of the plebs gave him authority over the Assembly. As dictator, he dominated the officials. King in all but name, he then inaugurated a program of reform.

Constitutional position of Caesar

The construction of parks, public buildings, and roads gave work to many of the poor in Rome. An elaborate scheme of colonization in Italy and in the provinces satisfied his veterans and still further reduced the number of unemployed in the capital. Debtors were relieved by the application of interest already paid to the capital sum of their indebtedness. Those who were land-poor, were permitted to offer their property in payment of debt, at a pre-war valuation. Capitalists were encouraged to invest in Italian land and land-owners were required to hire one free laborer for every two slaves. One striking result of these measures was the reduction of the "bread line" in Rome from 320,000 to 150,000. Another was the restoration of hope to debtors and of confidence to creditors.

Economic reforms

The distinctive merit of Caesar as reformer and state-builder was derived from his ability to see the empire as a whole. His sole predecessor in this breadth of vision, was Gaius Gracchus. Gaius Gracchus, the one man who might have saved the Roman state from monarchy had he been loyally supported, was the model of the first of the Caesars. If one adds to these two the unknown man, or men, who, in 338 B C, had proposed the extension of Roman citizenship to non-Romans, the three founders of Rome's greatness are joined.

Imperial policy

Caesar's imperial policy may be stated briefly. The system of centralized administration put into effect by him, and carried out by his successors, was the chief cause of the continued dominance of Rome in the Mediterranean world. Through his policy of uniformity in administration, in municipal charters, for example, Caesar laid the foundations for justice and equality before the law throughout the empire. The generous extension of citizenship to provincials and the representation of provincials in the Roman Senate, were important steps in the equalization of individuals within the boundaries of the empire.

The reaction of Hellenistic civilization upon Rome is no more clearly illustrated in any individual in Rome's history than in Caesar. The cultural ideas of the East he derived from Greek tutors and from his university training in Rhodes. The military ideals of the East, personal leadership, generalship, and the ability to handle troops, were Caesar's. The legal ideas of the East, especially that of

Hellenism of Caesar

uniformity in practice, were carried out by Caesar. The religion of the East, in so far as it related to state religion, the worship of a god-king, had absorbed Caesar. Individualism, the keynote of Hellenistic civilization, found complete expression in Caesar, the extreme individualist.

From another point of view Caesar may be looked upon as the heir to all the experiments of the reformers, from the Gracchi to his own day. His land policy was that of Gaius Gracchus, his tribunician power gave him similar leadership of the people. His military authority was equal to that of Marius or of Sulla. He controlled the Senate, as had Sulla, with dictatorial power. He controlled the magistrates, and made them responsible to him by law, just as they had been responsible to Pompey without formal legal action. He controlled the provinces from Rome, as Pompey had done. The list might be continued with every forward step taken from 133 B.C., and it would be found that each of them had been included, with improvements, in Caesar's system. And yet the system was not perfect, nor was the education of the Romans completed. The assassination of Caesar proved little more than the weariness of the teacher. The seventeen years of civil war proved the ignorance of the pupils.

There are as many interpretations of the character and career of Caesar as there have been scholars who have made a study of his life. From the superman described by Mommsen to the archdestroyer criticized by Ferrero there are many steps. A saner estimate probably lies somewhere between the extremes. Only a god incarnate could have plotted a course so devious, and held to it. Yet Caesar was mortal. Opportunist he may have been, but he made the most of his opportunities and replaced what he destroyed. He was a strong man, accepting, or seizing, a position of great eminence and finding in it far more responsibility than he had dreamed it could hold. The responsibility, with all of its perils, he welcomed and deserved.

The assassination of Caesar was not followed by the rejection of Hellenistic monarchy and the restoration of the Republic. In fact, the Senate was manoeuvred into formal approval of the Dictator's acts and even of his plans. This unexpected legislation was climaxed by a vote which deified Caesar. Senatorial concession was not accepted, however, by Caesar's friends, who finally took up arms to avenge their lost leader. The ensuing civil war developed into a contest for power by advocates of different types of monarchy. Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Caesar's political successor, fought for a Hellenistic kingship, with himself as divine ruler. Cicero, the acknowledged leader of the Senate, made a valiant effort to restore that body to a position of dignity, and to lay the foundations for a constitutional monarchy, in which the ruler would act as arbiter. Other motives obscured but could not destroy this deeper reason for conflict. The conspirators had expected to be lionized, but were forced to defeat and death by those whom they had "saved" from tyranny. Octavius, grandnephew, heir,

*Civil War,
44-37 B.C.*

and adopted son of Caesar, at first joined the Senate in order that his posthumous adoption might be legalized. He then allied himself with Antonius that he might punish those who murdered his "father." In a proscription more sweeping than that of Sulla, these two men destroyed all who opposed them. The long duel which followed between Antonius and Octavius (now Caesar Octavianus) was much more than a personal quarrel of rivals for supreme power. It was a revival of the original cause of civil war. The victory of Octavian at the battle of Actium in 31 B C, was a victory of and for the West. It was a triumph of the ideal which Cicero's oratory had been unable to bring into being.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROMAN PRINCIPATE (31 B C -180 A D)

Octavian (63 B C -14 A D) was as much a part of the Revolution as was Julius Caesar Both had obtained power by bribery, theft, murder, and all other dishonorable means Both had executed a quick about-face when all opposition had been crushed But that which bound Octavian most firmly with the past was the fact that the materials which he proposed to re-form, were legacies of the Revolution Men and institutions had not been completely changed by a single battle, or even by the prolonged civil war In fact, with but one exception, the problems of 133 B C confronted the reformer of 31 B C The Latin and Italian Allies had won Roman citizenship But the city, the peninsula, the provinces, and the frontiers were still in urgent need of stable organization The reforms of Octavian were only the last of a series But because the organization established by the last reformer endured for centuries, it has been granted a distinctive title, the Principate of Augustus

Peace and justice, law and order were the rewards granted to those who accepted him as Princeps, or First Citizen The title Augustus, conferred by the Senate in 27 B C , he explained when he wrote, “ I stood before all others in prestige, but of actual power I possessed no more than my colleagues in each several magistracy ”

The Principate may be defined as a constitutional, or limited, monarchy Some scholars have maintained that Augustus restored the old Republic His own statement is that he “restored to liberty the Commonwealth which had been overcome by the tyranny of a faction ” Others, noting that this formal restoration, in 27 B C , was immediately followed by a senatorial grant of supreme power, have declared that Augustus was an absolute monarch, and a hypocrite as well Mommsen invented the word Dyarchy to describe a dual government, that of Augustus and the Senate Kornemann concluded that the results of government, and not the form, were of primary importance to the people of the Empire, he believed also that Augustus’s claim to be the restorer of liberty was accepted because he gave the Roman world peace and justice It is certain that he restored law and order, that he found both Assembly and Senate unable, or unwilling, to assume the responsibilities of governing, and that he became a monarch in fact if not in name Had there been willing-

have been realized But the ingredients of constitutional monarchy did not exist A real autocracy was established in 27 B C

In 31 B C Augustus derived his military power from the office of Triumvir, even though that office, renewed in 37 B C, had been limited to a five-year period His civil authority came from the consulship, to which he was re-elected from 31 to 27 B C When he formally re-
The powers of Augustus
 stored the Commonwealth to liberty, the Senate voted him a superior (*maius*) imperium in the provinces for ten years His consulships continued to 23 B C At this date the consulship was replaced by a life grant of the power of a tribune, and the superior imperium was voted him for life Many other powers and privileges were granted Augustus, but upon these two, the *maius imperium* and the tribunician power, he based his rule

The character of the new leader was clearly reflected in the administrative reorganization of the Empire A realist, without enthusiasms, cautious and yet thorough, Augustus hastened slowly but surely to the establishment of a sound and lasting state There was worked out
Administration of Augustus
 in painstaking detail a business administration on a social basis At the head was Augustus, so powerful and so beneficent that he was respected and honored as the son of the deified Julius Below him was an hereditary nobility, the senatorial order Its members were given the most important military and administrative positions Next in line of precedence was the equestrian order It was not easy to advance from this group into the first, or senatorial, class But any Roman citizen who was financially successful might be enrolled as an eques The equites filled the second class of offices An imitation of this socio-administrative division was found in the provincial cities, where the local senates were composed of the "best" men of the city, and were given the responsibilities of municipal government At this point, the line was drawn Below the line were the governed, above it, the governing With few exceptions, in Rome or in the provinces, no man crossed the line

On the basis of a complete census-inventory, an equitable assessment of taxes was made The provinces, as the spoils of war, provided the major portion of the taxes A provincial land-tax, usually a tithe,
Taxation
 or tenth, of the cereal-crop return, was levied on the large public domains Other property taxes and a poll tax on non-citizens swelled the returns. Roman citizens were subject to an inheritance tax of five per cent, a sales tax of two per cent Customs duties and port and harbor dues were also levied.

The income from each province was considered as a separate fund, a *fiscus* Those of the frontier provinces, Augustus administered as the authorized official The entire revenues coming from Egypt (see p. 123)
The treasures
 were his, as were the returns from his personal property The total was so great that Augustus obtained the privilege of minting all of the

gold and silver coins of the state. Under a later emperor, Claudius, the official income of the Princeps was centralized in an imperial treasury, which bore the old name, *fiscus*. The Senate controlled the income of the pacified provinces, and with it supported with difficulty the old Republican treasury (*aerarium*). Coinage of copper was the business of the Senate. Augustus was, from the beginning, the financial head of the state.

The difficulty of keeping up even a pretence of dual government is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the administration of the Imperial City.

*Municipal admin-
istration of Rome* Augustus wished, as had his adoptive father, that Rome might become a safe, comfortable, and beautiful city. Water, food, shelter, and peace were prime necessities. But the regularly elected magistrates failed in their municipal duties. Attempts to improve matters by the appointment of senatorial commissions also failed. Then Augustus, using his tribunician power, appointed individuals, responsible to him, for the effective completion of various tasks (*curae*). These men secured an adequate and constant water-supply, administered the arrival and distribution of grain for the two hundred thousand men of Rome's "bread line," and undertook the policing of the city streets with a force of seven thousand men. A fire department and an ordinance restricting buildings to a height of seventy feet contributed to the security of Rome's tenement dwellers. The numerous public buildings erected by Augustus, or at his suggestion, contributed to the beauty of the city. They formed solid proofs of his boast that he had found a city of brick and left one of marble.

The administration of Italy was the immediate responsibility of the Senate. But here, too, Augustus intervened. In order to relieve the *aerarium* of a heavy burden, the care of public roads was taken over by the Princeps, who assigned procurators for this duty. The reforms of Caesar in Italy and in Cisalpine Gaul had been so thorough that no great changes were deemed necessary. An unsuccessful effort was made to interest Italians in Roman city-elections. The list sent out from Rome of candidates to be voted upon in advance of the elections attracted no attention, since it consisted of names selected by Augustus. Local elections were real contests and absorbed the political interest of the inhabitants.

*Provincial
administration* The distinction between frontier and pacified provinces, between those governed directly by the Princeps and those under the supervision of the Senate, was not a vital one. The hand of Augustus was felt in all of them. The census had been directed by him in all parts of the Empire. Colonies of veterans were settled in senatorial and imperial provinces. The Republican beginnings of a road system were improved and added to by Augustus, without reference to provincial boundaries. Governors of senatorial provinces did not escape his supervision, since he controlled the judicial machinery in the capital. In fact, the judicial

"appeal to Caesar" could be made by Roman citizens from any part of the Empire

A real distinction was that between East and West. No effort was made to make Romans out of provincials in either section, since Augustus was extremely illiberal in the extension of citizenship. But in the vast townless areas of the West, the language, law, and customs of the Romans were more readily received than in the urbanized and cultivated East. Thus, under Augustus, a gradual and voluntary Romanization of the West developed, while, in the East, with but few changes, and those in externals only, Hellenistic culture continued. The contributions to both sections by Augustus were justice and economic encouragement.

Another real distinction was that between land assigned to municipalities and land administered directly by the Princes. The normal administrative unit in antiquity was the municipality with its adjacent territory. But the Roman state owned much land not assigned to municipalities. The gold mines of northwestern Spain, the "crown lands" of conquered kings are types of this extra-municipal land. Augustus assumed personal control of this important division, administering it through his own freedmen. The richest of all these possessions was Egypt. The Nile Valley had been, for millennia, the private estate of the ruler, a legacy which Augustus accepted with all its implications. The owner had always been considered a god, and Augustus, too, was a god in Egypt. The tillers of the soil had been serfs, Augustus kept them in that status. Although worthy of a senatorial governor, Egypt was made forbidden ground for any senator by an express order of its owner and god.

Many of the kingdoms conquered by Rome were permitted to retain a shadow of independence in a status like that of the Italian Allies in the early Roman federation. The East, as reorganized by Pompey, for example, included more client-kingdoms than provinces. *Client-kingdoms* Augustus, too, used this inexpensive form of frontier protection, and applied it in Armenia, at least to the extent of selecting the Armenian king. The sons of client kings were educated, or entertained at Rome, and a peaceful penetration of Roman or Hellenistic culture was encouraged. The client-kingdom was a compromise between independent state and province. It was possibly this element of compromise which made client-kingdoms acceptable to Augustus.

At the close of the civil war between Antony and Octavian, there were over fifty legions under arms. The victor settled thousands of veterans on lands in Italy and in the provinces. He then regrouped the remainder into about twenty-five legions of five thousand men each. Adding to them an equal number of auxiliary troops, he established the first standing army of Rome. An imperial body-guard, the praetorian cohorts, of nine thousand men; some three thousand soldiers of the urban cohorts, and the seven thousand police of the Capital completed the land forces. To them were added two strong naval squadrons, *The army of the Principate*

concentrated at Ravenna and Misenum, with smaller detachments at other strategic points. The auxiliaries, provincials or aliens, served for twenty-five years when they were discharged with citizenship as their reward. The reward of citizenship probably dates from Claudius. Twenty years of service was required of soldiers of the legion and of the urban cohorts, sixteen years of the praetorians. At the close of his rule, the three hundred thousand soldiers of Augustus were distributed among the frontier provinces in the following manner. Eight legions protected the Rhine frontier, the Danubian provinces (including Dalmatia) had seven, the Euphrates frontier needed only three. Three each were assigned to Egypt and to northwest Spain, and Proconsular Africa received one.

The military plans of Caesar were unwelcome to his successor. Augustus was not a soldier, and sought to avoid or to end war. Popular clamor for a war against the Parthians was answered by a diplomatic mission, which returned with the standards captured by the Parthian kings, and a treaty of peace. A long series of campaigns advanced the northern frontier from a dangerous proximity to Italy, to the Danube river. Two severe campaigns in the northwestern mountainous districts completed the pacification of the Spanish peninsular. Prolonged efforts to shorten the northern frontier by advancing from the Rhine to the Elbe, were thwarted by the defeat and loss of three legions under the notorious Varus. Two expeditions from Egypt appear to have been private enterprises of the Princeps rather than parts of a general Roman plan. Augustus' policy was not one of aggressive imperialism. The man who increased the area of the Empire by one half was at all times an advocate of peace.

Rectification of frontiers formed a strange but intelligible background to the development of peace propaganda in Rome. The fourth eclogue of Vergil heralds the return of a golden age of happiness and peace. Augustus boasts of the fact that there was, on at least three occasions, peace at home and on the frontiers. The most elaborate of all his many religious ceremonies was the celebration of the secular games, climaxed by a hymn to Apollo, the god of peace. The masterpiece of Roman architectural sculpture was the Altar of Peace. And it was on the prevalent sentiment for peace that Augustus based the imperial cult.

Caesarism, the worship of the Princeps, gave provincials an opportunity to express their feeling of loyalty to the prince of peace, the restorer of liberty.

At home this loyalty to the ruler and to Rome was not so easily secured. Augustus tried many devices to obtain it. Vergil (70-19 B.C.) was encouraged in the creation of an epic, which glorified the distant past of Rome, and justified Rome as ruler of mankind. The history of Livy (59 B.C.-17 A.D.), although it criticized

Foreign policy of Augustus

The Pax Romana

Patriotism through poetry

ported by law. Laws against immorality and against luxury in food, dress, and building were passed. A series of laws penalized celibacy and encouraged marriage and the raising of families. Old temples were rebuilt, old priest-hoods restored, and ceremonies long forgotten were resuscitated.

The campaign of reform aroused opposition in Rome. The profligate life of Julia, the only child of Augustus, and the beautiful but immoral verse of Ovid illustrate the "corruption" which the Princeps sought to eradicate. Genial Horace could smile at human weakness and still assert confidence in the future of Rome, but the morose phrases of Livy breathe despair. The tide of criticism was continued in the pages of Suetonius, the scandalmonger, and of the patrician Tacitus, who hated life because he was not allowed to dictate the terms upon which he and his fellows should live. None of these men thought or wrote about the provincials. For their history, we must turn to the inscriptions. It is a fragmentary story, but the fragments do not echo despair or hardship. Many of the sepulchral inscriptions exhibit real sorrow, a sorrow so deep and unaffected that they show what happiness must have been in the home which death had entered. Others mention the numerous fraternal organizations of men engaged in crafts and trades. The monthly dinner, the annual feast, and the funeral benefits indicate an active and sympathetic social intercourse in leisure hours. There were games, theaters, temples, public baths, and holidays to be spent in enjoying them. For all of these they gave credit to Augustus and his subordinates. The Principate gave them peace, justice, and prosperity. This estimate by the provincials forms the basis of modern estimates.

*Estimates of
the Principate*

The Principate was not a perfect organization. One weakness that the Romans themselves recognized, but were unable to correct, was that of succession. Augustus was at his best in compromise. Although he apparently wished to make the office of Princeps hereditary, he never challenged the right of the Senate to elect his successor. A grim fate marked with death one after another of those whom he selected. Finally he chose his stepson Tiberius, adopted him, and had the Senate confer upon him some of the manifold powers which had been assigned to the Princeps alone. This policy of adoption and designation was not complete. No one was entitled to all of the authority which went with the titles Princeps and Augustus until the Senate had so voted.

*The problem of
succession*

All of the successors of the first Augustus had three important policies to formulate. One was the policy of the Princeps towards the Senate, a constitutional question. The second was the policy towards the provincials, an administrative question. The third was the policy towards the peoples beyond the frontiers, a combined military and diplomatic question. The life of the Roman Empire depended upon the wise formulation of these policies and upon the ability of the Princeps to put them into effect.

*The Julio-
Claudian
Principes,
A D 14-68*

Tiberius, able general and conscientious administrator, embittered by his forced marriage to the wanton Julia, abhorring pretence and sham, undertook the burden of governing, with reluctance. Through a sense of duty, he recommended the formal deification of Augustus, although he refused any worship of himself. His efforts to make the Principate a real Dyarchy were met with suspicion by the Senate. In spite of this rebuff, he gave the Senate the right to elect the magistrates. Almost all legislative power was granted to that body. But the inefficiency and servility of the Senators soon turned Tiberius against them. The city prefecture, a temporary office under Augustus, was made permanent, and its incumbent became the real administrator of the capital. Placing his trust in this officer and in the prefect of the praetorian guards, Tiberius withdrew from Rome. His departure heralded an outburst of court intrigue, in which his trusted praetorian prefect played the most important role. The exposure and death of the prefect, Sejanus, merely encouraged the lesser intriguers. The death of Tiberius six years later, in 37 A.D., closed a chapter of plots, murders and judicial executions. Any hope of restoring the Republic was quickly banished by the praetorian guards, who presented Gaius (Caligula), nephew and heir of Tiberius, to the Senate as the third Princeps.

Princeps and Senate

The first few months of Caligula's rule were filled with promise. But the absolutist policy of the Princeps soon antagonized the Senate, and his cruelty alienated all his supporters. He was killed after a four-year rule by the soldiers who had supported him.

Caligula

Once more the Praetorians found a candidate whom the Senate was compelled to accept. Claudius, uncle of Caligula, was a strange figure. His physical defects made him the butt of practical jokers. Erratic in thought, as in speech and walk, he did not impress the Senate with his dignity. His weak will was usually controlled by opponents of the Senate, while few of the reforms which he advocated so stubbornly, favored that body. A love of that which was old led him to revive the legislative power of the Assembly and to restore the censorship. Both changes weakened senatorial prestige. But the unforgivable insult was the inclusion in the Senate's membership of some Gallic provincials. When Senators found that the favor of the Princeps could be obtained only through the intervention of the powerful and trusted freedmen of the imperial household, their disgust was strengthened. The control of the Senate by Claudius lasted for thirteen years. It was with pleasure that the Senate welcomed another praetorian candidate, Nero.

Claudius

Nero was not yet eighteen when Claudius died. Imperial authority was exercised by his mother, Agrippina the Younger, by his praetorian praefect, Burrus, and by his tutor, Seneca. Under the guidance of Seneca, himself a senator, friendly co-operation of Senate and Princeps was secured and maintained. Nero was given opportunity to culti-

Nero

with autocratic mother. The murder of Agrippina by Nero's orders was condoned by the Senate and permitted by his advisers. A natural death saved Burrus from the fury which matricide unloosed. Seneca and many other senators escaped execution only by suicide. The end was hastened by the desertion of the praetorians. In the fourteenth year of his rule Nero himself committed suicide, bringing to a close the career of a family which had been prominent for over a thousand years.

The system of provincial administration established by Augustus was not greatly changed by the Princes of the Claudian house. Tiberius remained a good administrator to the end. The tenure of good governors was extended. Bad governors were removed from office and punished. The tradition of justice and efficiency was so firmly established that the subordinates of Caligula and of Nero did not lower the standards. Imperial-domain lands increased in size. Additions came through bequests to the emperors, and through the ruthless confiscations of Nero. A nascent administrative bureaucracy appeared under Claudius, headed by imperial freedmen, who divided among themselves the tasks of government. The judicial, financial, administrative, and secretarial work of governing the army, the imperial provinces, and the imperial domains was thus distributed among bureau heads. But it is significant that the heads of departments were responsible to the Princes and formed the nucleus of a monarchical government.

Claudius reverted to the precedent set by Caesar in a liberal extension of the Roman franchise to provincials in the West, particularly in Gaul. Steady progress in road building and repair, growth in the number of Roman veteran colonies, and the long years of peace were incentives to Romanization.

The weight of taxation was not great. Tiberius and Claudius spent wisely and liberally, but left full treasuries. The extravagances of Caligula and Nero left the state bankrupt in spite of increased taxation and extortion of private capital. Yet the growth of industry and commerce, the great increase in population, show that the state had a sound economic basis. There were real weaknesses in the Augustan system, but they did not become apparent before the second century of the Principate.

Augustus had advised Tiberius to hold to the frontiers which he inherited. Two years of punitive campaigns across the Rhine quieted the Roman jingoists and convinced Tiberius that the territory between Rhine and Elbe could not economically be added to the Empire. An expedition of Caligula accomplished nothing. Probably no gain was sought, the expedition being a blind for the real motive of crushing a conspiracy which had spread from Rome to legionary headquarters on the Rhine. The acquisition of southeastern Britain by Claudius completed two aims. One was to render Britain an unsafe place for rebellious Gallic refugees. The other was to obtain for Rome the rich tin deposits of Cornwall.

Peace along the eastern (the Euphrates) frontier could not be secured. This was in part a result of the restlessness of the Parthians, in part the result of Rome's ambition to hold the trade terminals at the eastern end of the Black Sea. It was this which led Augustus to make Armenia a quasi client-kingdom. But if a Parthian Armenia was a menace to Rome, a Roman Armenia was a menace to Parthia. Thus, on two occasions, Tiberius was forced to intervene in Armenian affairs. Under Nero, Rome waged two separate wars in order to retain the Augustan settlement.

The suicide of Nero was followed by a civil war, in the course of which four military leaders were dutifully granted imperial power by a bewildered Senate. Galba, candidate of the legions of Spain, Otho, candidate of the praetorians, Vitellius, candidate of the Rhine legions, and Vespasian, candidate of the Syrian legions, followed one another in rapid succession. The last victor, a plebeian by birth, looked first to his own security. Rewards and favors were granted to his faithful soldiers and to the equites, the members of his own class. The Senate granted him the name, "Caesar," thereby recognizing him as the heir of Nero and owner of the vast private possessions of that emperor. In the year 73 A.D., as censor, Vespasian filled the ranks of the Senate, reduced to one half its size by the civil war. The new members, grateful to him and in sympathy with his purposes, made the Dyarchy once more a reality. This happy condition ended in 81 A.D. with the death of Vespasian's older son, Titus, for the younger son, Domitian, was an absolutist at heart. Armed with the office of perpetual censor and backed by the armed forces of the state, Domitian waged unrelenting war on a Senate which refused to acknowledge his supreme authority. His victory was dearly won, since it cost him his life at the hands of assassins after fifteen years of rule.

An enormous deficit, estimated at two billion sesterces (about fifty million dollars), had confronted Vespasian at the beginning of his principate. Increases in taxation and the inclusion of a number of cities and states hitherto exempted, soon changed the deficit into a surplus. The Princes quieted complaints in Rome by lavish entertainment of the populace and the construction of the Colosseum. To the provincials of the West he was liberal in the extension of citizenship. Many groups received all of the rights of Roman citizens. Others received citizenship without the suffrage, the so-called Latin right (see p. 96). This Latin right (*ius Latinum*) was granted all free men in Spain. The scanty record indicates that the careful and just administration of the father was continued by both Titus and Domitian.

The Flavians
81-96 A.D.

*Provincial
administration*

the only changes made by Vespasian Domitian prudently checked expansion in Britain and strengthened the hold of Rome on the Tithe Lands Peace and security were threatened, however, by the severe raids of the Dacians into Pannonia Domitian's efforts to secure peace through subsidies to the Dacians were successful, even though they added disgust to the hatred which was felt for him in Rome

The constitutional trend of the first Christian century had been from dyarchy towards monarchy The increasing control of government by the Principes was based not so much on the acquisition of more "paper" authority as on the exercise of power under the original grant Vespasian's revival of the censorship, perpetual *Nerva and the restoration of Dyarchy* under Domitian, and his insistence upon hereditary succession, had been decidedly monarchical But he had also strengthened the Senate, the great opponent of monarchy The death of Domitian without an heir was the golden opportunity of the Senate Accordingly, with the consent of legions, praetorians, and people, the Senate elected Nerva, one of its number, as Princeps, and attempted to restore the Dyarchy Success was only partial The four succeeding emperors took oath not to put a senator to death without conviction by a jury of his peers Four emperors after Nerva were elected under the Augustan plan of designation and adoption An attitude of friendship and respect generally prevailed between Senate and Princeps But the drift towards monarchy proved irresistible

In addition to the oath, Nerva gave other evidence of his desire for a partnership with the Senate He sought advice from a senatorial council and assigned to the praetors' courts (subject to Senate) cases in which the imperial treasury was involved These concessions *Nerva* did not prevent a conspiracy against his life in which some senators were involved, nor did they gain him backing sufficient to withstand praetorian grumblings Nerva was forced to turn to the legions He adopted and obtained a partnership with himself for the commander of the legions of Upper Germany Within a few months he died and was enrolled in the approved list of deified emperors

Trajan was the first provincial-born Roman to be elected Princeps Born in Italica in southern Spain, he had followed the example of his father in a successful military career The Senate found in him a democratic simplicity of manner, a friendly attitude, an intense *Trajan* love of his profession, and an astonishing ability as an administrator It was in the field of administration that he encroached upon senatorial prerogative At the request of some cities in the senatorial province of Bithynia, Trajan sent a personal representative to aid them in solving problems of municipal finance The man who was sent, Pliny the Younger, was a senator, and his mission aroused no unfavorable comment But a general practice was established upon this precedent and the Senate thereby lost one more sphere of authority

The importance of the legions in the naming of *Principes* was again illustrated at the death of Trajan Hadrian, although he was Trajan's ward, possibly his adopted son, and certainly the recipient of Nerva's ring from the hands of the dying emperor, really owed his accession to the acclamation of the soldiers. The harsh fact was glossed over by a written apology to the Senate.

The formal election followed, and the Senate, reassured by Hadrian's oath, awaited without fear the new *Princeps*. Hadrian was the complete administrator. His guiding hand was felt in every department of the state, including those sections hitherto reserved for senatorial control. The Senate felt no loss in the emperor's regulation of traffic and supervision of baths in Rome. It had long since been deprived of municipal authority in the capital. But the appointment of four imperial jurists to serve as appellate judges in Italy was a real blow. Senatorial praetors were further restricted in their power to interpret the law. The publication of the *Perpetual Edict*, a codification of all preceding annual pronouncements, not only fixed the body of Roman administrative law, but also expressly limited the right of interpretation and revision to the emperor. Even the army was used for administrative work. Soldiers built the forts in which they lived and the roads connecting them. They strengthened the German frontier defense and built the Great Wall in North Britain. They served as customs officers. Like Hadrian himself, the legionnaires were provincials, and submitted without complaint to these prosaic tasks. But Hadrian's strict supervision of all provincial governors, his inquisitorial wanderings through the provinces, and his avowed admiration of Hellenistic culture, combined to make him unpopular with senators of the old tradition. But there was no outward expression of disapproval, and a welcome acceptance of Hadrian's chosen successor.

It was characteristic of Hadrian to select a man whose training had been almost wholly administrative. Antoninus Pius ("Pius" because of his loyalty to Hadrian's memory) lacked the will power of his adoptive father. He withdrew the four jurists from Italy and exercised authority with a lenient hand. The Senate was too weak to rise above verbal criticism of the ruler. For twenty-three years the city enjoyed the happiness which leaves no annals. Fortunately for Rome the storms which broke over the Empire after this interlude of calm were faced by a leader of devotion, energy, and skill.

Marcus Aurelius was the only one of the five Good Emperors who failed to swear that he would put no senator to death without trial. It was not for lack of sympathy for the Stoic doctrines of the senatorial opposition, since he was a devout disciple of that religious philosophy. A scholar and recluse by preference, he was forced to cope with flood, fire, earth-

courts of Italy, and to appoint, in each important city, a financial agent responsible to him alone. Constitutional questions, however, were forgotten while the Romans fought for existence. Marcus Aurelius saved the state, but he brought it once more to the brink of ruin by procuring the succession for his worthless son, Commodus.

The broad and systematic outlines of provincial administration drawn by Augustus and filled in by the Princes of the first century were not greatly changed by the five Good Emperors. Justice and efficiency had been and remained the watchword. The instruments of ad-^{Provincial administration} ministration remained, as before, the officials of the municipali-^{96-180 A D} ties on the one hand and the imperial agents of the domain lands on the other. It is to the second century that we turn for an estimate of the strength and weakness of the system. In the towns there was little change from the industrial and commercial activity of the first century. The number of towns, and probably the total population, increased up to the time of Hadrian, especially in the West.

But their financial incapacity is indicated by the imperial intervention under Trajan and his successors. Agriculture showed no technical advance. The increase in great estates, worked by share-crop tenants, was noted by Pliny the Elder (died 79 A D) as a weakness. This principle of leasing and sub-leasing down to a share-crop tenant was a part of imperial-domain economy as well. Pliny the Younger found his tenants shiftless and listless. Hadrian, by liberal concessions, sought to curb this indifference on the imperial domains. His liberality is also mentioned in connection with regulations of the mines, where activity appeared to be sustained. These symptoms were not alarming to contemporaries. They affected but slightly the volume of trade, and not at all the imperial income.

The brighter side of the second century lies in the record of Romanization. By Romanization is meant the permissive attitude of the Romans towards provincials rather than compulsion applied to them. In the second century Latin was the language of the street and the home in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, although the Punic dialect was still in use in Africa. Roman law was naturally universal. Local gods had given way before those of Rome, and the worship of the deified emperors was popular. Roman manners and customs were accepted by the western provincials generally. In recognition of all this a large percentage of them had received Roman citizenship.

In the East, Roman influence had been accepted only in externals. The natives were grateful for Roman roads, and the business men welcomed Roman coinage (excepting only the debased issues of Nero) as a universal medium of exchange. Latin shared its official position with Greek, since the emperors followed Augustus in recognizing and encouraging Hellenistic culture in the eastern provinces.

Economically, there was little if any difference in treatment of East and

West Great estates privately owned, and vast imperial domains were common to both. The central administrative bureaux at Rome governed both East and West. Centralization and bureaucracy were, in fact, the gifts of the Hellenistic world to Rome. In administration, as in economics, politics, and culture, Rome and the West were growing more and more Hellenized.

The long years of peace on the Euphrates frontier were interrupted by a strong, ambitious Parthian king, Chosroes. His intervention in Armenia gave Trajan the opportunity to apply to the eastern frontier the aggressive policy which had been so successfully used on the Danube. His carefully planned campaign carried the

Frontiers,
96-180 A.D.

Roman standards to the Persian gulf. The Parthians were not serious enemies for a watchful opponent. Their empire, stretched along the great trade route from India, lacked cohesion and defensible frontiers. Court intrigues and the absence of any constructive policy were additional weaknesses which made Trajan's conquest speedy. Hadrian gave it up with equal readiness, perceiving that the land and people could not be held to Roman allegiance. The opposition to Rome on the part of Parthians and their subjects alike was cultural. Weak as the Parthians were, they retained their hold on the country east of the Euphrates as champions of Orientalism against Hellenism. Armenia, essentially an Oriental state, was retained by Rome as a client-kingdom for strategic reasons. It continued to be the victim of circumstance. Seized once more by the Parthians in 161 A.D., Armenia was regained at terrible cost. The Romans captured and destroyed the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, but the victorious army returned to Rome with the plague. This "Parthian shot" caused more loss than all the others combined.

withdrew to the Rhine-Limes-Danube line, and hastened back to the pleasures awaiting him in Rome

Two opposing frontier policies were followed in the second century. The aggressive imperialism of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius was offset by the pacific acts of the other good emperors. The walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in Britain, and the strengthening of the Limes, were advertisements of peace and stability. Hadrian's settlement of the legions in permanent camps, his policy of local recruiting, and his use of troops as custom-collectors and road-builders, were pacific in implication. It does not seem possible that these rulers should arrive at such contradictory conclusions using the same evidence. The Roman empire appeared strong, but its weaknesses were well known to those in authority. Absence of initiative and lack of man-power were so obvious that Marcus Aurelius imported large groups of barbarians to protect the frontier. It may be that both groups had the same ultimate desire, namely, permanent peace. To Trajan and to Marcus Aurelius it seemed that permanent peace could be secured only by driving on to frontiers which could be more easily and more lastingly defended.

Military contradictions of the second century

In the year 29 a Carpenter and Teacher, known to his followers as Jesus of Nazareth, was condemned to death for blasphemy by the supreme judicial body of the Jewish Church and executed by the Roman governor of Judaea. The action was not uncommon in Roman administrative history. It was considered an unimportant incident in the preservation of the Roman Peace. The subsequent activities of the Disciples and Apostles were also considered officially as disturbances of the peace, since they frequently led to mob violence.

Christianity in the Roman Empire

To the orthodox Jews Christians were suspect because of their heretical views. The general pagan public objected to them because they were for the most part members of the favored and hence unpopular Jewish group. It was noted also that converts to Christianity from paganism were chiefly slaves and humbler free men, that they met in secret, and that those who accepted Christianity no longer visited the temples, sacrificed to the gods, or took part in the games and other celebrations in honor of pagan deities, including the Emperor. Rumor included cannibalism and other horrible practices in the secret rites. This combination of social and economic prejudices enabled Nero to divert suspicion from himself to the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome in 64 A.D. It lay behind the attack upon Paul incited by the silversmiths of Ephesus (*Acts xix*). The anonymous accusation against the Christians presented to the Younger Pliny in Bithynia, in 112 A.D., was probably composed by the breeders and caretakers of animals used in pagan sacrifices.

But the number of converts increased despite accusation and persecution. Four important changes contributed to the rapid growth in numbers. The first was the decision (about 50 A.D.) to accept Gentiles as well as Jews into

the faith. The second was the shift from the original Aramaic dialect of the Gospel story to the almost universal Greek tongue. The third was the writing of the Gospels. By 100 A.D. Christianity was a book religion, written in Greek and open to all human beings. In the meantime, the teaching had been made attractive to intellectuals by the logical interpretations of the Christian story in the sermons and letters of Paul, the Apostle.

Recognition of the Christians by the Roman administration as a separate group to be watched and controlled is not authentically reported before the close of the first century. Christians and Jews suffered together in the effort of Domitian to stamp out monotheism in Rome. But when Pliny the Younger was sent to Bithynia in 112 A.D., the difference had been established. Pliny knew that Christians had been tried by Roman magistrates, but was uncertain whether the name of Christian, or "the crimes inseparably connected with the name," formed the basis of conviction. He himself executed those who would not recant for their "obstinacy." Pliny's appeal to the emperor for guidance was made because "many of all ages, of every rank and even of both sexes are and will be called into danger." The reply of the emperor Trajan classified Christianity as an illicit cult, but refrained from ordering an official persecution. The crimes with which Christians might be charged and for which they were to be condemned, were membership in an illicit cult and refusal to worship the image of the emperor. This measurably tolerant attitude of the government continued without much change to the close of the century.

The Christian community of the second century was a far different group from the crowd of peasants assembled at the Sea of Galilee. The membership was largely city dwellers. It included men of education, wealth, and high birth. The informal direction of converts by Disciples and missionary Apostles had been replaced by that of local leaders elected to the positions of elders, or overseers, and deacons. Before the year 200 A.D. each urban congregation had a single overseer or bishop in charge. These officials gradually acquired a leadership which strove for unity in doctrine and ritual, and united the faithful in a compact group. The greater importance of the larger cities, provincial capitals, and the like, gave the bishops a wider authority, an archiepiscopal power. Unity in action and in doctrine was obtained through councils—regional, provincial and, later, empire-wide—which were composed of bishops or their representatives. Christians were still but a small percentage of the population, but they had a strong organization, a uniform policy, and an able body of defenders. The literature of the second century was one of defense and of interpretation. The interpretative works included some modifications of earlier conclusions. Christians no longer felt it necessary to withdraw completely from public life, military service was held compatible with the Christian faith, communistic ideas concerning property were softened, and the Church competed with its rivals in its appeal to the sense of beauty.

Compromise, however, did not touch the essential differences between the Christians and the State. The universal scope of Christianity which welcomed barbarians to the fold, and the insistence upon an authority superior to that of the Emperor, were doctrines of treason. Pagan mobs and imperial authority combined under Decius (251 A.D.), Valerian (257 A.D.), and Diocletian (304 A.D.) in attempts to eradicate the faith. The failure of these efforts was admitted in the Edict of Toleration, by Galerius (311 A.D.), and in Constantine's Edict of Milan (313 A.D.), which recognized Christianity as a legal cult.

The narrative of Roman development, so briefly and incompletely outlined in the last two chapters, has stressed the political, administrative, and military elements of success. These are the foundations of Roman greatness. Without them, there would have been no growth from *The Roman legacy* city-state to world-empire. But there still remain unanswered questions concerning important phases of life and thought under Roman rule. What, for example, was the fate, or fortune of ideas current in the Orient and in Greece before Roman conquest, and of the institutions which earlier Romans had bequeathed to their descendants? What is meant by Roman civilization? The answers will disclose a real contribution by the Romans. They will show that although Hellenism triumphed, it was transformed, in the process, into something far different from the Hellenism of Alexander the Great. This transformation can be observed in the development of law and literature.

In no other field were the Romans more independent of outside help than in law. Public law was in the hands of the priests at the beginning, and private law, an accumulation of customs, was in the hands of heads of families (*pateres*). The heads of families had religious pow- *Roman law* ers and duties as well as the priests, and both were inclined to conservatism. Thus, when, in 450 B.C., existing regulations were inscribed upon Twelve Tables and called citizen-law (*ius civile*), conservatism was not abandoned. The laws were strict, and the letter of the law was enforced by the small group who administered it. Some Greek ideas were incorporated, but even these were made to conform to the rigidity and formalism of the Roman legal mind. Changing conditions, particularly the introduction of Greek allies in the Roman federation, and Greek (and barbarian) subjects in the Roman Empire, forced an expansion of what was primarily a farmer-law. The expansion was accomplished by interpretation of existing laws rather than by amendments or additions. The first interpreters, the priests (*pontifices*), gave way to the praetors, and their decisions were supplemented by the opinions of unofficial experts (*prudentes*). It might be expected that the interpreters would be influenced by Greek legal practice and legal ideas. But they, too, were conservative, and the change from a law of one people (*ius civile*) to a law of many peoples (*ius gentium*), was too gradual to alter the character of Roman law. In the golden age of Roman jurisprudence, the last century of the

Republic, the wholesale adoption of Hellenistic institutions did not seriously affect law Roman jurists, with Greek teachers, Greek books, and Greek friends, were well acquainted with the legal theories of the East. They had read the assertions of Sophists and Stoics regarding the supreme power of natural law (*ius naturale*). But all of these influences could not destroy the Roman legal system. The justice restored by Augustus and preserved for two centuries was Roman justice, liberalized in its interpretation but unchanged in the letter of the law. It survived the attacks of absolutism and retained the respect of the great jurists of the third century, even though the latter were Syrian born, or trained in the Syrian school at Berytus. In fact the final contributions to law as a living institution came from them. When codification was accomplished, in the sixth century, more than half of the decisions and opinions quoted came from the scholars of Berytus. The old farmer-law retained its identity through the centuries, the one Roman institution which withstood successfully the might of Hellenism.

"Satire is wholly our own," wrote a Roman literary critic of the first century. In that type of literature, and that alone could the Romans claim originality. Greek influence on Roman writing was cheerfully admitted. The early Romans were hard-working, practical men who wrote down only the items which it seemed necessary to record. Calendars with their holy days, lists of officials, day books, which noted briefly the will of the gods and the deeds of men, maxims and laws were the chief written products. Farce and burlesque of Italian origin entertained the crowds on days of festivity. When continued success brought pride and interest in the past, the Romans accepted the literary efforts of Greeks and Hellenized Italians. Even for these writers there was no large Roman reading public. The first two Romans (close of third century B C) who composed histories of their city wrote in Greek.

Hellenistic food, dress, education, religion, science, and art did not leave Hellenistic literature at home when they entered Rome in the second century B C. The feeble beginnings of a native literature were overwhelmed with tidal waves of Hellenistic forms, thoughts, and standards. When the storm abated two elements of the antediluvian period remained, the Latin language and the Roman brain. Even though pupils were taught Greek grammar and rhetoric, they did not neglect Latin. The language had been spread through Italy by the armies and was firmly rooted even in the South by the veteran-colonies of Sulla. It was standardized by grammarians and molded into literary use. The Roman brain was a simple machine. It avoided subtlety and shunned the metaphysical. It could appreciate the simple, the practical, the real, and it followed the Greek models suitable to these varieties of thought in works which have themselves become models for later writers. The simplicity of the epic, the practicality of textbooks, the reality of history are well represented in the literature of Republican Rome. The Roman contribution

to tragedy, lyric poetry, and philosophy are generally pale reflections of Greek predecessors, although one should except the work of Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace

Throughout this period of development the influence of Greek literature upon Roman writers was profound. A greater degree of independence was shown by the authors of the Augustan Age. Just as the West triumphed under Augustus, and an occidental reaction to Hellenistic monarchy was victorious, the writers of the Augustan Age produced works which were truly Roman in spirit. The poverty of Greek letters and the enthusiasm of the Romanized western provinces for Latin, combined to keep Latin language and literature in first place for more than a century. But during that century the fires of inspiration slowly died. After the reign of Hadrian one has to search for brightness and warmth in prose or poetry, Latin or Greek.

Roman men of letters performed two great services to humanity. They built a language flexible and well tempered as a Toledo blade, and in that language they preserved the ideas of their intellectual masters, the Greeks.

Much of the Roman legacy is like its literature, an heirloom of earlier seekers after truth and beauty. A little of it is like law, the product of its own striving. But who can say more of any people, or of any generation? What really matters is the totality which they passed on to others. Western Europe is heir to all the past, but it was through Rome that the effective part of the legacy came. The process of that transmission we call Romanization, and in it should be included those traits of character which accounted for her success (p. 97). But the great gifts of Rome are these, one language, one religion, one law, one citizenship.

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF ANTIQUITY

Despite the manifold changes in institutions and in personnel, Rome had been for over three centuries the capital of the Mediterranean. The Republic had given way to a monarchy which gradually became more absolute. Uniformity had slowly blotted out the original distinction between Rome and the rest of the world. The leaders of state and army had been successively patrician, plebeian, and provincial. The army, which once had been predominantly Italian, was now wholly composed of provincial and barbarian units. But Rome was still the political, administrative, and military center of the Empire.

The decline of Rome In the third century Rome lost her primacy. The residence of the emperor was the political center, but few emperors lived in Rome. New administrative centers were set up in more convenient locations. New military headquarters were established nearer the threatened frontiers. Rome remained the capital of Italy, but Italy was only one, and by no means the strongest, of the provinces. The final blow was not struck until the fourth century, when a new Rome was created, equal if not superior to the old city in every respect.

The reasons for this fall from prominence are as numerous as those which made the city great. None of them is perhaps more significant than the decline of that respected survivor of the old Republic, the Roman Senate. Restricted in power as it had been, the Senate had drawn emperors to Rome if for no other reason than to prevent its renaissance. In that task the great emperor, Septimius Severus, was eminently successful.

The eclipse of the Senate The misrule of Commodus (180-192) was terminated by assassination. It was followed by a contest for power resembling that which the suicide of Nero had precipitated. Nominees of the Senate and the praetorians ruled for a brief time, to be succeeded by the commander of the Danubian army, Septimius Severus (193-211). The Senate disliked him because he was a soldier, because he was a provincial, actually of Punic descent, a second Hannibal entering Rome as a conqueror. The dislike was mutual, but while the Senate limited its activity to reasonable correspondence with two other military claimants, Severus launched a campaign designed to strip the Senate of its remaining vestiges of authority. He showered the army with favors and increased the sphere of equestrian participation in government. Judicial authority in Rome was given to the equestrian praetorian prefect, the tax levies of the empire were assigned to

equestrian imperial procurators, and the important census work became an equestrian responsibility. The victory of Severus over his rivals was followed by the execution of twenty-nine senators. From that time the authority of the Senate was only a shadow.

The government established by Septimius Severus was clearly a military monarchy. A new praetorian guard recruited directly from the legions, as well as a newly formed legion stationed near Rome, was manifest proof to the Senate of the imminence of military power. That power was extended by the grant of equestrian status to all centurions. Men who had risen from the ranks became eligible for a career in Rome's imperial Civil Service. The army selected the emperor. It soon assumed the right to depose him by the simple but effective method of assassination.

The problem which confronted Septimius Severus was the government of a weakened state. The interference in municipal affairs by imperial officials had deprived the local governing bodies of their initiative. Imperial administrative machinery had been weakened by the worthless appointees of Commodus. The Senate was weak and untrustworthy. There remained but one willing and capable group in the empire. In the army Severus found the only signs of life and on it he based his state.

The reasons given for the military monarchy of the Severi are not altogether convincing. Septimius Severus had had a purely military career, but a similar career had not made a military monarch of Trajan. Severus had been made emperor by the army. Augustus and Vespasian had also owed their position to their armies, but they had not remained barrack emperors. The severity of Teutonic and Parthian attacks, it is claimed, forced the Severi into the hands of the military. But the attacks of former years had been equally severe, and they became much more severe after the period of the military monarchy. The change in form of government should be ascribed to the character and attitude towards the state of the civilian population—a gradual development which was at least a century old.

There is no doubt of the peace and prosperity given to the Roman Empire by the Principate. The rude and uncultivated West had been given ample opportunity to absorb the learning and the institutions of the East. At the same time the East had been protected from Oriental and barbarian attack, and had been given opportunity to improve its learning and institutions. The results were disappointing. The West, in 180 A.D., dressed, ate, lived, and, in many ways, thought like the Hellenistic East. Culture had been absorbed most dutifully, but nothing, or very little, had been done to add to or improve it. The East studied the past. Art, literature, and science remained as fixed as the North Star. It was this general intellectual indolence, or lethargy, which produced the military monarchy.

The terrible power of this monster created by Severus did not at once

completely intimidate the Senate. Under his successors, on three separate occasions, the senators strove to break down the monopoly of military authority. Their efforts were effectually ended in an order issued by Gallienus (260-268), depriving senators of all military commands. The army was the only power sufficiently strong to break the army. Interesting proof of this occurred in 275, when the army petitioned insistently that the Senate select an emperor. But the senatorial candidate was rejected within a year.

Septimius Severus was strong enough to defeat his rivals and repel invaders. He actually extended the eastern boundary of the empire by including a district east of the Euphrates, the province Osroene. Under his successors, the brutal and greedy Caracalla (211-217), the effeminate mystic, Elagabalus (218-222), and the well-meaning but ineffectual Severus Alexander (222-235), Teutonic raids increased. Saxons, Franks, Alemanni, Marcomanni, and Goths threatened the frontier from the north to the Black Sea. In the East the Parthians were replaced, in 226 A.D., by an aggressively imperialistic Persian state. Weakness at home and strength abroad were the factors which prolonged the military monarchy and produced the Barrack Emperors (235-284).

*Frontiers in the
third century*

On the story of that half century of conflict it would be profitless to linger. The extent of the disasters may be estimated by noting that one emperor was killed in battle with the Goths and another captured by the Persians. Of the twenty-six emperors chosen by the armies, only one escaped assassination, and he was a victim of the plague. A Frankish raid penetrated deep into Spain, the Tithi Lands were occupied by the Alemanni. Dacia was given up to the barbarians, and the Goths, taking to the sea, sacked Ephesus and attacked Athens.

In the midst of defeat and loss, there were occasional victories. The brilliant campaigns of Claudius (268-270) checked effectively the most dangerous of the Teutonic invaders. His successor, Aurelian (270-275), ended two great secession movements, restoring to the Empire an independent state composed of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, as well as one including Syria and Egypt, which were being protected and ruled by the dynasts of the important Arabian trade-center, Palmyra.

It was Aurelian, however, who abandoned Dacia and ordered the construction of a wall around Rome. This loss of a province, even when combined with other territorial losses, was not irreparable. It was the spirit of futility and of defeat represented by the Aurelian wall which so clearly differentiated the empire of Aurelian from that of Marcus Aurelius. Invasion and civil wars had taken an enormous toll in men and property. The plague, imported a second time in 250 A.D., had contributed to weaken the moral and physical powers of the survivors. The percentage of barbarians in the army and on the land had enormously increased.

state from its enemies. Those who had time and strength for more than military victories began attacks upon the more difficult problem of reconstruction. Their solutions were in general merely extreme applications of practices for which there was ample precedent. The increasing centralization of power in the first two centuries was transformed into the absolutism of the third century. This transformation is most evident in law, in religion, and in public administration.

The sources of law so numerous in the principate of Augustus (Senate, Assembly, edicts of provincial governors) had been supplanted by the word of the Princeps. He and the select few who spoke in his name were the sole interpreters and the only sources of law. In the third century the actual work of formulating new laws and of interpreting the old was accomplished by a famous group of Syrian jurists. These men were sincere adherents of the doctrine that the emperor was both the source of law and above the law. Oriental theory and Occidental practice were combined by them in a system of absolutist law. *Absolutism in law*

Two religious trends were manifest in the third century. One was the substitution of a more militant faith for the peace sentiment upon which Augustus had founded the imperial cult. Apollo, bringer of peace, was replaced in favor by Jupiter, leader in war and stayer of rout. The militant cult of Mithras gained numerous converts. There were even some who reconciled Christianity and war. This new interpretation did not escape the notice of some of the military rulers who wished to encourage and to control it. It was they who inaugurated the second trend, that of reviving the worship of the emperor as the chief defender of the state. Aurelian was probably the most radical of the religious reformers. Brushing aside the custom which postponed formal apotheosis until after death, Aurelian declared himself god and master born ("*deus et dominus natus*") The god whom he chose to represent on earth was the unconquered sun, supreme in the universe as the emperor was supreme on earth. No closer approach to religious absolutism would have been tolerated by the strong polytheistic tradition of his subjects. *Absolutism in religion*

The concentration of administrative authority in the hands of the emperor was completed in the third century. The power of the purse was his, since income and expenditure were controlled by imperial officials. The senatorial treasury was maintained only by the municipal revenues of the capital. All coinage, including that of copper, was a prerogative of the emperor. Sources of state income were so numerous that Septimius Severus deemed it advisable to set up a new treasury for his personal income, apart from that of the state, he retained control of both. Judicial authority was similarly monopolized by the emperor. Military and religious officials throughout the empire were appointed by and responsible to the chief administrator. Imperial appointees were given authoritative *Absolutism in administration*

positions in the municipalities. By the close of the century all administration was organized in a single dictatorial system.

Absolutism quite obviously affected economic, social, and cultural life. Economic tendencies already noticeable in the second century were becoming chronic and acute throughout the empire. Apart from the imperial domains, cultivable soil was controlled, in the East as in the West, by a small minority of resident landlords who sought economic independence for their estates and power sufficient to protect themselves, even from imperial tax-collectors. Depreciation of the coinage, frequent interruptions of trade, loss of markets for manufactured articles, and the steadily increasing demands of the central government brought economic distress to many cities. The freedom from responsibility of the quasi-serfs (*coloni*) on the imperial domains attracted many hopeless city dwellers. Others found refuge in a similar serf-like relationship on the great estates of wealthy landowners. This drift of population from municipalities and from municipally controlled land was viewed with alarm by the government, since it was from the agricultural middle class that the army was recruited, and it was from the well-to-do members of the cities that the state received a large part of its income. Septimius Severus permitted his citizen soldiers to marry and live in homes outside the legionary camps. The children raised on the frontiers, would naturally follow the profession of their fathers. Compulsory fixity in occupation for father and sons soon followed. Severus Alexander began with the subsistence industries, and by the close of the century all of the inhabitants were bound for life in occupation, and their children were forced to follow the work of their fathers.

In an economic and social framework rapidly approaching rigidity, creative thought perished. The literary products, both Greek and Latin, were but flaccid reminders of the masterpieces of old — quotations, epitomes, commentaries, which preserved and explained the past. In science, the findings of former investigators were accepted without criticism and without additions. The few exceptions merely accentuate and draw attention to a widespread mediocrity, to little minds burdened with an authoritative past.

The work of the great jurist and praetorian prefect, Papinian (fl. 205), exhibited originality in interpretations remarkable for their clarity and high ethical standards. His successors, even the famous Ulpian and Paulus, did little more than lay the foundations for a definitive codification. The History of Cassius Dio (150-235), written in Greek, was not improved by its rhetorical ornaments nor by the author's prejudices. It was, however, the work of a sincere if not a deep thinker, and is far superior to the superficial

*Economic and
social conditions*

*Third century
culture*

they were in living Any deviation from established standards demanded an energy too great for their powers

An exception to this intellectual passivity is found in Christian literature Although Christians accepted guidance and authority, they found them in a Power above and beyond human genius and human institutions Their faith gave them strength, and in the explanation of Christianity, in the interpretation of the Word, there was sincerity and power Conflicts in interpretation among Christian writers furnished an additional stimulus The enthusiasm of the African Tertullian carried him even beyond the limits of orthodoxy In his respect for tradition, his insistence upon absolute standards, Tertullian's Christianity was as Roman as the paganism of Cato the Elder The writings of Lactantius (fl 290) on the other hand, have, in general, a controlled passion, a willingness to compromise His chief contribution lay in a fusion of pagan philosophy (the human search for truth) and Christianity (the divine revelation of truth) Lactantius wrote after the political vindication of his faith Still, his work summarized a trend towards the development of a rational theology His was the orthodox opinion, a blending of practical Roman and Greek speculative points of view

The story of the fine arts may be quickly told Architecture is represented by the massive and unbeautiful Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, sculpture by some extremely realistic statues But technical and artistic ability was so conspicuously absent at the close of the century that Constantine stole from the arches of his predecessors in order to decorate his own

A temporary halt to the rapid succession of imperial rulers was made by Diocletian (284-305) Although he rose to power from the ranks of the army which acclaimed him emperor, he was strong enough to control his troops and to rule the state for twenty years Those *The Dominate of Diocletian* years were filled with labors of reorganization He replaced the Principate with the Dominate, substituting for the compromise between monarchy and republic, an absolute despotism The new government was new only in form It was the completion of plans left unfinished by his predecessors, the culmination of tendencies long at work

The title "dominus" was not introduced by Diocletian It had been accepted by Domitian and demanded by Aurelian Other emperors had also adopted the title "deus" (Precedent for the use of "Iovius" by Diocletian could be cited in the "Iupiter Iulius" of the first *The ruler* Caesar) The novelty lay in the success with which Diocletian exercised the power which these titles implied The use of the diadem, the insistence upon prostration in his presence, only emphasized his absolute authority It is possible that this display of absolutism in dress, ceremonial, and titulary was meant to demonstrate to the army that the emperor was not a military puppet. There is no doubt that Diocletian tried to discourage future election of emperors by the soldiers.

One of the first steps of the new ruler was to choose a colleague vested, as was he, with imperium and with the title "Augustus." These two, in turn, chose each a lieutenant, entitled "Caesar," and to each one of the four was assigned as a prefecture, a definite quarter of the Roman world. The death of an Augustus would automatically promote one of the Caesars to the vacant position, and the new Augustus would select a Caesar. The advantages of the plan were that it would make revolution by assassination difficult, would hinder, if not abolish, the election of emperors by the army, and divide the burdens of government among four capable rulers. The idea of a unified empire, for which Roman statesmen had labored through the centuries, was not given up. Imperial constitutions (that is, laws) were promulgated in the name of the two Augusti and were binding on the empire as a whole.

Colleagues in office

Additional safeguards were sought in minute division of authority exercised by subordinates, and in the complete separation of civil and military power. The four administrative districts were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and, again, into about 116 provinces. The officials, military and civil, needed to man this elaborate machine, constituted two great bureaucracies.

Administration

The administrative system called for the creation of four central offices. To that extent it increased the expenses of administration, but there was some compensation in greater efficiency and more complete returns to the state. The basic tax, as in the days of Augustus, was a ground tax, payable in kind. It was applied to Italy, which had now sunk to the level of a province. A poll tax on slaves and probably on the serf-like tenants was collected from the masters or landlords. Artisans, municipal senators (decurions), and members of the Roman senatorial class had also their personal taxes to pay. The state was protected against loss by the device of collegiate responsibility. Thus, if the local senators, whose business it was to collect the land tax, failed to obtain the allotted sum, they had to make good the deficit from their own resources. This practice of collecting from groups was greatly facilitated by occupational fixity and by the old tendency, soon to be a legal requirement, of following one's father's occupation. The establishment of a caste system with its predestination of occupation for unborn children, may be traced to many causative factors. The inertia of the governed made it possible, the precedent in Hellenistic Egypt could be cited, but, above all, the imperative need of funds for defense made it almost inevitable.

Taxation

CHAPTER IX

ROMAN, CHRISTIAN, AND BARBARIAN (Part I)

The Roman Empire established a stable equilibrium in the Mediterranean world which endured for centuries. It was one of the greatest of historical institutions. For to attain a stable political and social condition has been the dream of many in every generation. But if history teaches anything it is the impermanence of human achievement.

*Stability of
Roman Empire*

The rise, passing, and decline of empires through the stately march of time is an impressive historical fact. In previous chapters of this book the formation, grandeur, and decay of the great monarchies of oriental antiquity — Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia — have been related. The student has read of the decline of ancient

*Reunion of the
Roman World*

Greece, of the spectacular formation and swift collapse of Alexander's Empire, of the rise and spread of Rome's domination over the whole Mediterranean world, including within its limits the Old East (except Persia), the whole seaboard of Africa from the Nile to the Atlantic and the new barbarian West of Europe — Gaul, western and southern Germany, and Britain. After the death of the Emperor Septimius Severus in 211 a protracted period of internal strife, external invasion and adverse economic and social conditions ensued until a series of vigorous Illyrian emperors arose, the greatest of whom, as we have seen, was Diocletian, who drastically reorganized the imperial government in almost every particular. What Diocletian failed to accomplish when he voluntarily abdicated in 305 was completed by Constantine, but not at once. For a civil war broke

Rise of Constantine the Great

out between no less than six aspirants to the imperial throne, which lasted for eighteen years. Roman history had not seen such a fierce and protracted struggle since the last century of the Republic when Augustus defeated all his foes at the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) and founded the Roman Empire on the ruins of the Republic. Finally in 323 A.D. Constantine overthrew all the other contestants, became sole ruler, and reunited the Roman world.

The supreme achievements of Constantine's reign (324-337) were the recognition of Christianity in 313 and the removal of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, which he founded in 330. These two events were of such decisive importance, both for their immediate effect and their influence upon future centuries, that they may be said to have been the turning-points between ancient

*Achievements of
Constantine*

and medieval history This does not mean, however, that the change was a sudden and complete one All great changes in history are transitions of a more or less gradual nature in which the chief events are punctuation points

By the beginning of the fourth century Christianity extended over the whole Roman Empire, but was more thinly spread in the West than in the East, as was natural since it arose in the East and its first language was Greek, which was the universal tongue of all the eastern peoples of the Mediterranean world The proportion of Christians to pagans in Constantine's time was not large, and was greater in the East than in the West It probably was not more than evenly balanced by the time of Pope Leo I, the Great (440-451) The Christians were more numerous in the towns than in the rural areas, and less perhaps in the great metropolitan capitals — Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch — than in the smaller cities In Asia Minor and Syria and Africa by 400 A D the Christians probably constituted one-half the population, but they were a decided minority elsewhere In Britain possibly there were only three bishops The Church had its own form of episcopal and parish government, it had survived several persecutions, the last and most severe being that of Diocletian which proved that Christianity could not be suppressed even with the police power of a great government back of the imperial edicts The time was ripe for a change of Rome's religious policy

*Legal recognition
of Christianity*

*Constantine's
victories*

Long held as a hostage by Galerius, Constantine escaped and fled to the West where his father had been caesar and established his fame as an efficient and just ruler. After his father's death and a few intervening years of his own vigorous administration of the western prefecture, Constantine set out to overthrow the rival caesars and to unite the Roman Empire again His nearest enemy was Maxentius who ruled over Italy and Africa In 312 Constantine crossed the Alps, defeated Maxentius at Turin and his lieutenant at Verona, and hastened to advance on Rome where a third army held the crossing of the Tiber The battle of the Milvian Bridge in sight of the temples and towers of Rome was decisive It decided both the fate of the Roman world and of Christianity

In 313 at Milan, whose physical location in command of the Alpine passes and the road around the head of the Adriatic, and so to the East, was of great

*Edict of
Milan 313*

military importance, Constantine issued his famous Edict of Toleration of the Christians This edict is generally, though not correctly, thought to have been the first act of toleration Really it was a reiteration and extension of a decree which Galerius had issued (311) in desperation when his power in the East was crumbling, and was imitated (312) by Licinius, too Evidently to all three rulers the necessity of recognizing Christianity had become clear. Constantine shrewdly declared that the Edict of Milan was an amendment of the two previous edicts and

broader and juster in its privileges than those of his rivals. But if Galerius, who had died in 311, had lived and defeated Constantine, the result would have been the same.

It must not be thought, however, that Constantine was actuated by religious motives when he recognized Christianity. He was not a professing Christian when he issued the Edict of Milan and did not become so until he was on his death-bed in 337, and then he professed the Arian heretic form of Christianity and not the orthodox Trinitarian belief. In 313 Constantine was engaged in a desperate struggle for power and grasped at Christian support, in spite of the fact that the Christians were not numerous, because he was in hard need of any kind of aid.

Although the moral and political effect of the recognition of Christianity was revolutionary, legally speaking the Edict of Milan merely put Christianity upon a par with every other religion in the empire, and guaranteed the protection of the law in person and property to Christians as such rights were assured to the votaries of every other sect. Christianity was *not* made the state religion of the Roman Empire. But from a moral and political point of view the recognition had revolutionary consequences. For Christianity was so superior to all other religions, so eagerly given to proselyting and so popular with the masses that when the fear of persecution was dispelled and it was given a free field, the newest of the faiths rapidly outdistanced all its competitors.

The victory of the Church in 313, advantageous as it was for the good of humanity, nevertheless soon compromised the Church. Few historical changes may be said to be wholly gains, for there are losses for all gains as there are gains for all losses. Serious evils soon appeared in the Church. Following the precedent obtaining in the case of priests of all other religions, the Christian priesthood, from bishops downwards, was at once relieved from all civil functions and liabilities and was exempted from taxation. The clergy became a religious caste and a hierarchy comparable to the high civil officials of the imperial administration.

In order to escape the heavy tax-burden, there was soon "an ungodly rush for holy orders," with the result that worldly and incompetent aspirants became priests or deacons or bishops, so much so that before the end of the fourth century the corruption of the Christian clergy was notorious. Then again, wealth began to flow into ecclesiastical coffers in such profusion that avarice became a besetting sin of the clergy. Not content with these material gains, some of the bishops, coveting the endowments of the pagan temples, began to clamor for the proscription of every other religion—a policy which triumphed in 392 when the Emperor Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire. He proscribed and persecuted all the pagan cults, confiscated pagan

Constantine's motives

Revolutionary effect of recognition of Christianity

Growth of Church worldliness

Careerists flock to Church

property, and closed the temples. Before Constantine "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church," as Lactantius, who lived through the last great persecution, finely said. It took courage to dare to be a Christian in those days. But now Christianity and the Church became an "easy way" to social advancement and prosperity. The struggle of Christianity to keep itself pure and of the Church to preserve its morality, and not to yield to secular influences of every sort, has been going on ever since the fourth century, but in no period was it more acute and the temptation more formidable than in the age of Constantine and Theodosius.

In addition to these insidious influences which invaded the Church from without, the Church generated grave conditions within her own bosom.

The greatest of these was heresy. Earliest Christianity had been a simple formula of faith and works — of love of God and belief in Christ as God's medium of salvation, of charity towards one's fellow men, of righteous living, and the doing of good deeds and frowning upon evil ones. Its work was summed up in Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. But as Christianity spread out of the Holy Land to the Greek and Oriental provinces of the Roman Empire, as it grew more and more into a gentle religion inspired by a vivid missionary zeal, in contact with other cults and especially in contact with Greek philosophic thought, the simple faith of the first century gradually became transformed into carefully formulated articles of belief which were imposed by the bishops.

Administratively speaking, the Church was originally under the government of the apostles, and when other orders of ministry were created as converts multiplied, their powers were derived from the apostles. Then, after the first and lowest order, that of the diaconate, was established, it became evident that the government of the Church was to be hierarchical. This hierarchy was not merely one of jurisdiction, but of order. There was not merely a difference in the measure of directing authority which each possessed, but also a difference of sacramental power. The highest authority, that of the bishop, was a fact of very great importance. The bishops as a group, by virtue of apostolic succession from one of the twelve disciples, claimed to be *the* Church and to possess whole and exclusive religious authority. The Church was fundamentally the hierarchical institution outside of which there is no salvation. It is easy to see to what great degree the Church system followed the lines of the imperial administration. The civil province was also the ecclesiastical province or diocese, and the civil diocese, or group of provinces administratively associated together under the imperial vicar, became the ecclesiastical archbishopric.

But in spite of episcopal anathema, variant beliefs and separatist sects multiplied. Some of them are to be found even in the first century, the number of them increased in the second and third centuries. Most of these heresies were of a local character and did not spread much beyond the province

in which they originated. But in the fourth century there were two forms of Christianity which were formidable rivals. These were Athanasianism and Arianism. The issue between them was the nature of the Godhead. The former — so named from Bishop Athanasius, *Growth of heresies* its eager proponent — was Trinitarian, the latter — named for an Alexandrian priest named Arius, who was its ardent advocate — was Unitarian.¹ The issue was whether God is One-in-Three and Three-in-One, or whether God is One and the Holy Spirit and Jesus the Son of God of similar but not of the same substance as God. These rival doctrines were formulated in imposing theological and dogmatic language. It is difficult to convey to a modern student the immense popular interest which theological questions excited in the fourth century. They were argued by every class of society then as hotly as political and economic issues are argued among us today. Gregory of Nyssa, one of the greatest fathers of the Church in the fourth century, wrote of Constantinople

“This city is full of mechanics and slaves who are all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and the streets. If you ask a man to change a coin for you, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father, if you ask the price of a loaf of bread, you are told by way of reply that the Son is inferior to the Father, and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is that the Son was made out of nothing.”

It sounds absurd, almost blasphemous, but such was men's state of mind at this time.

Hitherto the common affairs of the Church had been debated in local synods. With increased numbers and influence and especially owing to the emergence and spread of heretical beliefs among the body of Christian believers, the necessity of a general council to settle *Need for universal creed* matters arose. From day to day variant and schismatic doctrines had developed until the spiritual unity of the Church was destroyed. The great need of the Church was a general authority for declaring what the creed of universal Christendom should be.

This acrimonious religious condition gave Constantine anxiety not so much for religious as for political reasons. The Roman Empire had long been displaying signs of disunity and separation — East *Council of Nicaea* against West, and even separatistic inclinations within these two great halves of the empire — which the heresies aggravated. As a means of preserving the empire from disunity, Constantine undertook to restore religious and doctrinal unity in the Church which he certainly perceived to be the most influential moral force of the time. Accordingly, in 325 he called the first council general of the Church at Nicaea, for hitherto there had been only local provincial councils. It was a landmark in ecclesiastical history.

¹ Not however like modern Unitarianism.

Only Athanasian and Arian bishops were summoned. Probably the emperor hoped to reconcile the two greatest rival churches, and then to make peace among all the sects.

The emperor himself presided over the council. Among the warring theological camps, who else could preside? Neither side would have recognized a presiding officer from the other camp. The bishop of Rome had not yet achieved that great authority which he was later to possess. The papacy was in its incipency. Moreover, Constantine as emperor was *ex officio* the chief official of every religion in the empire, for all were legally authorized and of a parity. The emperor was *pontifex maximus* of each and all religions. Even later when the pagan cults were proscribed and state and Church were united the emperor still remained the head of the Church. This practice did not come to an end until the middle of the eleventh century (1049).

The dream of doctrinal and church unity which Constantine had cherished failed of realization at Nicaea. Although there is no doubt that Constantine was inclined to Arianism, he was impartial. The Nicene Creed was declared to be *the* creed, the true and only belief unto salvation. It was orthodox and every other faith was heresy. But the Arians refused to accept defeat. The Latin West remained solidly orthodox but the Greco-oriental East remained prevailingly Arian. In the last years of his reign Constantine discovered that politically it would have been wiser to advocate Arianism rather than Trinitarianism, since the former doctrine was the more diffused and the more influential throughout the eastern provinces than the rival faith. Accordingly the emperor "turned his coat" and actually presided over a council at Constantinople in which the orthodox doctrine was denounced and proscribed. Arianism continued for a generation or more to have the upper hand, at least in political influence. But with the death of the Emperor Valens in 378 and the accession of Theodosius I, a Spaniard — and Spain was and always had been rigidly orthodox — the Nicene Creed was reaffirmed in the second general council of Constantinople convened by Theodosius.

Doubtless if Constantinople had existed at the time of the Council of Nicaea, Constantine would have convened the council there. But the "New Rome" was not established until 330 A.D. Again, in this event, Constantine permanently influenced history. The site of the new capital had formerly been known as Byzantium, (a mere town which had been destroyed for rebellion by Septimius Severus), the memory of which has been preserved in the adjective "Byzantine" which is used to describe the mixture of Greek and Roman institutions and culture which arose in Constantinople, and spread over the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. It was a momentous resolution on the emperor's part, but not so sudden as it may have seemed. The political

*Emperor presides
at council*

*Constantine's
two faced policy*

*Founding of
Constantinople*

center of gravity of the Roman world had been obscurely shifting eastward ever since Hadrian (117-135 A.D.) had yielded to the subtle charm of the Orient. When Diocletian made Milan instead of Rome the headquarters of the army in the West, he dealt a heavy blow to Rome's prestige, and the blow became almost mortal when he fixed his own seat of rule at Nicomedia. Obviously Diocletian, with a sure eye, had perceived that the most strategic place for rule of the whole Roman Empire was where Asia and Europe nearly touched, the two continents being narrowly separated by the swift current of the channel between them. Constantine, with even clearer vision than his predecessor, perceived that the European side of the Bosphorus was safer than the Asian side, for the new Persian Empire which had been established by the Sassanid dynasty in 226 A.D. was formidable, and always a menace to Roman domination in Asia Minor and Syria. For centuries the wisdom of Constantine's act has been recognized, for Constantinople has ever been the bulwark of Europe against the Orient.

In administrative reorganization, Constantine was also a continuator of Diocletian's policy and completed some of the reforms which Diocletian had begun but left incomplete. This is notably so of the reform of the army, of the coinage, of legislation. ^{Legislation of Constantine} Diocletian had radically changed methods of taxation and instituted new kinds of taxes. But one notable change was made by Constantine. This was the establishment of the *indiction*, a *rate* of taxation which was theoretically to remain fixed for a five-year period. In practice it did not do so after the emperor's death, but the laudable intention was to stabilize the rate of taxation for a term of years and thus put an end to the exasperating alterations in the rate which had obtained in previous years and had disastrous effects upon commerce and trade.

Another change made by Constantine had profound economic and social results. In 332 he issued an order which made every *colonus* or tenant-farmer, who was in debt or who could not sustain the mortgage upon his property, a permanent serf upon the land which he occupied. This condition of bondage—it was different from slavery in that the slave was a chattel who could be bought and sold—was made hereditary. Thus a new social class which hitherto had long existed in a *de facto* capacity now became a *de jure* class, and a new *status* was instituted which passed into the Middle Ages, i.e., hereditary serfdom. Constantine was not motivated by inhumanity when he issued this famous edict. He wanted to stabilize a chaotic social condition, to bind migratory farm hands and casual workers to the soil in the interest of promotion of agriculture, it may have been partly a police measure to ensure greater security in the rural areas. The effect, of course, was greatly to promote the growth and power of the rich landed aristocracy throughout the provinces, who by the fifth century dominated the government.

and survived the fall of the empire. Without being systematic feudalism, late Roman grand-proprietorship was semi-feudal in nature—a political, economic, and social condition which passed over into the succeeding centuries. This proprietary class, while rich and powerful, was intellectually arid and religiously pagan. It was not until the second half of the fifth century that the landed aristocracy embraced Christianity in large numbers, and then their lavish gifts to the bishops made the latter great proprietors and converted the Church into a landed corporation.

Constantine partitioned the empire among his three sons. The eldest, Constantine II, was given Britain, Gaul, Italy, and a part of Africa, Constantius, the second son, received the East—Constantinople (the city), Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and spent his life in long and indecisive war with Persia, Constans, the youngest, was given the Balkans, Greece, and the eastern African seaboard. These two brothers warred one with the other, Constantine II to hold, Constans to get possession of Italy. In 340 the elder fell at Aquileia. Ten years later (350) Constans died, so that between 350 and 361 the whole empire was united under Constantine II. The sole survivor of the House of Constantine the Great was Julian, whose two brothers had been murdered by Constantine II for fear that they might try to supplant him. Julian's youth protected him for a season, but he probably saved his life by renouncing politics and entering the University of Athens where he became a distinguished student of philosophy. But when Constantine II acquired Italy he made his cousin Julian prefect of Gaul where he unexpectedly proved to be a soldier of ability and several times repelled invasions of the Franks and Allemanni along the Rhine. His popularity with the legions excited the animosity of Constantius, the only surviving son of Constantine, who died on an expedition into Gaul to overthrow Julian, in 361.

The new emperor, Julian, was a good soldier, and yet a scholar deeply imbued with Greco-pagan philosophy, and utterly disillusioned with regard to Christianity and the Church. Most of the bishops by this time were hard and unscrupulous ecclesiastical politicians. One can count on the fingers of a hand the really spiritual bishops of the time. St. Jerome roundly condemned almost all of them. Julian had seen enough of "Christian" emperors and worldly bishops. A conscientious and serious man, Julian tried to restore paganism, not in an intolerant way by persecuting Christianity or even trying to suppress it, but by endeavoring to leaven decadent paganism with the virtue in Christianity without its vices and abuses. The Church condemned the emperor as an "apostate," but modern historians sympathize with Julian, although they perceive what he did not—the futility of his purpose. He has strong claims upon our sympathy.

*Civil war among
Constantine's
sons*

*Emperor Julian
attempts pagan
restoration*

stay, and in spite of its corruption, it undoubtedly was the master of the present and the hope of the future. When Julian was mortally wounded by a Persian arrow in 363, the ruination of his hopes may have been more acute pain than his physical suffering.

The Church breathed a sigh of relief when his successor Jovianus, who reigned but a year, restored the privileges which Constantine had granted. The next two emperors were two brothers, who ruled jointly, — Valentinian I (364–375) in the West, Valens (364–378) in the East. In religion the first was orthodox, the second Arian, but neither took religion seriously. They were rough soldiers who regarded Christianity as a squabble of the bishops. The chief interest of each was the protection of the Rhine-Danube frontier against the now acute pressure of the Germans.

This brings us to an epochal point in history — the great migrations, when tribe after tribe among the Germans, as if actuated by a common impulse, began to press hard upon the imperial frontier, to pierce it at various points, and to invade and settle in the provinces of the Roman Empire, in which within a century a formidable array of Germanic kingdoms were established. The third essential factor in the making of a New Europe — the German influence — now began its great work. But of the immense significance of this event the generations of the age of the *Volkerwanderung* — the “Wandering of the Nations,” had no perception. They heard the clock tick but they could not tell the time.

The Germans were a new *race*, which radically differed in blood, institutions, language from every race known to antiquity. Nothing that was German even remotely resembled the heritage of the peoples of the ancient East and the Mediterranean lands. They were newcomers in central Europe from which they had gradually expelled the Celts and driven them across the Rhine. It may be that the invasion of Italy and the capture of Rome by the Gauls in 290 B.C. and the inroad into Greece and Asia Minor of another Celtic host, the Galatians, in 278 B.C. were superinduced by the expanding pressure of the Germans upon them. Between these two dates a Greek merchant named Pytheas of Marseilles, which was founded as a Greek colony, made an adventurous voyage to the Baltic in search of amber and came in contact with some Germanic peoples along the seaboard of the North Sea. In 225 B.C. the bare introduction of the word “Germani” is found in Roman annals. In 102–101 B.C. a mixed horde of Cimbri, who were possibly Celts and Teutons, and probably Germans, frightened Rome, the former invaded the Rhone valley and threatened the province of Transalpine Gaul, the latter penetrated through the Alps and ravaged northern Italy. Both hosts were destroyed.

Sustained information and permanent contact of Rome was established by Caesar's conquest of Gaul (58–51 B.C.) and Augustus's conquest of the

territory north of the Alps and the organization of the provinces of Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia above the bend of the Danube. The Rhine and the Danube thereby became the frontier between the Romans and the Germans. The ill-defined land of the Germans in this age was covered with vast forests and with much swamp, the cultivable areas were not large. Cattle-raising, rude farming, and hunting were the chief means of support. The Germans lived in huddled villages of wattled huts, around which their fields were spread. The mass of the people was a free peasantry, but there was a noble-by-birth class, socially superior and materially richer, there were serfs and slaves among them, the former bonded servants who had sunk into debt, often through gambling and drunkenness, for the Germans were prone to both of these vices, the slaves were captives in war.

Early German institutions

The whole territory occupied by a tribe was called a *reich*, which was subdivided into *gaue* or counties, and these into townships called "hundreds," perhaps because every cluster of villages was required to furnish a hundred fighting men in event of war. Each village managed its own affairs through a *moot* or monthly meeting, which was at once a village council and a local court, it met at the time of full moon and every freeman, peasant and noble alike, had the right to attend. The county assembly and court met less frequently, generally about every three months. Obviously the whole body of freemen and nobles could not attend such a meeting, instead each village sent "selectmen." It was a simple form of representation. The whole body of tribesmen never convened together except in time of war. Then a chieftain was chosen who was called a *herzog* or war-leader, whose powers were absolute while the war lasted, but which lapsed when it was over. But since inter-tribal war was an almost chronic condition and the tendency was to re-elect a successful war-leader, in course of time the *herzog* became a permanent chieftain whose authority might pass to a son, if he were of equal prowess as his father, and so in time an hereditary kingship would be established. But the theory of an elective kingship long persisted after the kingship actually had become hereditary. At the same time the king's body-guard of warriors of distinguished bravery was gradually formed and differentiated from the mass of the fighting host, the body-guard had a privileged position around the king and was given larger portions of the spoils of war. This class, when the Germans invaded the Roman provinces, was given large tracts of the conquered territory and developed into a new sort of proprietary nobility which finally effaced the former noble-by-birth. From them also the king drew his administrative officials, and they and their families constituted his court.

The institutional development just sketched was a slow and gradual one, and not reached by all the German tribes even when the invasions began. The Goths had attained this stage in the fourth century; the Vandals, Burgundians, and Franks developed to this point in the fifth; but the Lombards in Italy

and the English tribes who conquered Britain did not get so far until the sixth century. The tribes dwelling in west and south Germany, that is to say along the Rhine or Danube frontier, naturally were in earliest and longest contact with Roman culture, and by the fourth century were well advanced along the road to civilization, whereas the tribes farther inland like the Lombards and Saxons were still barbarous. But even they picked up some civilization from Roman merchants who exchanged manufactured wares, cloth, even silk, and spices imported from the Orient for furs and amber.

*Stages in
Germanic
civilization*

Within historical times the Germans passed from *extensive* agriculture in which a patch of soil when its natural fertility was exhausted was left to lie waste, to *intensive* agriculture, in which first by alternating crops and fallow, and later also by rotating crops, the same land was cultivated continually. The principles of agriculture were identical among these three great races, but the social conditions under which these villages of farmers lived differed. The Celt had his walled block surrounding the stead of the individual household, the Slav had his "round village," the houses being built close together in a circle, and all facing inward, so that to an outsider the village was a walled enclosure. The German village, in contrast, was composed of separate houses standing in the midst of unfenced fields, each householder having half-acre strips (some more, some less) in each of the arable tracts of land surrounding the village—the planting ground and the fallow, in which cultivation alternated annually. Between Caesar who wrote ca 50 B C and Tacitus, who wrote ca 100 A D the Germans had discovered the secret of fallows and rotation of crops. The farmers of this early German village community ploughed these fields, not strip by strip, but with eight-oxen or gang plows, each farmer contributing his share of labor, oxen, yokes. Ploughing and harvesting were co-operative or community enterprises, but otherwise all other labor was of an individual character. The holdings of each farmer lay, not in a compact mass, as in a modern farm, but were scattered in many strips in the arable fields. Besides these arable areas, every village had its meadow, the hay of which each farmer shared in proportion to the number of strips which he owned. These meadow tracts were temporarily enclosed with stakes during the growth of the hay. Somewhere adjacent to the village were also a common woodlot and a common waste, which supplied sand, gravel, stone, etc.

It is to be observed that the organization of the early German village community does *not* prove that communal ownership or self-government or even freedom existed among the primitive Germans. For a village such as has been described might have been administered by a great landowner, and the farmers may have been serfs.

*Communal
organization*

All that may be asserted with certainty is that "co-operative farming of inter-mixed lands" existed. The regular cultivation of the soil hardly

began in Germany before the migrations Pasture land led in importance

Until the eighth century land clearing was chiefly made by proprietors and free peasants After that time the work was chiefly prosecuted by the monasteries It is a delusion that these foundations were always founded for pious reasons In fact most of them were established for purposes of exploitation and speculation, and the heavy labor was done by serfs The gradual expansion of agriculture, the gradual reduction of forest and swamp lands to tillage may be traced Geographically we find the oldest places regularly in the open and fertile valleys, while the cultivation in the second and third periods rises into the less favorable side valleys, up the slopes of the mountains and spreads into the forest

The relation between the Romans and the Germans was almost wholly peaceful until the second half of the second century While the government would not permit the Germans in masses to cross the great rivers, and to occupy land on the hither side of the Rhine and Danube, individually thousands of them were to be found within the empire, as pedlers and especially as soldiers Indeed traditionally the imperial body-guard was composed of German warriors

The great change in condition and in attitude of the Germanic peoples towards Rome came, as said, late in the second century The whole German world, i.e., the huge quadrilateral territory between the Rhine, the Danube, the North and Baltic Seas, and the Vistula and Theiss Rivers on the East, then seemed to be actuated by furious violence and aggravated warfare among the tribes, accompanied by a formidable pressure upon the Roman frontier The acute point was at the angle of the Danube where the river turns sharply southward Here two tribes, the Marcomanni and the Quadi flung themselves against the legion guarding the province of Pannonia in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, so much so that the emperor spent the last fourteen years of his life (166-180) there, for he died at Vindobona (Vienna) This war was the first really hostile contact and prolonged conflict between the Romans and the Germans The hostility abated during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211), and then the reason of all this perturbation among the Germans appeared in the reign of Caracalla (211-217) when the Goths emerged out of the Northland and threatened Dacia (214), the great province across the lower Danube which Trajan had established (105-107).

The Goths were the first German people to make a large history Tradition says that their original home was in ancient Sweden whence they crossed and settled in the lowlands of the Vistula River, actually modern Danzig and the territory of the Polish Corridor. When they came there, how long they remained, when and why they

*Peaceful
penetration*

*Upheaval of
Germanic world*

The Goths

which accounted for this universal restlessness among the Germanic peoples from the observations of contemporary historical writers and the evidence of the sagas. Any people existing by means of a primitive agriculture, supplemented by hunting, having elementary tools, is necessarily liable to suffer from natural adversities like drouth, a hard winter which would kill their seed corn, a prolonged wet season or floods. At the same time every tribe was exposed to attack by another tribe, arable areas of land were few amid the forests and the swamps and there were many mouths to feed. The Goths may have been washed out by a flood — the Vistula is a vicious river yet in this respect — or they may have been driven out by stronger neighbors who coveted their fields.

A migration was a great trek, the whole people loaded their household utensils and farm gear into lumbering wains along with the women and children, the cattle were driven ahead, the men and boys marched alongside, with some fighting men in advance as scouts. Without roads such a host could not average over ten miles per day, and there must have been frequent periods when the Goths settled down in some favorable place, it might have been for a winter, it might have been *The great trek*

for several years. Naturally they followed up the river valley as the line of least resistance. Gothic saga has preserved the memory of one incident which graphically shows the hazard of their history at this time. Somewhere along the route the heavy column floundered into a treacherous marsh, it may have been when they reached the Pripet Marshes which are the source of the Dnieper River in Russia, an area of quivering morasses as large as Ireland, and there the van was sucked down to death. "Even to this day," relates the Gothic saga which was reduced to written form over three hundred years after the event, "it is said that one can still hear there the lowing of spectral cattle, and see spectral forms of men, women, and children struggling in those treacherous bogs." The Goths must have been for at least one hundred and fifty years on the move, during which four or five generations had died and as many generations been born — all on the great trek — before one day they beheld "the monotonous horizon broken by a deeper blue" and the waters of the Euxine (Black Sea) lay below them.

During this long journey the Goths had become split into two divisions, as part of them travelled on one side of the rivers, the others across on the other side. The result was a permanent division of them into two tribes, the East (*Ostro-*) and the West (*Vist-*) Goths,¹ of *Ostrogoths and Visigoths* which the former was the trunk, the other the branch. The Goths were searching for a homeland (*Heimland*) which they might settle and call their own. If Dacia were not given to them they would fight for it. Years of warfare followed. In 251 the Goths invaded Thrace and were repulsed but the Emperor Decius was killed. In 268 they invaded Moesia and were

¹ We see the root, *Ostro*, for East also in *Austrasia* and *Austria*.

again beaten by the Emperor Claudius II, "Gothicus" Finally the Emperor Aurelian made a virtue of necessity, withdrew the legions from Dacia and permitted the Goths to flow into and occupy it This first German kingdom and this first German occupation of Roman territory was in 275 The Gothic kingdom lasted for precisely a century, when it was overthrown by the Huns We shall return to that event later

Meanwhile it is important to observe what happened in western Germany along the Rhine in the third century The Gothic drive threw the whole

*German pressure
on Rhine*

German world into disturbance, for as their columns slowly ploughed through they shouldered aside like a snow-plow the tribes which lay in the way of their advance Tribe was thrown upon tribe, and each fought to keep its feet and hold the territory which it occupied The weaker went to the wall, were dispossessed and wandered forth to seek a new home, and in turn fell upon other tribes All Germany was thrown into confusion and turmoil Since the thrust passed through, and was cumulative in its intensity, the pressure upon the tribes lying along the Danube and the Rhine was terrible Small tribes were ground to pieces and disappeared, the fragments of them coalescing with stronger tribes

In the third century none of the tribal names mentioned by earlier historians is found, except the Suevi, and new names appeared The number of tribes diminished The prominent tribes now were the Franks, Allemanni, Vandals, Burgundians The first two of these are of unique origin, for they were not homogeneous, but a confederation of several tribes which had partly combined for defense and partly been compressed by force of the pressure of circumstances The word "Allemanni" meant the union of "all men," i.e., several tribes confederated, of which the chief was the Suevi The Franks lay along the lower Rhine, the Allemanni on the upper course of the river This intensification of German pressure on Gaul became acute in the second half of the third century Between 260-268 the Allemanni overran the Decuman Fields, the military title lands in the angle of the upper Rhine and Danube where Domitian had colonized retired veterans in order to flatten out the dangerous salient there In the reign of Aurelian (270-275) the Allemanni, blocked from entering Gaul, burst through the Alps into Italy The emperor defeated them on the Metaurus where Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, had been killed in 208 B.C. It was after this that Aurelian erected the great wall around Rome which still stands Under Probus (276-282) the Franks, Burgundians, Allemanni, and Vandals all made forays into Gaul, which the emperor stemmed

The most famous of the old Germanic tribes disappeared in the third century, or else were swallowed up in new groups—Allemanni, Franks, Burgundians, Saxons, whose names suggest military organization and seem no longer tribal names. The "Alleman" is an invader, the "Frank" a free warrior, the "Saxon" a swordsman, named from his famous blade (*sachs*).

These new bodies were not homogeneous, but federations and fragments of tribes. The Franks included Salians, Sicambrians, Chamavians, Ribuarians, the Saxons comprised the Chauci and Cherusci and many lesser groups. The Allemanni were composed of the remnants of the ancient Suevi, Quadi, and Hermanduri.

Until 375 the German world was in a state of relative stability. The Goths had settled down in Dacia and the great source of pressure and disturbance was removed. The Roman frontier had proved a harder nut to crack than the Germans had expected. Until the onslaught of the Huns in 375 this equilibrium continued. The interval of exactly a century between 275-375 was of enormous importance in the history of the German people. The nearest tribes, being in close and constant contact with Roman civilization and Christianity, became civilized and Christianized. The Latin writers still called them "barbarians," but the word no longer signified "barbarous." "Barbarians" now simply meant Germans. The wife of the Emperor Gallienus in the third century was a daughter of a German chieftain.

*Christianization
of German
barbarians*

This century of peace between Rome and the Germans has been called the period of "pacific invasion." The Germans now flowed peacefully into the Roman Empire, coming not as invaders, not even as captives in war, for there was no war. Thousands of them entered the army as recruits (*foederati*) keeping their tribal association, and their chieftains rose to high military station. Indeed the greatest commanders in the fourth century were Germans, as the names of some of them show — Bauto, Arbogast, Hartomund, Haldegast, Hildemund, etc., and in the fifth century the very commanders-in-chief, Stilicho, Aetius, Ricimer, were Germans. German chiefs were proud to serve in Roman armies, Ricimer and Bauto moved among the nobles as their equals. The Empress Eudoxia was Bauto's daughter, the Emperor Honorius was Stilicho's son-in-law. German legionnaires are to be found on every frontier, even in Armenia and Arabia, and many inland places were garrisoned by Germans. Thousands of other Germans were colonized as peasants (*coloni*) in wasted provinces and upon abandoned farms, which were numerous, especially in Gaul. In a word, the new "invasion" was one of colonization, and can be compared with the entrance of European immigrants into the United States after 1848 — Irish, Germans, Jews, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and later Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, and the peoples of southeastern Europe, all of whom became Americanized as the Germans became at least half-Romanized.

*Pacific invasion
of Rome*

The earliest Latin words which passed into the German language were words indicative of improving civilization, as *Munze* (from *moneta*, money), *Pfund* (*pondo*, pound), *Strasse* (*strata(via)*, paved road or street), *Meile* (*mille*, a thousand paces or mile), *Kiste* (*cista*, wooden chest), *Pfau* (*pavo*, peacock), *Esel* (*asellus*, ass).

*Influence of
Roman civilization
on Germans*

Philology proves that these were loan-words in German in the second century. Later appear words borrowed from Latin indicative of wine and wine-making, as *Wein*, *Most*, *Lauer*, *Kelter*, *Trichter*, and Latin words of horticulture and cookery, the most interesting of these is the German word for dish (*Tisch*), which was derived from the Latin *discus*=quoit, since the Roman soldier often, in slang, called his shield a "discus" and not infrequently used it as a platter or dish, the German knew no other meaning for the word. Not much later we find Latin terms for building, as *Mauer* (*murus*, wall), *Keller* (*cellarium*, cellar), *Kammer* (*camera*, room), *Speicher* (*spicarium*, granary), *Weiher* (*vivarium*, fish-pond), *Ziegel* (*tegula*, tile), *Pfeiler* (*pilarius*, pillar), *Pfosten* (*postus*, door post), *Fenster* (*fenestra*, window). All these words entered the German language *before* 400 and show in the things which constitute material civilization—trade, agriculture, gardening, cookery, building, that the Germans had made progress. This is notably true of the Goths in Dacia and the Crimea whose conversion to Arian Christianity by Ulfilas, a half-Goth, half-Greek missionary in the fourth century introduced the words *Kirche* church, *Pfarrre* parish, *Bischof* bishop, *Priester* priest, and many other ecclesiastical words from the Greek. Nearly all these loan-words were first adopted by the Goths, the first Germans who became civilized, from whom they spread over all the German world. On the other hand, the first and only German word for many years which penetrated into the Latin language was the word *Burgus*, a fort.

CHAPTER X

ROMAN, CHRISTIAN, AND BARBARIAN (Part II)

If this peaceful penetration of the Germans into the Roman Empire and this gradual civilizing process could have continued for another hundred years, if the Romans and the Germans had been given the chance to become quietly better acquainted, the fate of Europe would have been very different from what it was to be in the fifth century. The sudden invasion of eastern Europe by the Asian Huns in 375 was a catastrophe, for the violence of their impact, first upon the Goths in southern Russia, and soon afterwards upon the tribes in Germany, overthrew the condition of the Romano-German world and hurled the German peoples in huge and frantic masses down upon the Roman provinces. In terror-stricken tens of thousands the German tribes crowded down upon the Roman frontier and desperately strove to cross the two great rivers which marked it in hope of finding protection and safe place of settlement within the provinces of the empire.

Coming of the Huns

The Huns were a gigantic horde of agglomerated tribes of Mongolian race come from far Asia. For their earliest history we have to go to Chinese annals in which we learn that the Great Wall of China was built before the Christian era to protect the rich agricultural plain of the Yellow River against their incursions. Their original home was Mongolia, from which, being a nomad and pastoral people, they gradually expanded, following their flocks and herds across the grazing grounds of central and western Asia. Vanguard of the Huns had been the Alani, who had settled in the plains between the Volga and the Tanais Rivers, a century before the coming of the Huns and had invaded Asia Minor in 275.

Origins of Huns

The Huns were savages with the merest rudiments of civilization. They knew the use of fire but disdained it except for warmth, they ate their meat raw, their clothes were skins, their weapons bows and arrows, "their country the back of a horse." About 372 the Huns pushed through the broad low pass between the end of the Ural Mountains and the head of the Caspian Sea, fell upon and annihilated the Alani—except for a fragment which found refuge in the gorges of the Caucasus where their name is still preserved—and were soon spread over the plain of southern Russia of today. The Volga and the Don Rivers were no bar to their advance, for the Huns floated their great wains over on rafts and swam their flocks and herds across.

In 375 the Huns fell upon the East Goths and destroyed the most advanced

and most promising example of German civilization at a stroke. Even the imperial government was alarmed at the appearance of these flat-nosed, slit-eyed, bandy-legged (for they were so used to horseback that they waddled when they walked), yellow-faced savages. The Hunnic shock had been borne by the East Goths, the West Goths were momentarily spared. In dismay the West Goths crowded down upon the Danube frontier imploring permission to cross the river and find safety in the Roman provinces of Moesia and Thrace, roughly modern Bulgaria. The Roman government yielded to necessity, but with much misgiving. It was a hazardous move to permit a whole German tribe with its arms to settle within the empire. What was to be done with the population in the two provinces? The West Goths were without resources. They would have to be supported until their crops could be harvested and their cattle had increased in their new home, and this meant at least two years' time. Moreover, the government would have to furnish these supplies.

The event confirmed the hesitation of the imperial government. The West Goths, refugees reduced to beggary, were tractable enough in the beginning. But corrupt officials and grafting contractors preyed upon the poor Goths, even selling women and children into slavery. In desperation the West Goths finally rebelled against the wrongs which they were enduring. Under their leader, Frigidern, they took up arms and marched upon Constantinople. The Emperor Valens hastily gathered what troops he could and went out to meet them. Near Adrianople on August 10, 378, one of the most decisive battles in history was fought. The emperor was killed and the West Goths won a smashing victory. In 251 and again in 268 the Goths had invaded the Roman Empire, but had twice been defeated and driven out. Now a victorious Gothic army was camped within a day's march of the capital of the Roman Empire. The emperor in the East was dead. In Rome, Valentinian I's son, Gratian, who was hardly more than a boy, was emperor.

In this strait, Gratian, rather by luck than insight, made Theodosius co-regent, and sent him into the East. Theodosius was a Spaniard, reputedly a descendant of the great Emperor Trajan, who had a distinguished military career, but who had been deprived of his command by an army intrigue and was then living upon his private estates in Spain. Theodosius's policy was a statesmanlike one. He redressed the wrongs of the Goths, took their fighting men into the army, and cantoned them in garrisons along the Danube as far up as Pannonia. The families were with them, settled on plots of ground around the forts. Their wages were assured. For a long time the Goths remained content with the arrangement. The imperial government breathed freely again. The danger from the Goths was removed and the frontier better protected than

*Huns destroy
East Goths*

*West Goths
find shelter in
Roman province*

*West Goths de-
feat Roman army*

*Emperor
Theodosius's
German policy*

ever against barbarian invasion. Other events soon followed. Gratian fell in battle against a usurper in 383. Theodosius promptly destroyed the pretender and repressed a number of insurrections in the provinces. When Thessalonica (modern Salonika), the most important city in the Balkans after Constantinople, rebelled, Theodosius slew 7,000 of the populace.

The whole Roman Empire was for the last time reunited by Theodosius I (379-395). His ecclesiastical policy was on a par with his civil and military policy — indeed of even greater importance. For in 392

Theodosius the Great made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire. State and Church became the obverse and the reverse side of a single institution. All the pagan cults were banned, their temples closed, and their property given to the churches. The bishops everywhere became great landed proprietors. Along with this legislation a series of rescripts for suppression of heresy was issued, which conferred almost inquisitorial powers upon the bishops and guaranteed the assistance of the police power and the law courts throughout the empire. Church and State, operating in unison, became ferociously orthodox. Unlike previous emperors, who had adhered to Constantine's policy of preserving a parity between Christianity and the pagan cults, Theodosius I was a bigoted Christian. And yet it may be that there was policy as well as prejudice in his conduct. The problem of maintaining the political unity of the Roman Empire had been a serious one ever since the third century, when Gaul, Spain, and Syria had seceded for years. Diocletian and Constantine had repressed these secession movements in the provinces, but they were renewed under their weaker successors, and the multiplication of heretic sects made this particularism more acute than ever. It is not impossible that Theodosius I sought to impose religious uniformity partly as a means to establish political and administrative uniformity in the Roman Empire.

When Theodosius the Great died in 395 the administrative division into an eastern and a western section which had been instituted by Diocletian became permanent. In theory the Roman Empire still remained one, in actuality, when Theodosius bequeathed the eastern section to his elder son, Arcadius, and the western section to the younger, Honorius, two Roman empires were created, whose history was to be markedly different. The Eastern — or Byzantine — Empire, as it came to be called, and whose civilization and genius were Greek, endured until the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453. The Western Empire, whose civilization and genius were Latin, succumbed in 476, and henceforth the making of western Europe was in the hands of the Church and the new German kingdoms established there. The years 378 and 395 were of decisive influence in the passing of antiquity and the coming of the Middle Ages.

Arcadius and Honorius were both nonentities. The first was a weak-willed

*Christianity
becomes state
religion*

*
*Division of
Roman Empire*

zealot who spent most of his time in religious genuflections and let a corrupt minister run the government. The second was a shallow-minded trifler, fond of the pomp and ceremonial of the court, playing with his pet chickens while the empire was lapsing into dissolution. Fortunately his guardian, army commander, and chancellor, for a season, averted calamity. This was Stilicho, a former Vandal chieftain, the greatest German ever in the imperial service.

*Theodosius's
weak sons*

The former grievances of the Visigoths, which Theodosius had redressed, soon again became acute. In the very year in which Theodosius I died (395)

the Visigoths, enraged at not receiving their pay from Arcadius, rebelled under their hereditary chief Alaric. Knowing that Constantinople was impregnable, the furious Goths plunged down across Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece into the Peloponnesus, city-sacking as they went, only sparing Athens. Stilicho went to the aid of the eastern government which seemed passively indifferent to what was happening. Landing his forces at Corinth, Stilicho blockaded Alaric and his host in a valley in the hills, and negotiated with Arcadius for a settlement. Alaric was made *dux* in Illyricum, i.e., the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic.

Alaric's revolt

It was a wild, broken, mountainous country almost destitute then, as now, of agriculture and the West Goths were speedily more discontented than before. In order to stop the murmurs of his people, Alaric made the bold resolution to invade Italy. In 402—the date is another turning-point in history—the Visigothic host rounded the head of the Adriatic via the ancient Roman road through Aquileia, and crossed the Po River. Stilicho, who was in Rætia, crossed the Alps, though there was deep snow in the

passes, and defeated the invaders at Pollentia in a battle fought on Easter Sunday. Alaric retreated into Illyria. The Emperor Honorius was so frightened that he removed his

*Ravenna becomes
imperial capital*

court and his capital from Rome to Ravenna, the imperial naval base, situated in the marshes of the delta of the Po and only approachable by a long causeway. Ravenna anticipated Venice in the importance of its history, and above all, for the original and magnificent nature of its buildings, whose palaces, churches, and tombs initiated a new form of building which had an immense influence upon medieval architecture.

Meanwhile, Stilicho's hands were full in repelling another invasion. The Huns had been slowly creeping up the Danube since established in Dacia in 375, and their advance intensified the German pressure in

*Renewal of
German pressure*

the angle of the upper Danube and Rhine. This explains why Stilicho was there when Alaric invaded Italy. Now, in 404, a wild mass of furious Germans, fragments of broken tribes cemented together by disaster and fear, pierced through Rætia and the Alps and pounced upon Italy. Again Stilicho gave battle and Radagais and his host were destroyed. Twice the great general had saved Italy from German inroad. But his hands

were tied and he could not reach further. In order to repel Alaric and Radagais, Stilicho had had to thin the legions along the Rhine, so that in the intensely cold winter of 406-407, when *Germanians invade Gaul and Spain* the frozen river made a natural bridge, thousands of Vandals and Suevi crossed the Rhine on the ice into Gaul which henceforth was as good as lost to the Roman Empire. This was the "Grand Invasion." For three years this host of marauders pillaged and sacked the largest, the richest, the most prosperous country in the Western Empire. Finally in 409 the Vandals and Suevi passed into Spain where they established a "kingdom" or rather two kingdoms, that of the Suevi being in the northwest of the peninsula. Here they remained for twenty years, treating Spain much as they had treated Gaul before until the West Goths drove them across the strait into Africa in 429.

This brings us back to the Visigoths under Alaric. Stilicho had many enemies. The courtiers were envious because of his brilliant successes. The senatorial aristocracy hated him because he was a German and so did the officers in the army who were not themselves Germans. Finally, like all Germans, Stilicho was an Arian Christian, and therefore Catholic influence and authority were hostile to him.

These factions poisoned Honorius's mind against Stilicho, who had married the emperor's daughter, and persuaded him that Stilicho was aiming at the purple. For fear lest his German soldiery would rise to resent his assassination a vast conspiracy was formed to have all the *Murder of Stilicho* German soldiery in the Roman army in Italy murdered at the same time by the soldiers who were not Germans, many of whom, especially the officers, were jealous of the prominence of the German element in the army. In 408 the deed was done, and the garrison towns in Italy were a shambles. The survivors of this massacre fled to Alaric in Illyria, who at once perceived that the road to Italy was open to him. Again Alaric invaded Italy, and there was no one to resist him. He demanded that the Goths be assigned lands in northern Italy in which to settle. The emperor, safe in Ravenna, which Alaric could not approach, refused and Alaric marched upon Rome, not with any intention of capturing it, but in order to frighten the Senate into bringing pressure upon Honorius to yield. The prefect of the city was sent to Ravenna without avail. Meanwhile his people, who had been joined by swarms of runaway slaves and serfs, were in need of food, it is curious to find that Alaric also demanded several thousand pounds of spices and several thousand yards of red silk and all the German slaves in the city.

When Honorius refused to yield to the petition of the Senate, there was nothing for Alaric to do but to force the emperor's hand by taking Rome. The oft-told tale that Rome was captured at dead *Capture of Rome by Alaric* of night on August 24, 410, "like Moab," as St. Jerome said, is untrue. Rome was taken in the glare of a summer noonday, when all

well-to-do Romans took a snooze, i.e., a *siesta* at the sixth hour, and only slaves were supposed to be awake. Then, as the guards at the Salarian Gate dozed, some slaves within, who hoped to gain liberty as the German slaves a few months before had done, opened the gate and Alaric's troops poured in. A week of sack and pillage followed, and fires broke out, but there was little slaughter, most of the violence of this sort was committed by the slave population which naturally seized the opportunity to avenge their grievances. Alaric respected all the churches to which thousands of the frightened people fled for protection. Rome was to suffer far more in the future from other sacks, as in 455, 1083, and 1527. The supreme effect, as will presently be shown, was a moral one.

From Rome the Gothic army, laden with spoil, moved southward. Apparently Alaric's purpose was to cross over by way of Sicily and occupy the province of Africa but he died suddenly in Bruttium, the "toe of the boot." The capture of Rome and other events compelled the obstinate emperor to yield. For three years Gaul had been at the mercy of the Vandals and nothing had been done, although the provincial governors had implored the emperor for aid. As a desperate recourse the Gothic army — it must be understood that in imperial eyes they were Roman soldiers who had mutinied — was taken into service again and sent under Alaric's successor, Wallia, into Gaul to destroy the Vandals.

The last stage of the "trek" of the West Goths terminated when they arrived in southern France (Aquitaine) (415) over which they spread and established the first German kingdom on Roman soil, with Toulouse as capital. By 429 they had occupied Spain also, whence the Vandals were driven across the strait into Africa so that the West Goth realm was on both sides of the Pyrenees. As we shall see later, in 507 the Franks conquered the Gallic part of the kingdom, so that until it was overwhelmed in 711 by the Mohammedans, the West Gothic kingdom was wholly Spanish.

The Gothic king occupied a double position. To the Roman government the Gothic king was an imperial official for whom a new title was invented, *patrician*, he administered the territory in the name of the emperor, and the kingdom was merely a great and new kind of administrative circuit. Thus by a legal fiction the theory of the unity and continuance of the Roman Empire was preserved. But to the Goths themselves, although they too now became Roman subjects, their rulers were Gothic kings more than Roman officials. This practice became a precedent for the settlement of other — but not all¹ — German tribes within the empire. Thus Rome saved its face by legalizing what it could not prevent,

¹ The exceptions are the Saxons and English in Britain, the Vandals in Africa, and the Lombards, after 568, in Italy.

it was content with the theory of sovereignty when it had to surrender the reality of power to German chiefs

Twenty-eight years later, in 443, southeastern Gaul was similarly occupied by the Burgundians. This new occupation clearly illustrates the pacific nature of the German penetration and the imperial policy of yielding to necessity. In that year the populace of Lugdunum (modern Lyon at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhone Rivers) rebelled against a new and exorbitant demand for heavier taxes, and when threatened with coercion by the military, deliberately invited the Burgundians, who were then lodged in the territory along the upper Rhine, to enter it, offering to divide their lands with them. Upon the advice of the Roman general Aetius, another barbarian commander, Emperor Valentinian yielded. As in the case of the West Goths, the Burgundian king was made *patricius* of the provinces, theoretically he was a Roman official, actually he was a German king. Again Rome resorted to a fiction in order to save its dignity. This new kingdom comprehended nearly the whole Rhone valley and extended from Lake Geneva almost to the Mediterranean.

Burgundian kingdom in Gaul

The emigration of the Burgundians out of Germany into Gaul saved them from the vast invasion of central Europe by Attila. Since 375 the Huns had been lying in the territory north of the lower Danube, living on their flocks and herds and predatory raids upon the Balkan provinces, so much that Theodosius II paid them an annual tribute. In the middle of the fourth century a Hun chieftain Attila arose among them and set out to conquer the West. Their mounted hordes plowed their way up the Danube valley, subjugating the smaller German tribes. In 423 the Burgundians had fought — and won — a desperate battle with them. In 451 Attila had crossed the Rhine into Gaul and laid siege to Orleans. Roman, Goth, and Burgund trembled. Finally Aetius, the last great commander of Rome, appeared at the head of the Roman Empire's last army, and defeated the Huns in the great battle near Châlons in Champagne. Attila retreated back to Pannonia, the province in the angle of the bend of the Danube, which was then the central spot of his "empire." In the next year he invaded Italy but his troops dropped from fever and again retreated. In 454 he was murdered in a drunken orgy and the Hunnic Empire went to pieces. Some of the Hunnic warriors entered the armies of the Eastern Roman Empire. Attila made no impression upon history but he had an enormous impression upon the imagination of the Middle Ages and became a figure of legend and even of prophecy. He was merely a red-maned comet flying across the night of the fifth century. He left a trail of desolation behind him, but accomplished nothing but terror.

Attila's invasion

The German occupation of the Roman provinces was not spoliation. Ever since the fourth century the Roman government had used the practice of billeting German soldiery in the legions upon the Roman provincials, com-

selling the rich land-owners to divide their lands, giving up one-third of them to German troopers, who settled with their families upon them. So now, both

*German
acquisition of
Roman land*

in West Gothic Gaul and in the valley of the Rhone the proprietary class surrendered part of their lands to the German incomers, but the proportion was different than before, for the Germans now took two-thirds instead of one-third. These lands were divided by the German kings among their followers, and in this manner a new German proprietary class arose similar to that among the Roman provincials. The double origin of the noble families in the Middle Ages is to be found in this arrangement. There was less violence and injustice in this settlement than is supposed.

To return to another part of the Roman world. After the Roman conquest of Britain by Agricola — in 42 A.D. as an inscription proves — the Emperor

*Fate of Roman
Britain*

Antoninus Pius erected a wall along the line of outposts which Agricola had established in order to protect the province from the Picts of what is now Scotland. We know that this boundary was twice lost, and twice re-established, but after the second restoration, probably about 185 A.D. the frontier was folded back to the old wall which Hadrian had constructed earlier. Since that time Britain had enjoyed security until 360 A.D. when a great inroad of Picts and Scots took place. After that Britain had peace until the early fifth century when the government began to diminish the legions abroad in order to protect Italy, and Britain was particularly exposed to forays of Low Saxon and Jutish invaders from modern Holland and Jutland who, unlike the continental Germans, knew nothing of Roman civilization and Christianity and were ferocious barbarians and heathens. It was a period of darkness and struggle, and we cannot be certain about the date when the permanent occupation of British territory began. Three alternative dates (428, 442, 449) are recorded in various chronicles for the landing of Hengist and Horsa, the half-historical and half-legendary leaders of the first, the Jutish invasion. The one hundred and fifty years between 450 and the coming of Pope Gregory I's mission to Britain in 596 constitute two lost centuries of British history.

that these others lay north of the Humber, the kingdom was not called North Anglia but Northumbria. The historical chronicles for this early epoch were not written until long after the events which are narrated, and it is difficult to determine either accurately or fully what actually happened. The most reliance is to be put upon archaeological evidence which shows that Roman culture in Britain was broader and deeper than once believed, it also shows that the lower classes among the Britons were not wholly driven out or destroyed, as formerly supposed, so that Celts were early admixed with Anglo-Saxon, further, there is evidence of the continuation of some Celtic customs especially with regard to landholding, which influenced the development of the English village community and the economy of the manor. For the most part it may be believed that the Britons were not slaughtered but were beaten and withdrew back into the country of the West—Devon, Cornwall, Wales.

We must now revert to the history of the Vandals, who had crossed over from Spain into Africa in 429. The Vandals were partly driven out of Spain by the West Goths, and partly tempted by the opportunity to plunder in Africa. Christianity "had gone native" *Vandal Africa* there. The old Punic population which was of Carthaginian descent and which had hated the Roman domination for centuries past, looked upon the Orthodox State Church as one more instrument of Roman rule, and had been in rebellion for years. The rich Roman proprietors had seen their farms and ranches in the country districts destroyed by fire and they and their families had been driven into the cities for safety from a furious armed peasantry, among whom were many slaves. To make matters worse, the Numidian and Moorish tribes which hung upon the interior Saharan frontier of the provinces now staged formidable raids. It took the Vandals ten years to overcome Roman Africa. Carthage was taken in 439. Most of the Roman population had fled to Italy and southern Gaul. The country was in a state of ruination. Agriculture had been destroyed and the Vandal did little to restore it. Instead, the ferocious king Genseric resorted to piracy and soon the western basin of the Mediterranean was infested with pirates who plundered the coast towns of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, pillaged the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and even cruised into the East, where they preyed upon Byzantine shipping.

In 455 the Vandals sacked Rome far more ruthlessly than the Visigoths had done in 410. The Emperor Valentinian III was killed. In the next twenty-one years there were nine emperors, every one of whom was a creature of some German commander of the army. The most prominent of these ruffians was Rikimer who put up and knocked down six emperors, and amassed an enormous fortune in so doing, for he always found some rich Roman senator who was willing to pay a high price for the imperial title which practically was auctioned to the highest bidder, as had been the case in the third century before Diocletian reorganized

*Puppet emperors
in Rome*

the government When Rikimer died, his successor, another German chieftain named Orestes, who had once been a Latin secretary to Attila the Hun, placed his own son on the throne This unfortunate lad — he was twelve years of age — has come down in history as Romulus Augustulus Orestes soon quarrelled with Odovaker, a German leader of mercenaries, who killed Orestes and deposed the boy-emperor (476) Instead of putting up a new puppet emperor, Odovaker was content to rule Italy as *patricius* for the Emperor Zeno in Constantinople Thus, to all intents and purposes Italy, too, had become a German kingdom in the Western Empire, which was now torn to shreds and patches The only portion of it in the West which still remained unoccupied by a German tribe, and where Roman institutions were still preserved was northern Gaul "All Gaul was divided into three parts," as Caesar had written before the Roman conquest But Caesar would not have recognized the tripartite condition of Gaul at the end of the fifth century, for the two southern parts were German kingdoms It was not long before northern Gaul, too, was subjugated by the Germans

In the fifth century the Franks, who were not a single tribe but a confederacy of German tribes of whom the Salian Franks were the strongest,

*Emergence of
the Franks*

were lying in the region of the lower Rhine from Cologne to the sea (modern Rhenish Prussia, part of Holland, and the whole of modern Belgium), and had spread as far west as the Somme River In this time this whole territory was almost bereft of Roman inhabitants and the Franks had occupied an abandoned region The Salian Frank chieftain was named Chlodwig¹ Within five years (481-486) Chlodwig, having slain the chiefs of all the tribes which formed the loose Frankish confederacy and compacted them into a fighting nation, looked for

*Conquests of
Clovis 481-511*

wider conquest Across the Somme lay all that was left of free Roman Gaul, where a solitary Roman governor named Syagrius was doing his best to carry on In 486 Chlodwig invaded this last unviolated remnant of the Western Empire, defeated and killed Syagrius in a battle near Soissons, and within a few months the Franks conquered the territory between the Channel and the Loire In 507 the territory of the West Gothic kingdom between the Loire and the Garonne was conquered, which compelled the removal of the Gothic capital from Toulouse to Toledo In 567 when the territory between the Garonne and the Pyrenees was taken by the Franks, nothing was left of the Gothic kingdom but Spain Before he died in 511, Chlodwig had also reduced the Burgundians to tribute, though the extinction of the kingdom did not take place until 530

Now that we have reached the point of time when the last vestige of Roman

rule in the West was obliterated (486) we may pause to reflect what were the causes of the decline of the Western Empire. The empire was not destroyed by the Germans, for except for the Vandals in Africa and the English in Britain, all of the Germans had entered the Roman Empire with the consent of the imperial government, moreover, all of the continental Germans, including the Vandals, were partly civilized and Christian, except the Franks, though all were of the Arian faith and regarded as heretics by the orthodox clergy. If the Western Empire had preserved its ancient vigor either the barbarians never would have been able to penetrate into it, or else the imperial government would have been able to regulate the quota of those permitted to enter, so that they would ultimately have peacefully become Romanized. The latter is likely to have happened if the pressure of the Huns had not pushed the Germans en masse across the frontier, so that the process of slow assimilation broke down.

*Causes of
decline of
Roman Empire*

It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that the Western Empire went down before the attacks of barbarian invaders. For centuries the Romans had been accustomed to these inroads with the ordinary result that the Germans were either destroyed or driven back or settled as captive laborers on deserted farms. Moreover, for many years the government had recruited its armies from among these barbarians. Franks, Visigoths, Burgundians fought under Roman standards and German chieftains were proud to become officers in the legions. In the beginning of the fifth century we find the Germans setting the fashions in dress and toilet. Three edicts of Honorius between 397 and 416 forbade the wearing of trousers, long hair, and fur coats of barbarian cut within the precincts of Rome and Ravenna.

The popular conception of the last days of the Western Empire is almost wholly wrong. The empire wasted away. It perished of inanition and political pernicious anaemia. The empty and colorless lives of the provincial aristocracy were passed in a dull round of ceremonial visits and wearisome etiquette which the possession of high-sounding but empty offices of city and of province failed to relieve of monotony. Such posts no longer conferred either power or responsibility, or even activity. As to the invasions, they produced little alteration in the condition of the aristocracy.

The truth is that the Western Empire was a hollow shell when the barbarians began to assail it in force. It is characteristic of the decline of the Western Empire that its death came in spite of the sincere efforts of the government to save it. The Roman emperors had never before devoted so much anxious attention or displayed a more humane spirit towards the overburdened taxpayers than they did on the eve of the dissolution of the imperial system. Edict after edict denounced the oppressive exactions of the tax-gatherers, enjoined remission of taxes over extensive areas, even whole provinces, forbade the evasion of taxes by the rich. But the civil service was too honeycombed with corruption to be remedied, and these corrupt practices themselves were

largely superinduced by the invisible operation of economic and social forces beyond control, or even beyond perception

The causes of this corruption and decay were partly administrative, partly economic, partly social. The drastic reforms instituted by Diocletian and continued and completed by Constantine, while they remedied old evils, created new ones. Chief of these was the enormous increase in the cost of administration. The splendor and magnificence of the imperial court, first at Nicomedia, later at Constantinople, entailed a prodigious burden of taxation, which was made the greater by the swarm of useless officials, the "red tape," etc. In the provinces the vicars of the newly-founded dioceses, as well as every provincial governor, imitated on a lesser scale the manners and the methods of the capital. The rate of taxation was steadily increased from two and one-half percent in Diocletian's reign to twelve and one-half percent before Constantine died. To make matters worse, all officials of the central administration, as well as all the clergy, were exempt from taxation, so that the burden fell upon the landed proprietors and the middle class in the towns, who naturally passed on the load to their free tenantry and serfs, although an effort was made to compel these grand proprietors to pay, it failed because the government was increasingly unable to enforce the law. The middle class, however, was not so fortunate, and as the municipalities progressively found it impossible to raise the taxes required of every town, the government seized the private property of those who were well-to-do (the *curial* class) in the cities. The result was in course of time that the middle classes sank into poverty and serfdom, and city life was extinguished because the wretched inhabitants fled to the country, there to find precarious protection and mere hovels to live in on the estates of the grand proprietors. Thus the rich became richer and more powerful, the middle class was reduced to poverty and dependence, and the poor went down under the economic and social pressure to lower depths of degradation. In the end the government was bled white by this rapacious aristocracy who usurped the authority and functions of the government in their great domains, and reduced the empire to a mere shell.

Considerable modification of the view generally held as to the low moral condition of the Roman world must be made in the light of new information derived from the papyri unearthed in Egypt in the last thirty years. The impression of the morals of ancient Rome, derived from contemporary pagan and Christian literature, is too adverse. Hitherto our knowledge has been confined to one section of Roman society — the upper and governing class. We must remember that the fathers of the Church were frankly polemical, and prone to exaggeration. Now we know much of the life of the common people. The evidence of the papyri shows that among the masses of the people many were leading useful, hardworking, and honest lives, and that intimate family feeling and friendship bound poor people to-

Corruption in Rome

Moral conditions

gether Many of the texts are of a deeply religious character, among them epitaphs, prayers, private letters We must discount the shrill invectives of Christian moralists against the pagan aristocracy There are no evidences of the outrageous immorality of the first century The dinner parties, for instance, are much more refined than in classical times The nobles were commonly men of culture, fond of country life and proud of their literary elegances The government shut them out of public life, but they were not imbeciles or cowards

The decline of the Western Empire has a lesson for the world today For some of the conditions which ruined the Roman Empire are with us We see a similar unsettled state of religion, the same antagonism of classes, the jealousy of the rich by the poor, the indifference of the rich for the poor, the same irresponsibility of wealth among the rich, the same absence of the idea that wealth is a privilege, an opportunity, and entails certain obligations to use it intelligently for the benefit of society, the same growing burden of taxation, the same tendency to stereotype education in a barren routine No period of history is more full of warning for ourselves, for if many of the sinister conditions of the present get beyond control neither religion nor science nor education nor higher culture will save civilization from another overthrow

Similar conditions today

There is a note of universal despondency in all the literature of this epoch Even Christian writers showed it in spite of the fact that they hoped for a better and an eternal life beyond the grave They hoped and prayed that the end of the world would come soon As for pagan literature, it was filled with a despair beyond hope of relief, here or in the hereafter

Despondency in literature

Moralists have dilated upon the evils of slavery and the prevalence of immorality (as we have already seen) and vice as factors in working the ruin of the Roman Empire But both these judgments must be taken with caution Slavery as an institution was old and universal in antiquity, and moreover, lasted all through the Middle Ages It did not end in Europe until the thirteenth century, while the *slave-trade* was not abolished until the nineteenth century As to immorality and vice, these evils have always been manifest in human society, and are probably no better or worse today than they were in the past Social evils cannot always be accurately judged from the invectives of reformers, the sermons of preachers, or even from the laws promulgated in restraint of them. Moreover, it must always be remembered that social standards and the *mores*, i.e., customs, habits, and modes of thought, change from generation unto generation, and that what is "right" or "good form" in one age may be condemned by public opinion in another age. It is never fair to judge one generation or one age by the standards and practices of another generation or another age

Slavery and morals

Historians have thought and written so much about the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire, what conclusion have they really arrived at?

Nothing. For if their explanation of the decline were true, then the eastern half of the empire ought also to have decayed. But it did not. On the contrary it remained strong for centuries. What was true for the West was not true for the East. Evidently the alleged causes are not valid reasons. Something eludes explanation. The real problem is a double one. Why did the Roman Empire endure in the East and decay in the West? There is no adequate answer.

The capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 had a stunning effect. This event sorely tried the minds of thinking men, and a few struggled to find a meaning in it. St. Jerome believed that it was a sign of the Second Coming of Christ, and many followed him, for since the first century many pious Christians accepted the visions in the Book of Revelation as a literal foreshadowing of the Second Advent. "Watch and pray," said Jerome, "for ye know not when the Son of Man cometh." The pagans said that the barbarian capture of Rome was a sign of the wrath of the gods because they had been forsaken by men, and the Christians said that it was a sign of the wrath of God because paganism still survived. A Spanish Christian historian named Orosius wrote a work entitled *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* in reply to the accusations of the pagans, in which he surveyed the whole course of history in order to show that mankind in all ages had suffered misfortunes and calamities, and that it was unjust to blame the Christians for the disaster.

There was only one man who really formulated a philosophy out of the event. This was St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo-Carthage, who to comfort his frightened people preached a most wonderful series of sermons, which in collected form is one of the world's great books. This is *The City of God* (*De civitate Dei*). Taking as his text St. Paul's words that unto all Christians "there remaineth a City of God, not made with hands but eternal in heaven," Augustine argued that great as the Roman Empire was, inevitably it would pass away, for nothing that was man-made could endure, since man was evil, that Rome could not be "eternal" although it was called the Eternal City, that every empire in the past, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Macedon, had passed away, and so would Rome in God's own time. But why be afraid? Things which are seen are temporal; things which are spiritual are eternal. Thus Augustine formulated a philosophy of history, which endured all through the Middle Ages, and is still believed by many—the idea of God in history.

A few others blamed the Germans, and *not* the pagans nor the Christians, for the calamities of the fifth century, and Salvian, a priest of Marseilles, flew to the expiation of the Germans in a work entitled *The Governance of God*. Like Orosius, Salvian argued that misfortune and suffering are the lot of the

human race in all ages, heathen and Christian alike, and that the Germans were morally a better people than the Romans. The Germans were barbarians, but their private life and political conduct were both superior to the Romans, whose pristine virtues had degenerated.

"In what respect," he asked, "can our customs be preferred to those of the Goths and Vandals, or even compared with them?" The Romans oppress each other with exorbitant taxes. What place is there where the substance of widows and orphans is not devoured by officials? None but the great is secure from the depredations of these plundering brigands. Many have fled to the Germans, seeking Roman humanity among the Barbarians because they cannot bear barbarian inhumanity among the Romans. For they would rather live *free* under an appearance of slavery than live as captives under an appearance of liberty. . . . There is vice in the life of all the Barbarians. But are their offenses as bad as ours? Are they as cruel, as faithless, as inhuman, as immoral as we Romans are? I say no."

The changes in the nature and content of European culture wrought during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were no less great than the political, institutional, social, and economic transformation. The Latin language gradually fell away from its classical form. The *Changes in culture* structure and the syntax changed in important particulars.

Old words changed their meaning, new words were introduced of a Biblical and ecclesiastical nature by the triumph of Christianity, the language of the common people of the Roman Empire (*sermo plebeius*), hitherto a mere vernacular, penetrated into the written language and corrupted the classical form; latinized German words also crept into the language. At the same time the classical spirit declined, because Latin literature was of pagan authorship and expressed a pagan culture, to which the Church was hostile. Pope Gregory the Great reprimanded a bishop for reading the classics, and would have destroyed all ancient Latin literature if he could have done so. The new Christian literature consisted of theological works, sermons, tracts, lives of martyrs and saints, hymns, pious poetry, and works in ecclesiastical history. In the East this literature, of course, was written in Greek, in the West in Latin. The Church in the East was less hostile to classicism than the Latin Church in the West, and the Greek language was not so radically altered as was Latin. Medieval Greek resembled classical Greek more than medieval Latin resembled classical Latin.

The passing of the Roman Empire and the triumph of the Church resulted in the collapse of secular architecture. Churches became the only important buildings. The first great churches were either pagan temples or public buildings which the Church appropriated and only *New church buildings* slightly remodelled their interiors to meet the necessities of Christian worship. The great buildings of the imperial period were prevailingly of basilica form, that is to say, the ground plan was a rectangle divided

into three aisles, a central aisle or nave (from *navis*, a ship, because the shape of it resembled the deck of a ship) which extended from the main western door to the choir or chancel at the eastern end, immediately behind the altar. The two side aisles were separated from the nave by an arcade of semicircular arches, and columns. These columns sustained the roof of the nave, which was one story higher than the roof of the aisles and supported the walls of the nave and the clearstory or upper rows of windows. The roof was usually a timber one, for the art of building declined along with everything else in this age, and early Christian architects were incapable of making roofing of concrete or stone. The only novelty which Christian architecture introduced in modification of this ancient ground plan was the semicircular apse which extended beyond the eastern end of the nave. The apse was used as a chapel and for centuries no other chapel was known.

The oldest Christian art originated in the catacombs or earliest Christian burial grounds. When the peace of the Church was established in the fourth century this art emerged above ground and was transferred to the basilicas. Naturally the pictures, the statuary, and symbolical decorations were illustrative of Biblical and Christian subjects. Incidents in the life of Christ were the favorite themes, followed by events in the lives of the apostles and the martyrs.

Both in literature and in art a slow decline of quality is observable throughout the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, until in the seventh century the nadir of medieval culture is found. The Latin language became corrupt and hideously ungrammatical. Architecture and art became cruder and cruder in execution. From this depth of degradation the Carolingian renaissance, as we shall see later, rescued both.

CHAPTER XI

THE EASTERN ROMAN OR BYZANTINE EMPIRE (395-641)

After having completed its destiny, the old-world culture died out with the Roman Empire and new cultures were born — Byzantine and Mohammedan in the East, Christo-Latin and German in the West. Constantine made one mistake if the object of his policy was to preserve the unity of the empire. He failed to see when he transferred the imperial capital to Byzantium that he left upon the Tiber a city consecrated by a thousand years of history. When he founded New Rome he ought to have destroyed Old Rome. In those days it would not have been impossible if he had had the courage. As Gibbon has written "Like Thebes or Carthage or Babylon, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth." Whether the world would have been the gainer by the preservation of the political unity of the empire is another question, and one upon which it is idle to speculate. But by leaving Rome standing Constantine made the division between East and West inevitable.

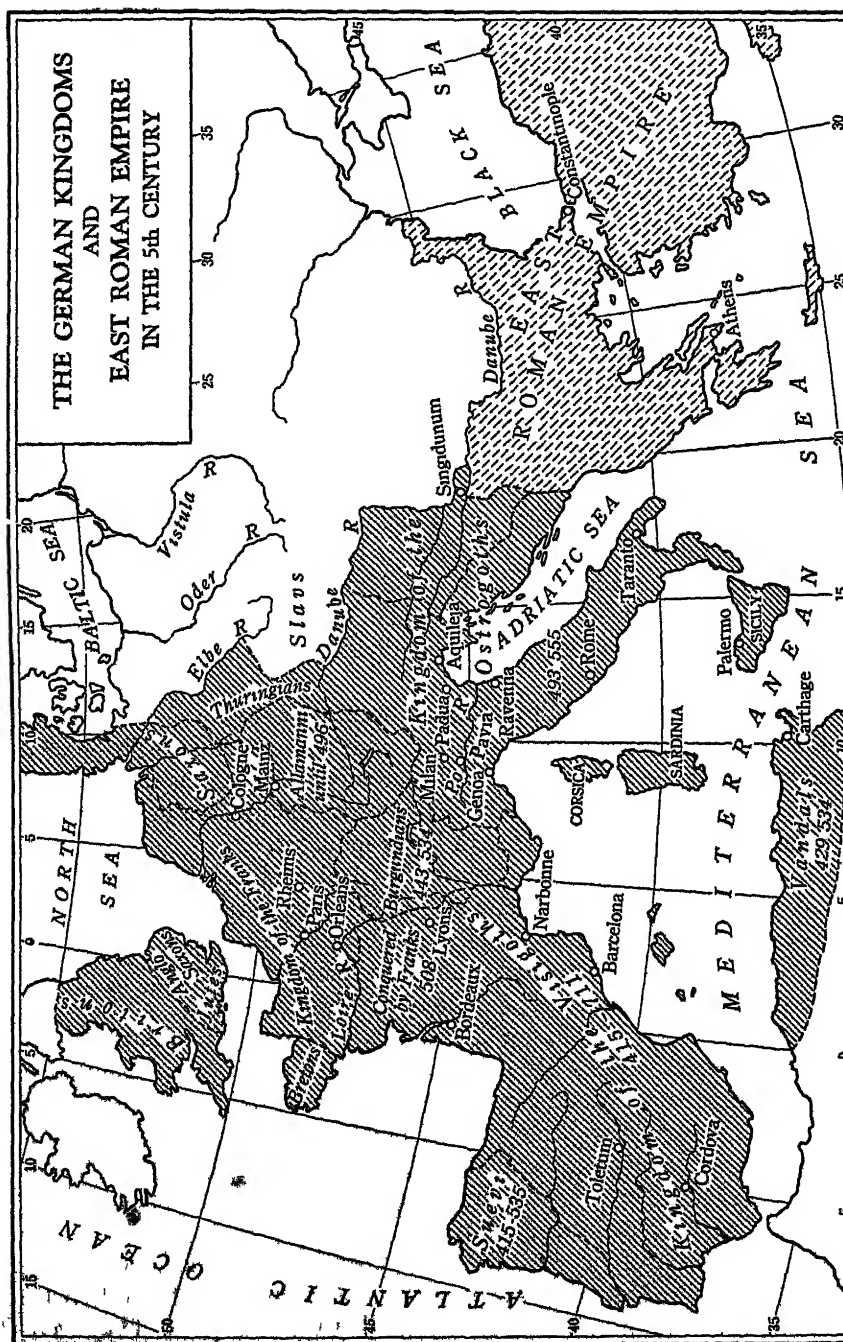
*Founding of
Constantinople
splits Roman
Empire*

The western and Latin half of Rome's once great empire — for in theory the Roman Empire was always one state with two emperors — disappeared in the storms of the fifth century. All that survived of it was the débris of its institutions and its laws, and the fiction of its continuance in which both the Roman Church and the German kings indulged.

In the East, however, where Constantine had established a New Rome, the empire persisted as a real state and an effective government in spite of the fact that its culture was Greek and Oriental, and not Latin. For the very use of the Latin language vanished by the middle of the sixth century. The dynasty of Theodosius the Great expired with his grandson Theodosius II in 450, whom Attila blackmailed for tribute for years. He is best remembered for the great codification of the Roman law (Theodosian Code) made in his reign (438), through which much Roman law, which would otherwise have perished, has been preserved. This code profoundly influenced the early laws of the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians. The code of the Franks was less affected by it, and remained much more Germanic.

*Eastern Empire
survives*

The big problem of the imperial government at this time was what to do with the Ostrogoths, who had been released from Hunnish captivity by the death of Attila and the collapse of his barbaric "empire." They were



lodged in Moesia and Thrace — where Alaric and his people had been before — and in dire distress For the long Hunnish occupation of the provinces in the valley of the Danube had reduced them to ruination Like the West Goths previously, the East Goths demanded some region for their own to settle in, (a *Heimland* or Homeland), and if *Problem of the Ostrogoths* the government would not consent to such a grant of territory the East Goths threatened to occupy it by force The emperors wheedled them with promises until finally the grave Ostrogothic chieftain Theodoric would endure it no longer, and demanded Italy for his people The hard-pressed Emperor Zeno consented It was all one to him whether Odovaker or Theodoric ruled Italy as his viceroy In 489 Theodoric invaded Italy and near Verona defeated Odovaker, who found refuge in Ravenna as Honorius had done in 402, while the Ostrogoths rapidly conquered the whole peninsula In 493 Theodoric treacherously murdered Odovaker By this time he had also acquired possession of the provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia north of the Alps, and Sicily, too, so that the Ostrogothic Kingdom was of vast dimension

Theodoric was the most cultured of all the barbarian kings of the Age of the Migrations, and his people were the most civilized Their occupation of Italy did no injury to the native population, in fact, Theodoric was jealous to preserve their rights and to reconcile the *King Theodoric* Italians to the German domination To this end he preserved the Roman law among them, made public improvements, kept up the games of the circus, except gladiatorial combats which the Church had made the Emperor Honorius abolish, retained the ancient *annona* or public dole of food to the populace in the cities, and maintained the Roman school and university system His taxation was light, his administration just

But in spite of all his efforts Theodoric could not overcome the hatred of the Italians against the Goths, for they were orthodox Christians, and the Goths, like all the Germans, were Arians and *Religious policy* therefore heretics in the eyes of the Catholics, who hated the sight of Arian churches side by side with Catholic churches.

In 527 Justinian became emperor He was of that same tough Illyrian stock from which Aurelian and Probus and Diocletian had sprung, he was a soldier, and nephew of the previous emperor, Justin (518-527), *Emperor Justinian* who had been captain of the imperial guard For six years Justinian hardly knew whether he would reign or not Two powerful factions were at strife in Constantinople, the Blues and the Greens, names borrowed from the colors of the jockeys in the hippodrome Each was formed of influential families associated with business and professional interest, and corrupt officials in the administration Neither party represented any principle — they signified no more than the "Ins" and the "Outs." Justinian was a Blue

The watchword of the Greeks was "Nika" — "Win." In 533 the Nika riot broke out in the hippodrome and speedily spread to the rest of the city. The imperial palace, the great church of St. Sophia, the imperial library, and many other edifices were burned. The emperor is said to have quailed before the violence. But the Empress Theodora, whose father had been a circus attendant, was like Lady Macbeth and screwed her husband's courage to the sticking point. She hastily sent couriers to two commanders guarding the frontier provinces along the lower Danube, Belisarius and Mundo, the latter a nephew of Attila, their arrival in the distracted capital turned defeat into victory. The Nika was destroyed, thirty thousand dead lay on the sand of the hippodrome. No hand was ever again raised against Justinian.

Though of barbarian lineage, Justinian was a thorough Roman in spirit and policy. His ambition was to destroy all the German kingdoms in the West, to restore the shrunken Roman Empire to its former vast dimensions. Moreover, Justinian was intensely orthodox and determined to stamp out Arianism. It was a program doomed to failure, in part at least. The making of western Europe for centuries to come was to be in the hands of the German kings and the Church of Rome. The conquest of Vandal Africa in a single year (533) by Belisarius was an easy one, for the Vandals were weakened by a century of living in a hot country, they had intermarried with the native Phoenician and Numidian stock. When the conquest was completed, Justinian re-established the former imperial administrative system, except that the various provinces were more firmly compacted together by the abolition of the distinction between civil and military authority established by Diocletian, and the union of both authorities in the hands of a single governor, soon afterwards designated an "exarch."

It took Justinian nineteen years to effect the conquest of Ostrogothic Italy (536-555). The East Goths were not a degenerate people like the Vandals and fought valiantly, and the acrimony between the Catholic population and the Arian Goths frightfully embittered the conflict. Signs were not wanting of the impending struggle even before Theodoric died in 526. The king grew morbidly suspicious in his old age of his Italian subjects, and in the year before he died, he executed the two greatest among the Roman nobles, Boethius and Symmachus,* for alleged conspiracy against him. Probably they were innocent, and Catholic opinion has made martyrs of them. The cultural loss in their death was as great as the moral loss. For these two were great scholars and ancient Latin classical scholarship may be said to have perished with them. Before the end of this sixth century, Pope Gregory I forbade the reading of classical literature by churchmen.

*Justinian aims
to restore
Roman Empire*

*Conquest of
Ostrogothic Italy*

Heresy played a large part in the politics of the fifth and sixth centuries. It is widely believed that the doctrinal disputes of the medieval Church practically terminated with the formulation of the Catholic doctrine at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and that thereafter the Church was a united entity clearly separated from all heretics. But this is an error. Actually the separation of these sects was not consummated until the Mohammedan conquest when the lands in which these two sects had most adherents were wrenched from the Eastern Roman Empire. The two most important of these heretic groups were the Monophysites and the Dyophysites. The former believed in the single nature of Christ, i.e., that He was perfect man, the latter taught the double nature of Christ, i.e., that He was at the same time perfect God and perfect man, and yet absolutely one. Each sect called the other heretical and over-emphasized its favorite doctrine. Alexandria was the seat of the Monophysite heresy, Antioch the seat of the other. Syria, however, was divided in her sympathies, the Greek-speaking towns being opposed to the Syriac-speaking and Monophysite countryside. Moreover, the monks in both countries were predominantly of Monophysite persuasion, for the doctrine had a strong appeal for minds of a mystic and ascetic cast.

Disruptive influence of heresies

The imperial government's object was to secure peace and religious uniformity within the empire. But a spirit of inchoate and inarticulate nationality actuated both Egyptians and Syrians and strove against this "uniformity" policy. In other words, these heresies were instruments of opposition to imperial rule in the two countries concerned.

The government had always one purpose in its dealings with these heretic groups. But political circumstances caused changes in its policy from time to time. In the years 470 to 533 the "Empire" meant only the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The Emperor Zeno, considering the West as good as lost to the empire, no longer had any reason to conciliate western prejudices, and so in the *Heneticon* (481) turned to make peace with the malcontents in Egypt and Syria. But he could not satisfy both of them, for whichever decision he made would antagonize the other. He preferred the Monophysite confession, choosing to keep Egypt at the risk of losing Syria rather than to keep Syria and lose Egypt. The Western Empire at this time was regarded as lost to the Germans after the failure of Leo's expedition against the Vandals until Justinian's conquest of them in 533. With Justinian the recovery of Italy is the cardinal point of policy. Italy could not be retained without the good-will of the pope, so the Church of Rome had to be conciliated and that could only be done by the emperor's acceptance of the doctrine of Chalcedon, even if Egypt and the East were estranged thereby. The one concession that would have appeased an estranged East could not be given for fear of offending the West.

Political considerations in treatment of heresies

In 536 Rome was so certain of its grip upon the emperor that Pope Agapetus himself made the journey to Constantinople and clinched matters. His coming settled the issue. The war with the Goths for the recovery of Italy was impending and Justinian knew that he could not offend the Church of Rome. Agapetus stopped all idea of any religious compromise with the eastern sectaries. And so by a fatality, the antagonism between orthodoxy and the eastern heretic sects hardened into a rupture which the Mohammedan conquests in the end made permanent.

Papal politics

*Eastern Empire
conquers Italy*

The popes and the senatorial noblesse had long hoped for a "new Theodosius" to suppress heresy and were jubilant over Justinian's intense orthodoxy and his conquest of the Vandals. They urged the emperor to extend his arms to Italy. In 536 General Belisarius landed at Naples. An almost spontaneous insurrection broke out in Italy, in which all classes of the native population, nobles, freemen, serfs, and slaves of Catholic religion participated. No quarter was given. Rome endured three sieges and three times changed hands as the tide of victory or defeat rolled back and forth. Vitiges, the Ostrogoth king, was taken captive to Constantinople. His successor, the heroic Totila, carried on the struggle with some success after Belisarius was recalled to resist the Persians in 540. In 544 Belisarius returned and in the five ensuing years recovered Rome and most of Italy. In 549 he was again recalled and replaced by Narses who defeated and slew Totila in 552. By 555 the conquest of Italy was completed and the Ostrogothic kingdom destroyed. The Exarchate of Ravenna was established on its ruins, for Rome was no longer a center of government. By now it had become the city of the popes. The condition of Italy was appalling. Cities and whole provinces were ruined, the population had declined catastrophically from war, famine, and disease. Agriculture had almost ceased, thousands of acres had gone over to bramble and swamp, packs of wolves invaded villages and towns. When, in 568, the Lombards invaded the country, three years after Justinian's death, the Po valley was so decimated and destitute that it could offer no resistance.

In spite of the great effort which Justinian had expended on the conquest of Africa and Italy, he was not content. No sooner was the conquest of Italy concluded than he turned his arms against the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, which at that time was torn by civil strife. A Byzantine army and fleet were sent to Spain and the southeast part of the peninsula, and Cordova, Carthagenia, and Malaga were taken. The Eastern Roman Empire was able to retain its territory in Spain until 629, but unable to extend its conquest further. Small as this acquisition was, and short as was its possession, nevertheless, it gave time and room for the penetration of Byzantine culture into Spain, the influence of which was manifested both in art and architecture. Spanish students even went to Constantinople to perfect their education. Justinian's anti-German policy had

*Partial conquest of
Visigothic Spain*

been largely successful, but he failed in Spain and never even attempted to conquer Frankish Gaul

Justinian's wars in the West, especially the Ostrogothic War, which destroyed the political unity of Italy for over a thousand years, have been condemned by historians. The Goths, though Arian, were Christian, too, and in time they might have become Catholic as the West Goths did in 589. There is another aspect of Justinian's western wars to be considered. The wars dangerously weakened the Eastern Roman Empire precisely at the time when the Persian Empire was most formidable. Ever since its establishment by the Sassanid dynasty in 226, Persia had been a menace to Roman rule in the Orient, and war between the two empires was almost chronic. In 244 the Eastern Empire lost Armenia, in 258, after Emperor Valerian was captured in battle and died in captivity, it lost Nisibis and Edessa in Asia Minor and Antioch in Syria. There were three Perso-Roman wars in the fourth century, in the fifth century Persia was too engaged in conflict with the Huns and other Turkish tribes on its eastern frontier to wage war in the West. But in the sixth century Persia again became most formidable under its great ruler, Chosroes I, the Great (Anushirwan the Just, 531-579), who was, it is to be observed, almost exactly contemporary with Justinian.

Centuries back, men like Constantine and Diocletian realized that the greatest menace of the Roman Empire was Persia, not the Germans, for that reason Constantine had removed the imperial capital from Rome to Constantinople. But the lesson was lost upon Justinian, who wasted time and money and armies upon fruitless conquest of the West when Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, indeed all of Rome's territories in the Orient were imperilled by Persia. Two states, two civilizations, two religions were in conflict. In 533, when beginning his German wars, Justinian preferred to pay tribute (11,000 pounds of gold) to Persia rather than have two wars on his hand at once. The peace lasted for seven years, at the end of which Chosroes, taking advantage of the unexpected difficulty which Justinian found in subduing Italy, renewed hostility, and captured Antioch. Belisarius, as we have seen, was recalled from Italy and sent into Syria. In 545 a truce was made, which was broken in 549. Years of desultory fighting along the Perso-Roman frontiers ensued, for Chosroes I at that time was busy extending his empire towards India, and in making an expedition into Arabia (562), a campaign destined later to have a profound effect upon Mohammedanism. For Mohammed was born ten years afterwards and the memory of this brief Persian conquest of Arabia fired the imagination of militant Islam to conquer the Persian Empire.

The administrative system of the Eastern Roman Empire under Justinian was a continuation of that established by Diocletian and Constantine. It was highly centralized and bureaucratic, the court was magnificent and stiff with

*Persia challenges
Empire*

War with Persia

etiquette Corruption and graft abounded Taxation was heavy The cost of the government and the court was enormous, to say nothing of the cost of the

*Eastern Empire's
administration*

wars Yet the revenues were equal to the demand The commerce of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch was great, and that of lesser cities in proportion The urban popula-

tion of the empire was composed of skilled artisans—the best in the world—and enterprising shopkeepers, in the rural areas, was a rich proprietary class—the *dunatoi*, or powerful—on whose vast estates dwelt millions of hardworking peasants The Mediterranean and the Red Sea were thronged with merchant shipping Through the ports along the north coast of the Black Sea came wheat, ship stores as tar and hempen rope, and slaves

Commerce

from Russia Through the eastern ports like Colchis passed goods from China and India, on whose transit the Persian government imposed heavy duties Silk was the most prized of these commodities

Like almost all great rulers, Justinian was a magnificent builder The destruction of public buildings in 533 gave him opportunity to build greater

Architecture

structures, notably the new Church of St Sophia, which marked a revolution in the history of architecture, because of its great dome and pendentives, or groined ceilings supported by a single pillar St Sophia was also an event in the history of Byzantine art, especially mosaic work, in which hitherto the churches at Ravenna had excelled

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy has been described as caesaro-papism The emperor jealously kept the government of the Church in his own hands, the patriarch of Constantinople was spiritual head of the

*Justinian's
Church policy*

Greek Church, but otherwise his jurisdiction was limited

The emperor filled vacant bishoprics, exacted fees for ecclesiastical patronage, and controlled church revenues Only the Basilian monks were exempt from secular control Justinian's rigid, not to say ferocious, orthodoxy was one both of principle and policy Heresy and schism jeopardized imperial unity and made for provincial secession Heresy had a political slant. The Egyptians and Syrians found in their favorite religious beliefs a means of undermining the Byzantine domination over them Since orthodoxy spelled Byzantine overlordship and administrative unity, heresy became the one form of protest on the part of the oriental populations against their rulers

The greatest and most enduring of all Justinian's enterprises was his great codification of the Roman law, which far surpassed even the previous Theodosian Code. This is the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, in four parts

*Codification of
Roman law*

(1) *Institutes*, a law textbook, (2) *Code*, an abridgment of the rescripts and edicts of the Roman emperors, (3) *Digest*, a

"digestion" of the best of the senatorial and praetorian law of the past, (4) *Novels*, or the new law of Justinian's own making. This last is in Greek, for by the sixth century Latin ceased to be used or even understood in all

the lands of the eastern Mediterranean, even at Constantinople. This cleavage of culture reflected the political division between the East and the West.

Byzantine culture cultivated and preserved the Greek classical literature to a far greater degree than the West cultivated the Latin classical literature. There was no fanatical prejudice against it because it was of pagan authorship and reflected the mind of the pagan world. *Byzantine culture*

In the Byzantine Empire education did not become a proficiency of the laity only, and secular schools never disappeared as was the case in the West. But Greek science, except medicine, almost vanished. When a mob in Alexandria led by furious and fanatical monks in 415 destroyed the Serapeum which housed the second Alexandrian library—a riot in which Theon, the last Greek mathematician, and his brilliant daughter Hypatia were murdered, the tradition of Alexandrian science was destroyed. The last blow came in 529 when Justinian closed the school at Athens. Greek science henceforth was preserved by the Nestorian Syrians, through whom it was transmitted to Persia. When the Arabs conquered Persia and Syria in the seventh century the legacy of Greek science passed to them through Arabic-Jewish translations of Syrian translations of the original Greek treatises.

The woes of the Eastern Roman Empire accumulated in the time of Justinian's successors. The treasury was empty. The Lombards penetrated further in Italy. The lower Danube was again a source of anxiety. *Appearance of Slavs on the Danube* In this region the collapse of the Hunnic Empire had given room for the penetration of new and savage nations known

before, but for the first time now really formidable. The shock of the German invasions had fallen almost exclusively on the West; now a succession of barbarian peoples were settled north of the Danube. These were hordes of Avars, Slavs, and Bulgarians,¹ racially and linguistically distinguishable, but otherwise inextricably intermixed, along with whom were lesser tribes of obscure history.

Their appearance presaged a momentous change in Balkan history. Justinian had managed to keep these wild peoples in restraint by an intricate policy of bribery, threats, and double-dealing, playing tribe against tribe, checking one people against another. So successful was he that a Byzantine chronicler has recorded that "he would have destroyed the barbarians without fighting if he had lived long enough."

The swirl of tribes and nations set in motion by the prodigious power of the Huns in the fifth century in southeastern Europe continued to whirl in tumultuous eddies of barbaric peoples all through the sixth century. The Avars, like the Huns before them, enslaved *Avars* the tribes around them, most of whom were Slavs. The two peoples who

¹ *Bulga* was an ethnic designation for three distinct groups of peoples, one on the upper Volga, one in the Euxino-Caspian region, and one on the lower Danube. All were of mixed Turkish and Slavic origin.

successfully resisted them were the Antae between the Dniester and the Dnieper, "the bravest of the Slavs," and the Bulgars, whose seat was above the head of the Caspian Sea in the valley of the Volga. Justinian used both of them against the Avars, although they sometimes got out of hand and were enemies instead of allies.

In 534 the Slavs and Bulgars had momentarily crossed the Danube into Thrace, in 538 the Huns invaded Moesia, in 540 they ravaged Thrace, Illyricum, and Greece as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, in 546 there was another Hunnish invasion, in 547 the Slavs devastated Illyricum as far as the Adriatic, in 551 a band of Slavs pillaged Thrace and reached the Aegean, in 552 some Slavs threatened Salonika and settled in the locality, in 558 the Huns penetrated Thrace, and outriders from among them appeared before Constantinople, in 562 the Huns reappeared. Finally, under Justinian's successors the Danubian frontier and system of fortresses crumbled. In the last years of his reign, Justinian had to humble his pride and pay annual tribute to the khan of the Avars, the most formidable of these foes.

Then suddenly came a turn of events which marks an epoch in European history. The fierce German Langobards (later Lombards), with the half-subjugated Heruli among them, were lodged in lower Pannonia above the bend of the Danube and had also destroyed the kingdom of the Gepids (another German tribe) in what is now Hungary. But in 568 the ruined condition of Italy after the Gothic War beckoned them and in 568 the Lombards abandoned their seats on the Danube and began to invade Italy. Immediately the Avars moved into the vast vacated territory, a paradise for their flocks and herds of cattle and horses. A horse-nation, the Avars speedily imposed their domination upon the Slavic tribes between the Oder and the Elbe, and carried their arms clear to the Baltic on the north and as far west as Thuringia, although no German tribe was ever subjugated by them. No Avar effort was made to conquer the Saxons on the lower Elbe, the Franks on the Saale, the Bavarians on the Danube, "Avaria," if this huge region of sprawling territories may be so called, was a formidable state in central and southeastern Europe, which kept the Germans in the West and the Byzantine Empire in the East in terror. It was an Avarized-Slav and a Slavonized-Avar state, one in which the conquered Slavs were made to plough and sow and reap, while the masterful Avars raided central Europe far and wide in summertime, returning to camp upon the Slavonic peasantry in winter!

In 580 the Avar chieftain started with a rude flotilla down the Danube, and crossing the bottle-neck of country between that river and the Save, appeared before Sirmium¹ and began to construct a bridge over the river. Sirmium was ~~at Modern Mitrovitza, almost corresponding to modern Belgrade at the confluence of the Save with the Danube, which was the Roman Singidunum.~~

*Huns and Slavs
break through
Danube*

*Avar conquest of
central Europe*

the old capital of Diocletian's prefecture of Illyricum and a key position in the Balkans. After two years of siege it fell into the hands of the Avars in 582. The Avar Empire extended from the Baltic almost to the Adriatic. Meantime the government had been occupied with other barbarians, who, during the siege of Sirmium, had poured over Thrace and Thessaly, and even approached the long walls of Constantinople, leaving in their wake a red and black horror of murder and fire.

*Avars conquer
Balkans*

In order to withstand the pressure of the Slavs and Avars and to check Persia, the new emperor, Maurice (582-602), left the exarch of Ravenna and the pope without support against the Lombards in Italy, and bent all his efforts to protect the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Fortunately, a contested succession in Persia gave Maurice a chance to intervene in behalf of Chosroes II, who recovered his throne, and in gratitude made peace with Constantinople, so that in 592 the emperor was able to transport his eastern army to Europe and employ all his military power against the Slavs and Avars. But the condition of the treasury compelled a rigid economy. In the first year of his reign (582) Maurice had reduced the soldiers' pay by a quarter. In 602 the emperor determined to relieve the burden of taxes in the Balkan provinces by compelling the soldiery to winter beyond the Danube and support themselves at the expense of their foes. "The army heard the news with consternation: barbarian tribes were ranging over the country on the further side of the river, the calvary was worn out with the marches of the summer, their booty would purchase them the pleasures of civilized life." The result was that the army mutinied and put up one of its generals named Phokas as emperor. The rebels captured Constantinople. Maurice and five of his sons were taken down to the harbor of Chalcedon. The boys were beheaded one after another in their father's sight, down to a little child whose nurse tried desperately to save him by substituting her own babe. Maurice was then beheaded and the bodies were thrown into the sea. The oldest son, who was absent, was tracked down later and put to death.

*Military revolt in
Constantinople*

Thus perished one of the ablest of Byzantine emperors. Equally expert in military and civil administration, Maurice clearly had perceived that since the empire was fighting on many fronts for its very existence, the sharp distinction made by the Diocletian-Constantinian reforms and which Justinian had preserved, must be broken down. It was he, and not Justinian, who coined the title and created the office of exarch. Maurice also redistributed the provinces, making new combinations of them for greater administrative efficiency, a step in the evolution of the system of military *themes*, by which military authority was made superior to civil authority in the provinces everywhere.

The new Emperor Phokas (602-610) was a cruel and tyrannical ruler. Persia, whom the late emperor had befriended, at once resumed war. Constan-

tinople was too terrorized to rebel, but Egypt and Africa, which groaned under Phokas's exactions and hideous tortures in 608 dared to do so. The initiative was taken in Carthage by Heraclius, the son of the *Emperor Phokas* exarch, who had been one of Maurice's generals. Both countries furnished men and money. In 610 a double army landed at Thessalonika and advanced overland upon Constantinople, the fleet which had transported it, with figures of the Virgin at the mastheads, appeared under the sea-walls of the Golden Horn on October 3. With this support from the outside the populace of Constantinople rebelled, even the imperial ministers joined in the revolt. On the second day Phokas was dragged aboard Heraclius's flag-ship and without the formality of a trial butchered on the deck, three of his hated ministers suffered the same fate. On the afternoon of the same day, Heraclius was crowned by the patriarch. Phokas's last act before he was taken was to sink all the imperial treasure in the Bosphorus, where it remains to this day.

The reign of Heraclius is eventful for the final chapter in the history of the long duel between the Eastern Roman Empire and the medieval Persian Empire was written in it. Persia had carried her victorious arms over Armenia, Syria, Galatia, and Phrygia in Asia Minor before the fall of Phokas. The accession of Heraclius made no change. In 612 Cappadocia was overrun, in 614 Damascus was taken, in 615 Jerusalem was captured, and the conquest of Egypt soon followed. In 620 Ancyra, the key to central Asia Minor (now the capital of the Turkish Empire), fell and before the year ended a powerful Persian army lay encamped across the strait within a mile of Constantinople. Only the sea protected Constantinople. If the Persians developed a sea-power equal to their land-power the days of the Eastern Roman Empire seemed numbered.

The emperor, almost in despair, thought of abandoning Constantinople and removing the imperial capital to Carthage, but the bold conduct of the patriarch and the protest of citizens deterred him. Heraclius shook off his momentary weakness. What Alexander the Great had done he resolved to do. There is a remarkable parallelism between the two campaigns. The Persians' lack of sea-power pointed out the way of attack. In 622 Heraclius disembarked an army in the Gulf of Issus and defeated the Persian general almost on the site of Alexander's first victory. In the next year Armenia was recovered.

Chosroes II countered by making an alliance with the Avars to strike Constantinople in the rear, while a Persian army was to make a frontal attack on it. The latter attempt failed, but the "Avar surprise" in 625 threw Constantinople into a state of consternation, even though it did not succeed. Meanwhile, for seven years, the emperor was away from his capital, keeping the field in summer and wintering in the enemy's country. At the end of the year 627 the long war came to an end. The Persians were defeated at Nineveh

(December 12), Chosroes II fled as Darius had done centuries before, and Heraclius advanced to Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, but retired without assaulting it. For the Persian army mutinied, killed Chosroes II, and his son Kobad II made peace with Heraclius on the basis of surrender of all conquests. The Feast of the Elevation of the Cross is the Church's commemoration of the Christian recovery of Jerusalem.

The years of the Persian Empire were soon to be numbered. In 633 the first of many Mohammedan armies swept up out of Arabia. Within the year the whole territory west of the Euphrates fell into the hands of the Arabs, and their ravages soon extended over Mesopotamia. In 637 Ctesiphon was taken and in 638 Susiana and Persia proper, i.e., the original province from which the whole Persian Empire took its name, were invaded. The collapse came in 641 in the battle of Nehavend ("victory of victories").

A new force now entered the arena of history. The triumphs of Islam began. The greatest revolution in the history of western Asia and the Near East since the conquests of Alexander the Great was under way. The long domination of European power over the lands of the East and over Africa, which had lasted since Alexander's conquests (336-323 B.C.) was at an end. Heraclius, in his old age, could find no comfort in the ruin of his ancient foe, for when he died in 641 he saw the loss of Syria and Egypt to Islam. It was the end of an era. It was also the beginning of an epoch—one which was to culminate five hundred years later in the crusades. Western Europe required five centuries before it could be ready for that tremendous enterprise, and we must now revert to the West and follow the history of France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Church of Rome before returning to the East again.

ROMAN EMPIRE

EASTERN EMPERORS

| Reign Begins | | Reign Begins | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 395 | Arcadius | 527 | Justinian I |
| 408 | Theodosius II | 565 | Justin II |
| 450 | Marcian | 578 | Tiberius II |
| 457 | Leo I | 582 | Maurice |
| 474 | Zeno | 602 | Phokas |
| 491 | Anastasius I | 610-41 | Heraclius |
| 518 | Justin I | | |

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY THE ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF MONASTICISM THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

In previous pages the importance of the Church in the formation of a new civilization in the fourth and fifth centuries has been shown. Christianity became the state religion of the Later Roman Empire, the bishops everywhere were influential personages in the governments of the Barbarian kings. The Church, in short, was an important ecclesiastical, political, economic, and social institution.

*Importance of
the Church*

Two particular developments, destined to exert an enormous influence upon medieval history, are to be considered. These are the rise of the papacy, and the origin and spread of monasticism. Although historically distinct movements, these two great institutions became intimately associated.

In order to understand the rise of the papacy one must go back to the development of the episcopal organization of the Church. In the Apostolic Age, i.e., the first century, the organization of the Church was of the simplest sort. Being a rural religious movement in the beginning, the earliest congregations were clusters of pious villagers, one of whom was the presbyter or priest — sometimes described in the Gospels and Pauline Epistles as “elder” or “pastor”, each village formed a parish.¹ These Christians usually met in private houses, though as toleration or indifference towards the new belief increased, churches were sometimes erected in the larger cities.

*Early Church
institutions*

But early Christianity soon became an urban, not a rural movement. In Antioch “they were first called Christians,” as the Book of Acts relates. With the exception of the Epistle to the Galatians and those to individuals such as Titus and Timothy, all of St. Paul’s epistles are addressed to city congregations. Early Christianity expanded along the lines of trade and the military roads of the Roman Empire. Accordingly, in a large city would be found several churches and several parishes. This increase of the number of churches and the congregations raised the importance of the presbyter, or priest, and at the same time induced supervision and centralization. The government of the Church began to be systematized. In this change the Church quite naturally, perhaps

*Urban influence
on Christianity*

¹ From the Greek word *paroikia*, a collection of houses or a village, the word “parochial” is also derived from it.

unconsciously, imitated the imperial administration. All the churches and parishes in a given territory, sometimes a whole province, sometimes part of a province, were administratively united under a bishop,¹ who had jurisdiction over every priest and congregation within the area, which was called a *diocese*.²

Originally the bishop of the chief city of each of the civil dioceses into which Diocletian had divided the Roman Empire was theoretically independent of and equal to each of the rest. But this could not last. In the Thracian diocese Constantinople took the place of Heraclea, and in the Illyrian diocese Rome took the place of Thessalonica. By degrees Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Caesarea emerged from the other metropolitan sees (*seats*) as superior in power. Soon Ephesus and Caesarea disappeared from the higher rank, an appeal from all the dioceses having been granted by the Fourth Oecumenical Council to Constantinople, and Jerusalem being elevated by a decree of the same council and by an ordinance of Theodosius II over Caesarea. Then a process of elimination took place. Antioch never got over the hostility towards it by its support of Nestorius whom the Council of Ephesus condemned in 431 A.D. Similarly the condemnation of two Alexandrian heretics by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. gave a deadly blow to the prestige of Alexandria. Finally the three southern patriarchates were ravaged by the Arabs in the seventh century. Thus there remained only the two rivals, Old Rome and New Rome (Constantinople), one representing the West, the other the East.

Simultaneously with this process of ecclesiastical centralization of the Church went another development of a very different nature. This was the growth of the religious authority of the bishops. As heretical beliefs multiplied and the number of heretical sects increased, the alarm of the Church augmented lest the truth of Christ's teaching be perverted or destroyed. Excommunication of these dissidents from the fold was without effect. For the heretics questioned: How do you know that what we believe is wrong, and that what you believe is right? What is "the truth in Jesus?" For answer, the Church formulated the doctrine of apostolic succession, according to which every bishop was the direct successor of one of the twelve apostles whom Jesus had consecrated to preach His Teaching, so that the truth of Christ's teaching had descended generation after generation to the bishops only, who spoke with His authority. In other words, this meant that the whole body of bishops, the collective episcopate, constituted the Church, and that all other claimants to ecclesiastical authority were

Rise of the bishops

*Heresy and
apostolic
succession*

¹ The word is derived from Greek *episcopos* or overseer, whence Latin *episcopus* and English *bishop*.

² From the Greek word *diocesis*, signifying a cutting through, i.e. an administrative division. Diocletian's reforms introduced the secular diocese, but the official over it was called a *vicar*. The Church borrowed both these terms but used them in a different sense.

deceived or deceivers Heretics were not of His fold The introduction of this *principle of authority* within the Church is the corner-stone of its doctrine and its power, and at the Council of Nicaea in 325 was conceded by the Emperor Constantine and asserted and formulated in the Nicene Creed Thus authority and dogma were correlative principles

The next great change in the history of the Church was the development of the papacy Until the fourth century all bishops were legally equal in the constitution of the Church, although naturally the bishops of the great sees like Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople in the East, and Rome and Carthage in the West were shown greater deference and were usually abler men than the bishops in small or rural sees These bishops were called patriarchs and their bishoprics designated as patriarchal sees But the recognition of them was one of admission of superiority only, that is to say, of influence But once the principle of authority was introduced and admitted, it was inevitable that the bishop of Rome — he cannot yet be denominated pope — would soon lay claim to supreme authority over the Church For if the principle of apostolic succession be admitted, then the bishop of Rome could make this claim to supremacy According to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, Jesus gave to Peter precedence over the other apostles, endowed him with the "power of the keys," appointed him His vicar on earth and declared him to be the "rock" on which the Church was founded And since the Church was founded for all time, it follows that the powers conferred upon Peter did not lapse with his death, but passed on to his successors, i e., to the popes The fundamental nature of this stupendous doctrine stands or falls with the authority of the scriptural texts upon which it is based The most important of these texts and the corner-stone of the whole papal edifice, is the passage in Matthew xvi, 13-19.

"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven "

There is no evidence in the New Testament that St. Peter was ever in Rome But according to a very old and very strong tradition Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years and was martyred in 67 A D If the phrase, "Thou art Peter etc.," be a Roman interpolation, as some have contended, in order to increase the prerogative of the papacy, it must have been because St. Peter already had been historically connected with the Church in Rome. It would seem that so remarkable an interpretation of this passage would be sustained by a continuous tradition of this nature. But such a tradition is exactly what is lacking in the case of this passage, and as late as St. Augustine, who died in 430, various and dif-

Rise of Papacy

Petrine supremacy

ferent interpretations are found among the patristic writers. Indeed, St Augustine himself set forth three different interpretations of it.

The statement that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years is first found in the "Liberian Catalogue" which was compiled in 354 A.D. The oldest evidence that Peter was bishop of Rome is found in Irenaeus (about 130-200 A.D.), who merely says that "the blessed apostles (Peter and Paul) then founded and reared up this Church (of Rome), and afterwards committed unto Linus the office of the episcopate." It is only in the epistle of Clement to James, the brother of Jesus, which is a pious forgery of the late second or early third century, that we have a full account of Peter ordaining, not Linus, but Clement as his successor with full powers. The pseudo-Clement is the sole documentary authority for the handing on by Peter of his exceptional authority, it was cited as genuine by the synod of Vaison in 442, and excepted from the apocryphal works condemned by Innocent I. Leo I (440-61) was the first pope who justified the primacy of the papal see by appealing to the text "Thou art Peter."

Whatever the truth of this event is, during the succeeding centuries the power of the bishops of Rome grew, while that of the emperors declined. Leo I boldly asserted to the Emperor Marcian in 452 that "the basis of things secular is one thing, and the basis of things *Leo the Great* divine is another." It was, in fact, the fast approaching dissolution of the Roman Empire that made Leo I's claims possible. Other circumstances facilitated the growth of papal prerogative. The Monophysite controversy which rent the Church from the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to the accession of Justinian in 527, weakened the sees of Antioch and Alexandria and discredited Constantinople, Rome's only serious rival. Thus favored, the bishops of Rome claimed ecclesiastical supremacy, the right to regulate belief and to enforce the Church's laws.

While the doctrine of Petrine supremacy has undoubtedly been the greatest single force in the elevation of the papacy—from 451 on the bishop of Rome may, without hesitation, be called pope—there were many other factors in its growth. The first of these was the tradition attached to Rome itself.

It is a commonplace of history that the removal of the imperial capital from Rome to the Bosphorus had a great influence in establishing the sway of the papacy over western Europe. It was impossible for Constantine to transfer the tradition, the prestige, the memories of the Eternal City to the New Rome, and what *Influence of City of Rome* remained behind accrued to the authority and dignity of the popes. The magic influence which the Eternal City had over men's minds was so great that even after the Roman Empire had disappeared, Rome morally and ecclesiastically still exerted its sway. Moreover, Catholic Rome to some degree preserved the continuity between Pagan and Christian Rome. The pope

adopted the ancient Roman title Pontifex Maximus, the language of church services was Latin, pagan festivals were adapted to Christian celebrations, the gestures and the dress of the clergy were in many ways continuations of pagan forms, for centuries the popes dated their official documents according to imperial chronology, and not according to Christian chronology. The proprietary wealth and political rule over the city of Rome and much of the territory surrounding it after Honorius removed the capital to Ravenna in 402 enhanced the growth of papal political power in the peninsula.

The factor of the personality of some of the early popes must also be taken into account. The Roman Church had the fortunate faculty of drawing

*Importance of
Papal office*

able men to St. Peter's chair. Clement I, Cornelius, Sylvester I, Damascus I, Leo I, Gelasius I, were born leaders of men. Again as Aryan West Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, estab-

lished their kingdoms, the Church in these kingdoms clung closely to Rome. The barbarian occupation consolidated Catholicism everywhere with the effect that the papal jurisdiction over these churches was enlarged. The papal correspondence with all the western bishops was voluminous and constant. As early as the middle of the fourth century the election of a pope often precipitated violence. For the office was worth fighting for in the eyes of Roman politicians, both lay and clerical. In order to prevent breach of public peace in the future Theodoric issued a precept for the convention of a synod to draw up regulations for future papal elections to ensure their orderliness and tranquillity. Theodoric's object was to abolish the evils of canvassing. Odoacer interfered for the first time with the management and control of church property, which had until then been left absolutely in the hands of the clergy. The new law prohibited all alienations of ecclesiastical property.

The complete fixation of papal authority over the Church may be said to have been achieved in the pontificate of Gregory I, the Great (590-604), one

Gregory the Great

of the great heroes of medieval Christendom. He came from one of the noble families of ancient Rome and had for seven

years been papal legate at the court of the emperor in Constantinople, where he acquired an intense distaste for everything Greek, a prejudice which affected the decline of the Greek language and literature in the West.

Gregory faced a difficult political situation. The most important event in Italy in the sixth century was the invasion of the Lombards in 568, they

*Invasion of
Lombards*

spread over the whole valley of the Po, where they made Pavia their capital, and drove much of the population of the near-coast towns like Aquileia, Padua, Bologna to find refuge in

the islands of the lagoons from which Venice later was to arise. The exarch at Ravenna and the pope, whose resources aided the exarch when the emperor could not support his viceroy with men and money, saved central Italy from Lombard conquest; but the Lombards managed to pierce through, nevertheless, and to found two duchies south of Rome: Benevento and Spoleto, so

that Rome and all central Italy were between the jaws of a Lombard vise.

The strain put upon Gregory I by these events was prodigious. Thousands of men and women thronged into Rome and its vicinity for refuge, they had to be fed and clothed and housed. All the papal patrimony in North Italy was lost. The Lombards were not heathen but *Lombards uproot Italy* Aryan, as were most of the German nations, and instead of tolerating the Catholics, they drove out their priests and seized their churches. The Lombard conquest was much more drastic than the occupation of the other Germanic nations. Instead of leaving the native population some portion of the land, as the Goths and Burgunds and Franks and even the Vandals had done, the Lombards despoiled the entire Italian population, reducing freemen and even nobles to serfdom, often upon their own lands which were seized by the king or by some other Lombard who established himself as a proprietary noble.

Lombard political organizations included both centralized kingships and independent dukes, not all of them had yet abandoned the practice of a roving, predatory horde. In the north, at Pavia and Monza, they were beginning to build churches, but in central and southern Italy their bands were still marauding, wasting farms, looting towns, taking captives, "ravening like dogs almost under the walls of Rome," wrote the pope, perhaps with some exaggeration (anno 592 and 595). The exarch was not strong enough to repel the Lombards and the latter were not sufficiently powerful to oust the exarch from Ravenna or the ill-paid and mutinous imperial garrison from Rome. These Lombard bands established themselves in the center of the peninsula, at Benevento and in the south at Spoleto. Gregory the Great's cry over the ruin and desolation of the "Lady of the World" (*Mundi Domina*) and "the confusion of tribulation which we suffer in this land" (*Homilies on Ezekiel* II, 6, 22-24) will strike the ear of every one who reads his letters. Yet amid the "immense vastness of mortality" (*Epistle XIII*, 42) the brave pope kept his faith and his courage.

If the Lombards had been a great German group instead of the smallest which entered the Roman Empire, they might in course of time have subjugated and united all Italy. Their failure to do this was not due to their lack of ability, but to the paucity of their numbers *Lombards fail to unite Italy* and the political skill of popes like Gregory the Great. In spite of their dislike of the Greek emperors in the East, the popes realized their dependency upon the imperial government for military protection, and managed to get along with them until 717, when the breach between pope and emperor, as will be shown later, revolutionized Italian politics.

There is a wide difference between Gregory I and St. Augustine, but he ranks with St. Augustine as a teacher of the Middle Ages. His works—the *Dialogues*, the *Moralia*, the *Homilies*, the *Pastoral Care*—stand second only to the works of the great African father on medieval library shelves. Gregory's

allegories are sometimes very singular. For example, Job's seven sons typified the twelve apostles, for seven is made up of three and four, and whether you multiply three by four, or four by three, seven is converted into twelve. The apostles were twelve in number because they had to preach the Three Persons of the Trinity to the four points of the compass.

Gregory had a profound influence upon medieval religious thought. From him more than any one else came the medieval belief in purgatory, a doctrine not found in the Greek Church. He held that no sin can be left unpunished, but good works are a compensation, a balance, for sins. They are, however, insufficient of themselves, to balance sins and it is only when supplemented by God's mercy that they avail. In later times it became customary to regard Gregory I as having written under a special inspiration, and the dove upon his shoulder became the conventional symbol in painting and sculpture. But his real claim to greatness rests upon his character more than upon his theological writings. There is much of Christian commonsense in Gregory's *Pastoral*.

Among the many anxieties and strains imposed upon Gregory the Great was the management of the property of the Church of Rome. It must be stressed that the pope was landlord of vast estates not only in and around Rome, but spread over much of the Italian peninsula, and even in Gaul, Dalmatia, Sicily, Africa, and the islands. The properties were managed by local agents and by semi-ecclesiastical officers, sub-deacons sent from Rome, the *massae* or great farms with the tenants and laboring peasants attached to them were leased to *conductores* who were responsible for the rents in money or in produce. Gregory once complained "Whoever occupies my pastorate is so overwhelmed with business as often to doubt whether he be a bishop or an earthly prince." Even before the Donation of Pepin in 756, when the temporal power of the papacy was historically established, the popes were virtually temporal rulers.

Gregory I was above all things a Roman of the Romans. He was sprung from a rich and noble family. He believed that the world had never produced so great a people as the Romans, and now that in God's providence Rome had become a Christian city, it was destined to greater and higher achievements under the rule of the pope than it had attained under the Caesars. He was "the last of the ancient Romans" and the "first medieval man." He was a Roman in his sternness and determination, but an Italian in his tenderness, his humor, his love of music and simple pastimes. In a tired hour he could be amused by a wandering *troubadour* with his flute and trained monkey. He had a sense for the grotesque and a vein of pleasantry. "The horse which you lately sent," he writes to the steward of one of the papal farms, "I cannot ride because he is such a hack. The five donkeys which you also sent are good animals, but

I cannot ride them because they are donkeys" (Ep 11 32) He could be sarcastic, too He said of John the Faster, the patriarch of Constantinople "He carries his abstinence so far as to feel bound to abstain from telling the truth" He was an old-fashioned Roman in his dislike of anything Greek Although he was for ten years the papal legate in Constantinople, he never tried to learn Greek and indeed was proud of his ignorance of the language He once refused to see a noble Roman matron because she had written to him in Greek He had never heard of so famous a heretic as Eudovius He knew nothing of the Greek church historians and apparently had not read or would not read Cassiodorus's *Historia Tripartita*, a translation into Latin of the three Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoretos

Gregory I was the first monk to become pope, and the first pope to initiate the great missionary movement for conversion of the pagan Germans, which was begun with the mission of Augustine to England in 596, and did not terminate until the conversion of the Saxons in *Conversion of England* the reign of Charlemagne, two centuries later For nearly one hundred and fifty years before 596, Britain had almost disappeared from the records of history, knowledge of it reached the continent only through Irish and Welsh channels Other countries in western Europe were Catholic before the rise of the papacy, but Anglo-Saxon England owed its Christian faith and Christo-Latin civilization and culture directly to Rome

These missionaries were monks, and it is, therefore, necessary to consider the rise and spread of monasticism, and the identification of the papacy with it

Monasticism, as a form of religious life, was of eastern and pre-Christian origin, for similar ascetic communities were known in antiquity, notably in ancient India One source of early monasticism may be found

in the tendency to asceticism which sprang up under the *Rise of monasticism* combined influence of Judaism and Platonic philosophy

The natural result of persecution in driving Christians from the cities to remote retreats in the desert was intensified by "something in the climate and associations of Egypt which predisposed men to abdicate the duties and responsibilities relating to active life" By degrees asceticism became the distinctive attribute of a class

The first evidences of monastic ideals and practices appeared in Egypt late in the third and early in the fourth century among the "Saints of the Desert" The reasons why Egypt was the cradle of Christian monasticism are various Situated near the head of the Red Sea, from time immemorial Egypt had had intimate commercial relations with India and the Far East, and Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city where the peoples of the East and West met. Oriental peoples, languages, customs, religions were naturalized in Egypt even before the Christian era The Oriental religious ideals of asceticism and isolation took root among some of the Christian population of Egypt, and

once conceived could be readily practiced. For beyond the broad ribbon of soil fertilized by the annual inundations of the Nile the desert spread on either hand, rising into low hills filled with caverns and holes in the rock, inhabited only by hyenas with here and there visible the ruins of ancient tombs. The first devotees of monasticism had need only of a jug of water and a bag of dates or millet to find isolation and asceticism within a day's tramp of the teeming populace of Egypt.

The probable origins of monasticism in Egypt are to be found in the Decian persecution in 250 A.D. It is certain that then many Christians fled into the desert, but it is more than likely that their intention was to return when the storm blew over. Yet there is ground to believe that at least one refugee became fascinated by solitary life. This was Paul of Thebes, then sixteen years old, and the first person to whom the word "monk" can with reasonable certainty be applied.¹ The new kind of Christian life needed a new name.

Twenty years afterward a more famous man, St. Anthony, whom Athanasius immortalized, plunged into the desert. Paul was ahead of his age, but Anthony caught the imagination of the time and monasticism became popular. The Nitrian and Scetic deserts soon became filled with these singular recluses, who earned their living by weaving rush-mats and making baskets of reeds, but most of whose time was spent in prayer and meditation. In time crowds resorted to these men, whose words were regarded as oracular. These self-refugees fared on a meager diet of dates, beans, and millet.

These pioneers were not monks — for monks live in communities — but hermits or anchorites, many of whom were passionate extremists in self-starvation and in the indulgence of revolting practices for the mortification of the flesh, such as scourging, voluntary living in filth and among vermin. Yet not all these desert monks were unbalanced ascetics. "To drink wine with reason," said one of them, "is better than to drink water with pride." It is difficult for the secular mind to understand either the use or the charm of such singular living. Only the enthusiastic ascetic can understand its philosophy and experience its exultation. The bishops looked askance upon this movement, thinking it might be a new and eccentric form of heresy. They grew still more suspicious when criminals, fugitives from justice, tax evaders, deserters from the army, vagabonds, prostitutes joined the motley population in the desert for anything but religious motives. The Egyptian police and the Egyptian clergy endeavored to restrain the movement without effect. It had to be reformed from within itself.

Anchoritism had to be regulated and reformed or it would bring scandal into the Church. In the first half of the fourth century, a former soldier and

¹ Hitherto the word *monos* had been an adjective, first used by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*.

a Christian, named Pachomius, saved the situation. With a few friends of like mind, he established a tiny community upon an island in the Nile where they worshipped in common, lived in common, labored together daily in tillage or weaving or pottery-making, which banished idleness, ate together in common refectory, slept together in common dormitory, but where each had his cell for some hours of study and devotion every day. Pachomius drew up a few simple rules for the regulation of the little community, eliminated the worst features of anchoritism, and struck a balance between the necessity which all men must have for companionship and the extremes of asceticism and isolation. He substituted cloistered life for hermit life and was the inventor, so to speak, of monasticism. Henceforth every monastic order had its *Regula* or *Rule*, from which circumstance monks have always been known as regular clergy, in differentiation from the historically older secular clergy (bishops, deacons, priests) who live among men.¹

*Beginnings of
monastic living*

Monasticism spread rapidly out of Egypt into the countries of the Graeco-Oriental world. Cappadocia in Asia Minor, from the mountainous and isolated nature of the country, soon became a favorite home of Greek monks. St. Basil (died 379) took vigorous measures to put these communities under discipline and for their regulation compiled a series of articles which, with many amendments, is now a code known as the Basilian Rule. It is the constitution of the monasteries of the Greek Church today.

*Rapid spread of
monasticism*

Naturally monasticism spread to the West. There were isolated monasteries around Carthage, where St. Augustine restrained its excesses, in Provence and on the islands off the Riviera coast of Italy and France, and in the valley of the Loire (modern Touraine) where the mildness of the climate invited, and cells could be easily hollowed out of the chalk bluffs of the river. Here the famous St. Martin of Tours founded (about 400) a community of monks who dwelt like swallows in a clay bank.

*Monasticism in
the West*

Some of these Gallic monks found their way to Roman Britain before the legions were withdrawn from it, and some others probably went to Ireland. St. Patrick was neither the first Christian nor the first monk to visit Ireland, but he is the earliest person with whom the larger history of Ireland began. Ireland never had been a part of the Roman Empire—a unique fact—but nevertheless had trade relations with Britain and Gaul through which some knowledge of Christianity and Christian culture had entered Ireland. The German invasions of Gaul in the fifth century, especially that of the Vandals, seem to have driven numerous Gallo-Romans, some of them highly educated, to Ireland for refuge.

St. Patrick

¹ Literally, "secular" signifies "of the time or age," from Latin *saeculum*, an age or period.

Ireland then was a wild land and the Irish a wild people for the most part, in constant inter-tribal warfare, a pastoral and piratical, rather than an agricultural people. This piracy was destined to have profound influence on Irish history, for St. Patrick was the most distinguished victim and hero of that piracy. He was born about the year 400 in South Wales, and was the son of a British decurion in the Roman army in Britain, his grandfather was a Christian priest. These were the last years of Roman domination in Britain. St. Patrick's original name was Sucath. Carried off by Irish pirates in a raid "which made havoc of the place where I was born," he has written, he was sold into slavery to an Irish master in Antrim. To the end of his life he was as proud of his Roman citizenship as was St. Paul.

Conversion of Ireland

Like many other religious seers, he had visions and heard voices commanding him to go forth to Gaul, there to learn more of the Christian faith, and then to return to Ireland for its conversion. He escaped on a trading brig, and after wide wandering and much hardship, found himself among the monastic communities in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, perhaps at Lerins. There he studied for some time, and later seems to have made a long stay at Auxerre with St. Germanus, who in 429 had been sent by Pope Celestine to Britain to deal with the Pelagian heresy, and two years afterwards dispatched Palladius the deacon as bishop "to the Scots that believed in Christ." This information is highly interesting. It is evidence of church relations between Gaul and Britain even during the invasions, and further, of Christian relations between Gaul and Ireland. For Scotia was the name for Ireland at this time. Evidently there was some Christianity in Ireland when Patrick was a slave there. Probably in Auxerre, Patrick became a monk and adopted the name by which he has come down in history.

He returned to "the nation which once took me captive," so he writes in his wonderful autobiography. "I, Patrick the sinner, a slave in Christ," resolved to devote his life to the conversion of the Irish people. This was in 432, and he died in 461.

He began his mission in Strangford Lough in the County Down. Legend and romance have embroidered the achievements of St. Patrick, but there is no doubt of his success. Few missionary careers in all history have been as successful as his. He did not first introduce Christianity into Ireland, but he made Ireland Christian. The Church in Ireland which St. Patrick established, however, was very different in structure from that on the continent, for it was powerfully moulded by the Irish tribal or clan system. Each clan occupied a certain territory and was ruled by its chief, over whom the High King at Tara was suzerain rather than sovereign.

It should be stressed that the ability of the Church to adapt itself to local customs and local conditions has always been remarkable. In the greater part of western Europe the Church adapted itself to feudal conditions and was

organized on a feudal pattern. In Ireland it was engrafted on the Irish tribal system. Each tribe probably had one bishop, who was nominated by the tribal chief. There was an extraordinary number of priests. In the observance of Easter, in the matter of tonsure and the vesture of the early priests Ireland had its own special and distinct usages. The Irish Church suffered much from the tribal wars which prevailed.

The early Irish Church was neither parochial, nor — in the Roman sense — episcopal, for the "bishops" were without sees and their office was merely for consecration and ordination. The real form of the Irish Church was monastic. "The normal Irish monastery was connected with a single tribe, and acknowledged no ecclesiastical superior capable of controlling its abbot." Aside from this peculiar nature of the bishop's office, Irish Christianity differed from Rome in the dating of Easter and the form of tonsure, variations far from trivial in that time. The most celebrated monastery was at Bangor in Ulster.

The new Christo-Irish culture flowered like a spilling rose. Irish monks revived a knowledge of classical literature, even the Greek, which had almost perished in western Europe. Students from England and Frankish Gaul thronged across the sea to learn in Irish schools. The Irish ornamentation of manuscripts, for example, the *Book of Kells*, was never exceeded for beauty of design and technical execution. But the most wonderful manifestation of Irish Christianity was the expansive energy of its missionary spirit. Remnants of British Christianity still survived in far northern Britain (Caledonia) among the Picts and there were newer monastic houses which seemingly had been founded by unknown monks from St. Martin's at Tours; and contact between Ireland and Caledonia was natural.

So great and so rapid was the influx of Irish monks into Caledonia in the sixth century that the name Scotia in time lost its significance in Ireland and became attached to northern Britain, where "Scotia" or Scotland supplanted Caledonia, while in Ireland the name Hibernia or Erin, originally a small northern county, gradually spread over the whole island. The last mention of Ireland as Scotia is in the reign of Charlemagne who had dealings with "the kings of the Scots" (*reges Scottorum*). The most influential of these Irish missionaries to New Scotland was St. Columba (the Dove, his monkish name). Far from being the pink and white, venerable looking, and pious saint of legend, Columba, though he could be gentle to the weak and was fond of animals, was a type of the aristocratic fighting prelate who might have been, but for his priesthood, High King of Ireland. As a politician, he was called the Fox by his enemies. When the High King Diarmid banished him, not without reason, he called out his clan like a Highland chieftain, but though he won the

*adaptability of
the Church*

Early Irish Church

*Christo-Irish
culture*

*Irish overseas
missions*

battle, his conscience troubled him and he resolved to pass the rest of his days abroad. He founded a monastery on the lonely and tiny islet of Iona in the Irish Sea which became the station for the expansion of Irish missions in Scotland, especially in what is now Argyll. Here the people were Christians, since they still had the tradition of St. Patrick, some of whose followers had anticipated Columba. St. Brendan had founded Irish churches in Tiree and Bute twenty years before Columba's arrival. It does not detract from Columba's glory when it is said that his missionary journeys were by no means into hitherto heathen and unevangelized regions. Many Irish missionaries had preceded him in Scotland, the greatest of whom was St. Ninian, a Gaul who had preached among the Picts two hundred years before St. Columba. Columba sowed his seed in many places on ground already half-prepared. Archaeology and place-names have proved the existence of many pre-Columban churches. These missionary interactions of Gaul, Ireland, Britain, and Scotland are a striking example of the diffusion of culture in the early Middle Ages. This culture soon extended to the English kingdoms.

Roman monasticism developed more than a century after that of Gaul and Ireland, and did not emerge until the middle of the sixth century. The difference in time may be measured by the fact that St. Martin of Tours died in 397, and the career of St. Benedict, the founder of the first monastic order of the Roman Catholic Church, did not begin until the first quarter of the sixth century. Benedict was born around 480, of noble parentage in a hamlet in an isolated valley of the Apennines some eighty miles from Rome, and was a boy when Theodoric established the Ostrogothic kingdom. He was sent to Rome for his education, but shocked by the worldliness and wickedness of the city, he fled to the hills for solitude and to escape temptation. Centuries earlier, the Alban hills had been studded with the villas of the Roman nobility, which were now in ruins. At Subiaco, forty-four miles from Rome, Nero had erected a sumptuous summer palace in a gorge of the little river Anio, and constructed an artificial lake. The country roundabout was almost without inhabitants except for rude shepherds pasturing their flocks. In Subiaco, Benedict, with a handful of volunteer monks, founded a monastery, which grew so rapidly that a second house was soon built not far away.

The fame of the community spread and Benedict "found himself no longer a recluse but the centre of a great system of administration, his name a battle-cry, himself the leader of a party." In search of a more isolated site, Benedict removed his little community of monks to Monte Cassino, half way between Rome and Naples in the old Roman province of Campania. It was an epoch-making event, for Monte Cassino, which still survives and is yet great, is the mother-monastery of Benedictinism. For the government of the community, St. Benedict drew up a Rule — the Benedictine Rule — which minutely regulated the daily life of the monks.

from hour to hour Prayer, worship, and labor absorbed all their waking hours, for Benedict firmly believed that idleness was a sin in itself, and often led to vice Accordingly every monk had his daily task in household work, or out-of-doors in garden and field and orchard, or ditching and draining swamp land, or felling timber and clearing forest A mediæval monastery was the center of a great farm or farms, inhabited by hundreds of villagers as serfs Every monastery was, then, a religious, economic, and social unit

St Benedict shares with another Roman noble of the same time the honor of founding Catholic — as distinguished from Gallican and Irish — monasticism This was Cassiodorus, who had been Latin secretary of Theodoric, and who retired to private life during the war *Cassiodorus* which the Emperor Justinian waged for the conquest of Italy, and established a monastic community which he called Vivarium, or Fish Pond, on his ancestral lands in southern Italy Vivarium never sent out off-shoots as Benedictinism did, but it exerted an important influence upon monasticism St Benedict, for example, hated classical literature as of pagan authorship, fearing lest it would contaminate his monks, hence nothing except the Bible, patristic writings, sermons, etc., were allowed in the Benedictine houses Cassiodorus, on the other hand, was wiser and more liberal, he collected a rich library of classical literature — it was not “profane” to him — along with “sacred” books He recognized the necessity for his monks to know classical literature, not only for its better Latin, but for its cultural value. It should be pointed out that Gregory I, who was a Benedictine, followed in St Benedict’s steps, and also condemned the classics It is fortunate that this prejudice soon passed away and that Benedictine monasticism followed Cassiodorus’ instead of Benedict’s example For it saved ancient literature from almost certain destruction, and the monasteries in the seventh century and for long centuries after became the great schools of the Middle Ages

The earliest clear proof of this influence is seen in the effects of St Augustine’s mission to England In resuming the thread of English history, it is unnecessary to dwell in detail upon the history of the incessant warfare which prevailed between the seven kingdoms in *Emergence of England* England, or the wars between the English and the Cymri or Welsh Suffice to say that out of the struggle the Kingdom of Wessex gradually emerged and all England south of the Forth, except Strathclyde where the British element was too strong to be overcome, was united in the reign of Egbert (802-839) The formerly independent kingdoms were reduced to shires governed by ealdormen whom the king appointed Later shires, however, were reduced to “shearings” (shires) into which the older shires were cut up in order to facilitate administration, each of which was under a sheriff or “shire-reeve”

Gregory the Great’s mission to England introduced the Roman Catholic religion and form of church government into England along with conti-



ANGLO SAXON ENGLAND ABOUT 800

mental culture The rapidity with which England was Christianized is amazing Augustine fixed his archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury in 602 in 603 he held two conferences with British bishops, hoping to reconcile the British Church (then confined to Wales) with Rome, *Conversion of England* in 604 the sees of London and Rochester were established, in 625 the (arch)bishopric of York was founded in Northumbria East Anglia began to be Christianized in 632, the conversion of Wessex started in 634, only Mercia stubbornly stayed heathen until 655 The increase in and organization of new bishoprics proceeded apace Much of the Christian success, it should be pointed out, was due to Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek, who came out from Rome to be Archbishop of Canterbury in 668

The first dioceses in England were co-extensive with the kingdoms Later as Christianity grew and expanded these great bishoprics were broken up into smaller ones which usually followed the tribal demarcations within each kingdom The development of the parish came later

In the meanwhile a momentous intellectual change took place—the entrance of Irish and Scottish monks in Anglo-Saxon England In 634 Aidan, a Scot, founded a monastery at Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast, which grew into Weremouth, Jarrow in the same place soon followed, soon some Irish monks founded Malmesbury in Wessex near the Welsh border Both houses became seats of English learning, for although not of Anglo-Saxon foundation, they were filled with English monks The light of Lindisfarne was Benedict Biscop (died 690) who made nine journeys to Rome whence he brought back books and sacred pictures for the chapel and the school In Malmesbury at the same time was Aldhelm (died 690), nobly born and kin to the royal house of Wessex, who later studied at Canterbury under Theodore of Tarsus (from whom he learned Greek) and his successor Hadrian Aldhelm was the first great English-born scholar, Thus there sprang up in England a rich religious, intellectual and aesthetic culture formed of the fusion of Irish, Scottish, and Roman sources with the native Anglo-Saxon element Nothing so variegated yet integrated, nothing so original and vital existed anywhere else in Western Europe *Anglo Saxon Christian culture*

Even before the end of the seventh century, Irish and Frankish students were crossing the seas to attend English schools The greatest of these schools were the twin-monasteries of Weremouth and Jarrow, and the greatest teacher and scholar there, was Bede the Venerable, who died in 735 Although Bede never went abroad and hardly even left the confines of his abbey, he carried on a European correspondence, borrowed books from Italy, the Frankish land, Ireland, and Scotland, and even from Spain, and wrote invaluable works, the greatest being the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, extending from Roman Britain to his own times It is a mine of information on the barbarian epoch and its accu- *Bede the Venerable*

racy is astonishing. The scholarship which Bede established, as we shall see later on, was the source of the intellectual revival in the reign of Charlemagne, known as the Carolingian Renaissance.

The conversion of England put an end to its former isolation and brought it into close connection with the continent, especially with the Frankish kingdom. English kings, then and long after, often married Frankish princesses, and Frankish kings married English princesses. Frankish political institutions also exerted an influence upon English administration and laws.

The parallelism of the nature and the development of certain institutions in England with the Frankish ones across the channel is interesting. In both countries there arose a new kind of nobility, nobility of service to the king. In the Frankish land this class was known as *antrustiones*, or those in the "trust" of the king; in England they were called *thanes*. In both countries they formed the highest rank and as nobility by birth disappeared all upper class society became one of different ranks of nobles by service. This condition, of course, was semi-feudal. Since these great nobles received grants of land from the crown to sustain themselves and their dignity, the effect was disadvantageous to the class of simple freeman, who were compelled by pressure of circumstance to "commend" their lands to some neighboring lord who acted as their protector and as their surety, watching over the freemen and responsible for their good behavior.

*English and
Frankish
institutions*

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRANKS, THE LOMBARDS, AND THE PAPACY

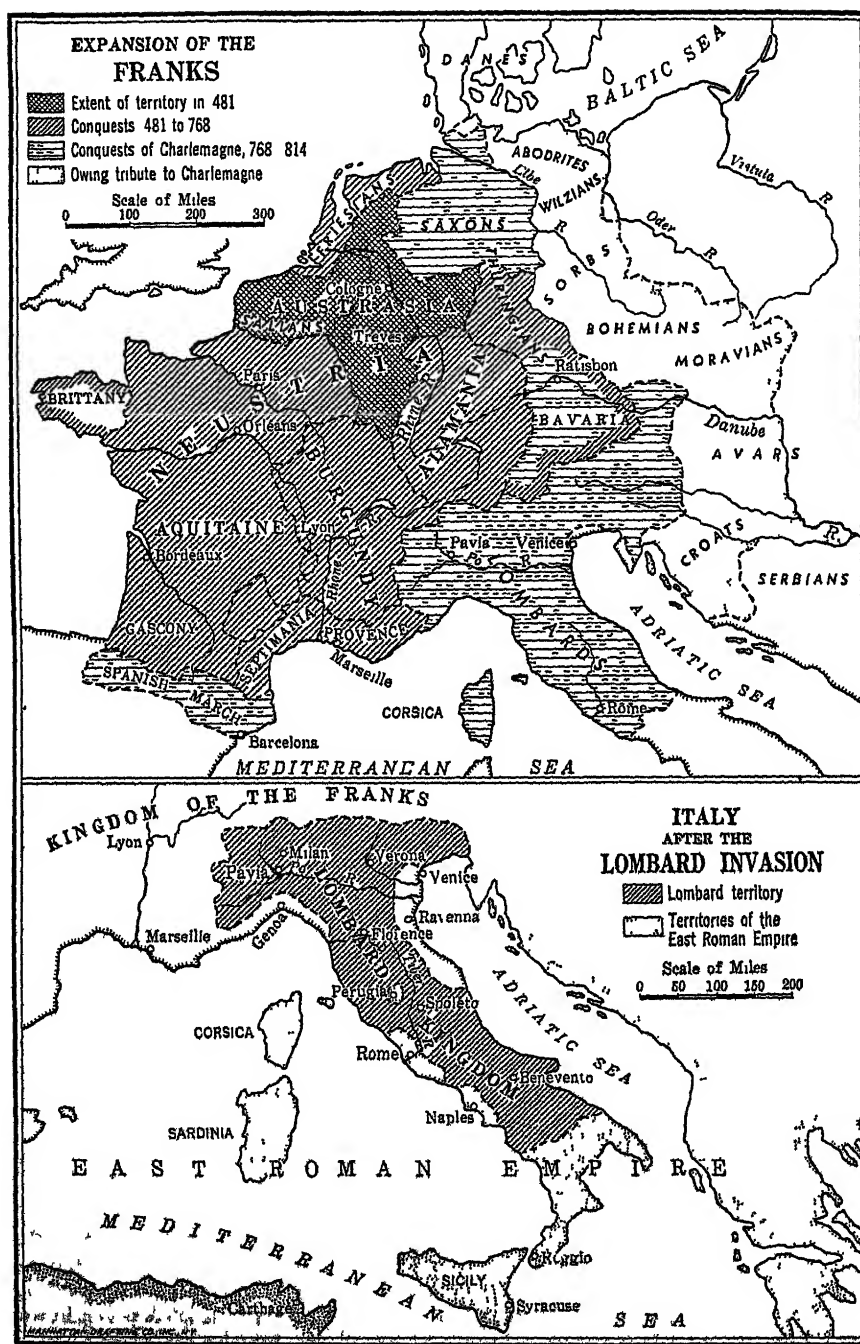
In the chapter upon the Great Migrations, it was related that the Franks were the last German nation which invaded Gaul in 481, and that after defeating the last Roman commander in 486, they rapidly expanded their sway over the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms in Gaul. *The Franks*

We must now follow Frankish history in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. But before going into particulars, two broad and important facts which conditioned that history must be explained. These were the conversion of the Franks to the Catholic faith, and the nature of the Frankish movement.

Unlike all the other Germans who had entered the Roman Empire, the Franks were not Aryans, but heathen Germans. Both for the Gallo-Romans, whom they conquered, and for themselves, this was fortunate. For, as has been shown, intense hatred existed between the Catholic Roman population and their German rulers in Gothic Spain, Gothic Italy, and Burgundian Gaul. But in northern Gaul the Catholic population had little or no resentment against the Franks, because of Chlodweg's clement policy. There was little or no spoliation of the civilian population. *Franks' conversion to Catholicism*

From the first the Catholic clergy in Gaul had high hopes of converting Chlodweg to Christianity and they were not disappointed. St. Remi, the (Arch)bishop of Rheims, became his counsellor in the difficult problem of governing his new subjects. For the Franks, unlike most of the other Germans previously, had little understanding of the working of Roman institutions. Chlodweg's marriage with Chlotilda, a niece of the Burgundian king, who became a Catholic and was expelled from her country by the angry king, paved the way for Chlodweg's public profession of the Catholic religion in 596.¹ The consequences of this event were great. It reconciled the Roman population of Gaul to Frankish domination, it threw the whole force of the Catholic Church and the power of the bishops in support of the Frankish monarchy, the Catholic population in *Chlodweg's conversion*

¹ One may doubt the tale that before his battle with the Allemanni in this year Chlodweg declared that if he was victorious he would give the credit to the Christians' God, but if the battle were lost, he would adhere to the worship of Woden. Since Woden was the German war-god, it would seem that consistency would require him to stay heathen if he won.



the other Aryan kingdoms took heart and the bishops there openly encouraged Chlodweg's conquests of the West Goths and Burgundians. In a word, the king's conversion created an alliance between the Frankish monarchy, the Catholic Church and the papacy.

The nature of the Frankish movement was the second important factor in the formation and power of the Frankish kingship, for, unlike previous German movements, this was an expansion and not a migration. The Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians had trekked out of Germany, and had finally settled down and established kingdoms in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Africa, where they were completely out of contact with the mother-land, gradually losing their German nature. They and their institutions became Romanized, as the tribal codes of law show. This Romanization, coming in a period when Roman institutions had already lost their strength, doomed the Goths, the Burgundians and the Vandals to a weakness from which the Franks were preserved by the nature of their movement. The Franks did not abandon their territory in Germany in the Lower Rhineland when they conquered Gaul, they merely annexed Roman territory to their original land. The Frankish kingdom was thus a unique phenomenon, geographically half-German and half-Roman, a union of German with Roman territory.

The Frankish monarchy, as no other German kingship, was based upon two old and firm historical foundations, Roman imperial organization and the Church. For over four centuries Gaul was under Roman rule and it was completely Romanized. Roman institutions, Roman law, Roman civilization, the Latin language reigned supreme. The race remained Celtic, but it was Latin in its life.

The Merovingian monarchy was an imitation of the Roman Empire in Gaul. The clergy had preserved the imperial tradition. It was they who taught the Frankish kings that they were the continuators of the imperial tradition, who produced around them the illusion of a Roman rule. Thus the purpose and practice of Clovis and his successors was not to conquer the Roman Empire, not to substitute a German polity for a Roman one, but to continue the imperial tradition and re-establish its authority under the Frankish kings.

The Franks conquered the rest of Germany — Allemanni (496), Thuringians (532), Bavarians (552), Frisians (719), and finally the Saxons after a long war which endured for over thirty years (772-804), so that all of Old Germany at last was under Frankish sway.

The importance of this eastward expansion of the Franks cannot be exaggerated. For five centuries the German nations had been streaming out of the Homeland into the Roman Empire, and as fast as they vacated the country the Slavs in many tribes had flowed in and occupied the abandoned territory. Now the Frankish conquest of Germany compelled the Allemanni, the Bavarians, perhaps even the Thuringians and Saxons, to

*Frankish
expansion*

*Nature of
Frankish
monarchy*

*Frankish conquest
of Germany*

remain in Germany. The southern and western tribes in Germany almost certainly would have migrated if they had not been arrested by the Frankish conquest of them. The Frankish subjugation of Germany saved the German nation from trickling away as the previous German peoples had done and losing themselves in the Roman Empire. If the Franks had not stopped Germany from continuing to pour out its peoples like an over-turned vessel, the country might have been emptied and the Slavs might gradually have occupied the whole of it.

The years between 481 and 567, which mark the conquest of Gascony, were the first period of Frankish expansion. It was followed by two long civil wars (573–613 and 673–687) between the grandsons and great-grandsons of Chlodweg, during which the conquered provinces — Thuringia, Bavaria, Frisia, Gascony — escaped from the Frankish yoke and had to be resubjugated later. In this period also important internal changes took place in the nature of the Frankish government and institutions. To Chlodweg and his successors the kingdom which he had won was a piece of property which was parcelled out again and again in family settlements.

Before he died in 511, Chlodweg divided his realm into four kingdoms among his four sons. These were more than arbitrary divisions and corresponded to territories which reflected actual historical differences. The four kingdoms were Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine. Austria (the root *Austr* signifies East as in *Ostro-Goth*) embraced the old Frankish territory in the Lower Rhineland and modern Belgium, together with Chlodweg's first conquests in 486 and 496. Neustria was Neu-Austrasia or New Austrasia, the territory between the Seine and the Loire, Burgundy, of course, was the former Burgundian kingdom, Aquitaine was the former Visigothic kingdom in Gaul between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees. It is not without significance that it preserved the name of one of the three grand divisions of Celtic Gaul which Caesar had distinguished, and did not have a German name. All four of these kingdoms were reunited in 558 under Chlotair I, as the result of the death of his brothers without issue, but three years later were again distributed among his four sons.

The civil war which broke out in 573 superficially seems to have been a fratricidal conflict, in reality the kings were mere pawns on a chessboard.

The war was a struggle of the great proprietary nobles, some Roman, some Frank, and many great landed bishops, against the kings whom they were eager to deprive of power and to despoil of their vast crown lands. The weaker of the royal brothers yielded and even sided with this aristocracy, the stronger struggled in vain to retain possession of their heritage. The nobles demanded that they have the countships and other administrative offices, that they be given great grants out of the fisc or crown lands, as well as judicial and taxing rights in the regions in which they lived.

This, of course, was bullying of the crown by private persons of wealth and influence, which signifies that it was a feudal movement in spirit and practice

For feudalism was that process by which private claims usurped the rights and prerogatives of government, leaving government the attributes of authority — the husk, as it were — and stealing the substance

In a day when land was almost the sole source of wealth and a powerful proprietary class prevailed, this practice was easily possible, the more so, because the Frankish administration was rudimentary and unintegrated, partly German and partly Roman

*Incipient
feudalism*

In this strife, the main objective of the nobles, as well as many of the bishops, was to seize the crown lands. These were scattered all over the kingdom, and in their totality formed a huge fortune, the management of which had given rise to the most important office of the Frankish administration. This was the mayor of the palace, who was superintendent of the whole body of crown lands, each of which was managed by a steward or local mayor responsible to the mayor of the palace who dwelt at court and was always with the king

*Management of
crown lands*

After years of appalling civil war, the aristocracy finally triumphed. By the Pact of Paris in 613 King Chlotair II not only legalized all past seizures of the crown lands, but made new substantial allotments from them to the nobles. More important still, the leader of the victorious nobles was made mayor of the palace, which by now amounted to the actual rulership of the kingdom. This was Pepin of Landen, the richest lord-proprietor in Gaul. His power, if not his title, was that of king. Henceforward the Frankish kings might reign, but they did not govern. They were shadows, lean and solemn phantoms.

*Mayor of the
Palace*

The mayoralty became hereditary in the house of Pepin, and grew stronger with the years, until another civil war was precipitated in 673 because the feudal nobles grew jealous of the growing power of the Pepins and covetous of their enormous landed possessions. The second civil war thus was a conflict between two rival feudal parties for control of the government. This second conflict was more disastrous to the country than the former war. Whole provinces were depopulated, towns, manor houses, villages, farms utterly destroyed. Not even churches and monasteries were spared. For years bishoprics were without a bishop, parishes without priests. Wolves increased so that they were a scourge. Finally Pepin of Heristal (so named because his birthplace was Heristal near modern Liège) was victorious at Tertry (near St. Quentin) in 687. From then until his death in 714 Pepin Heristal ruled the Frankish kingdom with power and ability. The hereditary kings were nonentities. The work of reconstruction of the torn and ruined realm was tremendous, and the border tribes, who again had escaped from Frankish control during the civil war, again had to be conquered.

In this labor of reconstruction the Benedictine monasteries did great service,

not merely in a spiritual capacity but social service. The monasteries were practically agricultural experiment stations in their communities. Their farms were an example to lay proprietors, they cleared forests, drained swamps, built roads, cultivated fruits and vegetables on a large scale, and in addition, a monastery served as school, hospital, and orphanage for the neighborhood. It was on a monastery in Hesse in this century that the revolutionary discovery of the three-field system of agriculture was made. Since Roman times the two-field system had been universal, that is to say, the practice of plowing, sowing and reaping of one-half the arable soil only and letting the other half lie fallow. It was found that wheat could be sown in the autumn as well as in the spring, thus permitting two crops annually, and making it necessary to have one-third lie fallow instead of one-half as before, with the added convenience of less plowing.¹ This new three-field system, it is true, obtained very slowly and never became universal in Europe, for farming is the most conservative of occupations, but nevertheless it was one of the most progressive events in history. The novel feature of summer and winter grain necessarily put the ground under a more intensive cultivation than before.

*Monastic influence
in reconstruction*

Many of these Benedictine monasteries were new foundations, but others were originally Irish houses which the Benedictines took over. The Frankish kingdom had abounded with Irish monasteries from late in the sixth century, before the Benedictines began to arrive from Italy. As previously in Scotland and England, these Irish monks came to the continent as missionaries bent upon the conversion of the Alpine Germans who still clung to Wodenism and who were protected from intercourse with Christians by the rugged and mountainous nature of the country. So numerous were these eager Irish monks that a chronicler says that they could be identified even at a distance by the woven wicker baskets in which they carried their effects, as well as by the queerness of their costume. The first and greatest of these monks was St. Columban, who came across sea in 585 with twelve companions.

*Irish monks on
the continent*

Irish foundations grew rapidly, the greatest being St. Gall on Lake Zurich (named after Columban's greatest disciple), and Bobbio at the foot of the Italian Alps, which Columban himself founded. As we have already seen, the Irish Church differed widely from the Roman Church in many things — the time of Easter, liturgy, tonsure, penance, etc. — and before long the Catholic bishops brought pressure upon the Frankish kings in order to suppress these Irish monasteries. The result was that by the eighth century all the Irish

¹ The following table will illustrate this change. In a manor containing 1800 acres of arable land, in the two-field system we would have 900 acres (arable) plowed once; 900 acres (fallow) plowed twice = 1800, total acres plowed = 2700. In the three-field system we would have 600 acres (winter) grain plowed once; 600 acres (spring) grain plowed once; 600 acres (fallow) plowed twice = total acres plowed, 2400. From N. S. B. Gras, *History of Agriculture*, 48.

foundations had been either suppressed or replaced by Benedictine monks. Nevertheless, in spite of the brief period of its existence on the continent, Irish monasticism made an indelible mark upon European culture. It brought the learning of Irish scholarship to Frankish Gaul and Germany in a time when higher culture had almost perished in those countries, and shamed the Benedictines into doing as well as they had done and continuing what they had begun for the promotion of education and the cause of learning.

When Pepin Heristal died in 714, his son Karl "Martel," i.e., the Hammer, succeeded him. He was even sturdier than his father, and it was well for him that he was, for the Mohammedans, having conquered Spain in 711,¹ soon rounded both ends of the Pyrenees and ravaged Aquitaine. The monasteries especially suffered, for the Sara-

*Karl Martel
defeats Moslems
at Tours*

cens were not long in finding out that there was much money and plate and precious jewels in the treasuries of the monasteries. In 732, having combed Aquitaine until little treasure was left in the monasteries there, Abd-er-Rahman, the Saracen commander, advanced into Poitou, bent upon the plunder of the great abbey of St. Martin of Tours, the oldest and richest monastery in Frankish Gaul. In the flat plain between Poitiers and Tours, Karl Martel met and defeated the invaders. But it was a narrow victory. The Saracen army was composed of mounted soldiery, while the Frankish army was mainly made up of foot forces, hardy free peasants, fighting after the manner of their forefathers, only the nobles among them were mounted. Foreseeing that he could not successfully meet the foe in the open field, Karl Martel built a trenched and staked camp in which he sturdily held his men. The Saracen horse again and again futilely charged this formidable redoubt. The horses could not leap the trench and many of them were impaled upon the sharp stakes which not only fenced the edge of the trenches but also bristled in serried ranks along the front of the redoubt. Meantime the Franks rained arrows and javelins upon the Saracens. At the end of five days Abd-er-Rahman was compelled to retreat with the remnants of his badly battered army. Then only did Karl Martel release his impatient soldiery to harry the rear of the retiring and scattered host.

But Karl Martel knew well that though he had won this battle, there would be more battles to come; that the Saracens would return and that it might be years before Gaul could be made safe from their forays. He perceived, too, that the Frankish army would have to be mounted as the Saracens were, and that infantry would be of little avail against cavalry. This required a revolutionary change in the art of war. Thousands of horses were required, and thousands of men had to be trained to a new manual of arms and to learn to fight on horseback. History shows that every new and important military or naval invention is very costly. It was so now. Land was almost the sole form of wealth. Who could

*Martel's need for
military reform*

¹ The rise and expansion of Islam will be found in a subsequent chapter.

furnish sufficient land to accomplish this change? Obviously the land would have to come from the landholding classes, and of the nobles and the clergy, the latter were far the richer. It has been estimated that in the eighth century the Frankish Church possessed at least one-third, perhaps as much as one-half, of the arable land in the whole kingdom.

Karl Martel appealed to the Frankish clergy voluntarily to give up part of their lands that he might distribute them among the nobles. Though many of these were great proprietors able to bear the new military burden, many others were not rich enough to sustain the expense without aid from the government. But the clergy refused to give up any of its lands, in spite of the fact that the Church had a religious as well as a material interest in protecting Gaul from renewed Saracen invasion, since bishoprics and abbeys were the first objective of the invaders. In this emergency, Karl Martel acted with both adroitness and courage. He took by force sufficient ecclesiastical lands to effect the necessary change in equipment of the Frankish army, and distributed the confiscated lands in tracts of greater or less dimension among the nobles as *benefices*, or military grants. Recipients of these benefices were bound to do military service and to contribute a body of armed and mounted retainers who were nobles of less degree. The contract was of a double nature, property use and personal service being combined together in a single obligation. Hitherto there had been quasi-feudal conditions and practices in the Frankish administration. But Karl Martel by this action established organized and lawful feudalism. In the course of time, the benefice grew into the feudal fief, the benefited noble into a vassal, and the lesser noble retainer into a sub-vassal.

By the middle of the ninth century the Frankish army was wholly composed of cavalry, who *ipso facto*, because they were a landed and mounted gentry, were at least of knightly rank,¹ foot forces had wholly disappeared, and most of the free class had sunk to serfdom. With this newly constituted army Karl Martel spent most of the last years of his life (732-741) in the south of Gaul fighting the Saracens, who time and again invaded the country. Twice (735, 739) the Saracens got so far as Provence where they terribly devastated the towns in the Rhone valley, and were only driven out by the help which Luitprand, the Lombard king, gave to Martel.

The Merovingian kings under the great mayor were a sorry lot, so weak indeed that Karl once ruled for four years without a king at all. His son Pepin the Short (741-768) believed that the time was nearly ripe for the mayor to cease to be a king-maker and himself become king. But there were serious obstacles in the way of this ambition. In spite of the weakness of the Merovingian sovereigns, a certain sort of awe protected them. The hereditary of the dynasty which Chlodweg had founded had never but once been challenged (in 656), and that attempt had

¹ The word *chevalier* or knight is derived from the word *cheval*, a horse

dismally failed. Moreover, ever since Chlodweg had recognized Christianity and been crowned by St. Remi, all the kings had been consecrated by the Church. The coronation ceremony conferred a right upon the Church. Could the king be deposed unless the Church consented to it? Could the king, in fact, be deposed at all?

Moreover, would the Frankish clergy consent to the king's deposition? Karl Martel had grievously offended them when he had seized ecclesiastical lands for military use. Pepin the Short began by endeavoring to conciliate the bishops and to that end he summoned two *Pepin conciliates bishops* synods, one in Neustria, the other in Austrasia, in 742. A great show of church reform was made and some of the confiscated lands were restored. But the Frankish bishops, as a whole, remained sulky. Pepin perceived that he could not be certain of their support, and turned to the monks with more success. For in St. Boniface, he found a rare combination of religious zeal with practical wisdom.

English Benedictinism ever since Gregory the Great's mission to England in 596 had been distinguished for its missionary zeal, and English monks, now that England was converted, turned to the continent for new fields of activity. The Irish monks had converted the *St. Boniface* Alpine lands, but Frisia, Hesse, and Saxony were heathen. Wilbrord, one of the last of Bede's pupils, who had also studied in Ireland, was the first apostle to the Frisians (722) and was made first bishop of Utrecht in 722, after Karl Martel's subjugation of the Frisians. In 723 Boniface, a Devonshire man,—his real name was Winfred—came over and began preaching in Hesse and Thuringia, but first he went to Rome to get the pope's approval for his undertaking. This is an important fact, for it shows the intimate relationship between Benedictine missions and the papacy. Boniface labored for thirty years in Germany, he founded twelve monasteries of which Fulda was the greatest, reorganized church government, established new bishoprics and himself became the first Archbishop of Mainz, the premier see of Germany. Between these labors, Boniface made frequent trips to Rome and to the Frankish court where Karl Martel and Pepin were kept informed of what was passing east of the Rhine and in Rome.

St. Boniface was the friend and counsellor of Pepin the Short. The opposition of the Frankish bishops to Pepin's design of deposing Childeric III could only be overcome by the higher authority of the pope. For his own part, Pope Zacharias was a well-wisher of Pepin *Pope friendly to Pepin* the Short's ambition, for he had hard need of powerful protection—and from whom could more powerful protection come than from the great Frankish mayor?—against the Lombards.

Ever since their invasion in 568 the Lombard ambition to subjugate the rest of Italy had been a menace both to the Eastern Empire and to the papacy. The imperial exarch in Italy was ill-supported by the Byzantine government,

which was hard pressed by the Avars, Bulgars and Serbs in Europe. In Asia and Africa the hosts of Islam had conquered all of the former countries possessed by the Eastern Roman Empire, except Asia Minor, including Egypt, Tripolitan and Carthaginian Africa, and the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, the latter two naval stations for the formidable Mohammedan fleet. Constantinople was four times assailed in four years (654-658), was attacked again in 667 and 672-673, and even more formidably in 717. Even if the Emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-741) had been so inclined, he was unable to give his exarch and the pope in Italy assistance against the Lombards.

*Precautions pos-
sion of Popes*

The three-cornered political game in Italy began to approach a climax in 731 when Pope Gregory III excommunicated Emperor Leo III as a heretic.

The reasons for the excommunication were the church reforms which the emperor had instituted, among them removal of sacred statuary and pictures from all the churches,—for which he was dubbed an "iconoclast" by his enemies—and severe restrictions imposed upon the monasteries which connived with rich landholders and assisted them in evading taxes, as well as military service. In retaliation, Emperor Leo III confiscated the papal patrimony in South Italy and Sicily, separated the bishoprics from papal authority and put them under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

*Breach between
Emperor and Pope*

*Lombards and
the Papacy*

These were the years when the Lombards were strong and bold under one of their ablest kings, Luitprand (719-744), who hoped to unite the whole Italian peninsula under Lombard rule. This meant that Rome and the papal patrimony, the two Lombard duchies of Benevento and Spoleto in central Italy, and the Greek provinces of the far south, Apulia and Calabria, were to be conquered. It was a project too ambitious to be realized. In the face of this menace the popes had appealed to Karl Martel's support in vain, for Luitprand had assisted Karl in expelling the Saracens from Provence. Nothing except the sudden death of Luitprand saved the papal territory and the rest of Italy from Lombard subjugation. But the advance of the Lombards was soon renewed, Rome again was endangered and the pope was in great need of military assistance. The emperor was indifferent, even an enemy. To whom could the pope look for support except to the powerful Frankish mayor, Pepin the Short? Thus it came to pass in 751 that a papal embassy to the Frank land crossed an embassy from Pepin to Rome to solicit the pope's approval of the deposition of Childeric III.

The years 744-774 are the turning point in the history of Italy—the crisis which determined that Italy was not to become a national kingdom. The ruin of the Lombards begins at the moment of their greatest triumph. In 751 Aistulf, an energetic king, drove the Byzantines out of Ravenna, and ruled the whole of north and north-central Italy. In the next year he started out to complete his triumph by the

*Pope seeks
Pepin's aid*

conquest of Rome, which was nominally under the overlordship of the emperor at Constantinople. In the face of the Lombard approach towards Rome, it was not from his heretical overlord that Pope Stephen II sought assistance, but from Pepin the Frank, who had just superseded the deposed Merovingian king in Frankish Gaul, with the pope's consent.

The Franks and the Lombards had until this time been good friends. Karl Martel had positively refused to break his alliance with the Lombards, since Aistulf's predecessor Luitprand had given him support in expelling the Saracens from Provence. But Pepin had a political debt to pay the pope for sanctioning his seizure of the Frankish throne. To discharge it, he came over the Alps with an army, compelled Aistulf to evacuate his recent conquests and bestowed the territory which the Lombards had lately won from the Greeks upon the papacy, and thus created the States of the Church—the temporal power of the papacy, which lasted for more than a thousand years.

From this time, the days of the Lombard kingdom were numbered. It is a pity that Aistulf and Desiderius, the last king, did not put up a better fight. What ruined them was their loyalty to the Church and the treachery of the popes. Since their conversion to orthodoxy in the previous century the Lombards, king and people alike, had become devoted to Catholicism. They were among the most liberal founders of churches and monasteries in the West, and their legislation abounds with clauses in favor of religion. Yet in spite of this, they were hated by the popes, who regarded themselves as the legitimate heirs of the imperial dominions in Italy, and any Lombard encroachment on imperial territory was resented as an attack upon the Roman Church. The hatred of the Lombards shown in the papal letters is almost grotesque in its malignance. The kings are declared "unspeakable," "devilish," "vile," "perfidious." The papal biographer boasts that the death of the great, virtuous and wise Lombard king Luitprand was due to the fervent prayers of Pope Zacharias.

The double-dealing of Paul I would be almost incredible if it were not for his own letters. When King Desiderius was visiting him in Rome Pope Paul wrote two letters. The first, intended for the eyes of the Lombards, speaks of the king as "his most excellent, peaceful and humble son." The second, addressed to Pepin, states that the first letter was mere verbiage and that "no heed should be given to its contents," for Desiderius is really "a shuffling trickster, impious, cruel and nefarious." Yet the Lombards were as orthodox as the Franks. The pope was hostile to them because he wanted himself to become the temporal ruler of Italy. For exactly a thousand years Italy had to deplore the success of the papal policy.

St. Boniface lived to see the coronation of Pepin, but died in 755, the year before Pepin's Italian campaign. In his old age St. Boniface turned towards the dream of his young manhood. Again he would be a missionary

*Bargain of Pepin
and Pope*

*Papal hatred for
Lombards*

and so he set out with a few companions for the wilds of Frisia. There he and his disciples were murdered in 755 by some heathen Frisians, the chests of books and vessels for worship and priestly vestures were half destroyed and thrown into the swamp. These articles were later recovered and there are three manuscript books today in the library at Fulda in Germany, founded by Boniface, which may have belonged to him. One of these has been slashed across as by a sword, which is interesting because when years afterwards Bishop Radbod of Utrecht wrote the *Life of St Boniface*, he found an old Frisian woman "who asserted under oath that she was present when the soldier of Christ was beheaded, and said that when he was smitten by the sword he covered his head with a copy of the Holy Gospels in order that beneath it he might receive the stroke of the murderer, and that he might have its defence in death as he had loved its words in life."

The other important events of Pepin the Short's reign hardly require more than mention. He made three campaigns against the Saxons, the only heathen Germans remaining after the conversion of the Frisians, but the south of Gaul gave him much more concern. Here the Gascon duke Waifar desperately fought to liberate the territory from Frankish rule and seven expeditions were required to keep him in subjugation. But the most substantial achievement of Pepin was the capture of Narbonne at the east end of the Pyrenees in 759, which thenceforth became a bulwark against Spanish Islam.

MEROVINGIAN KINGS

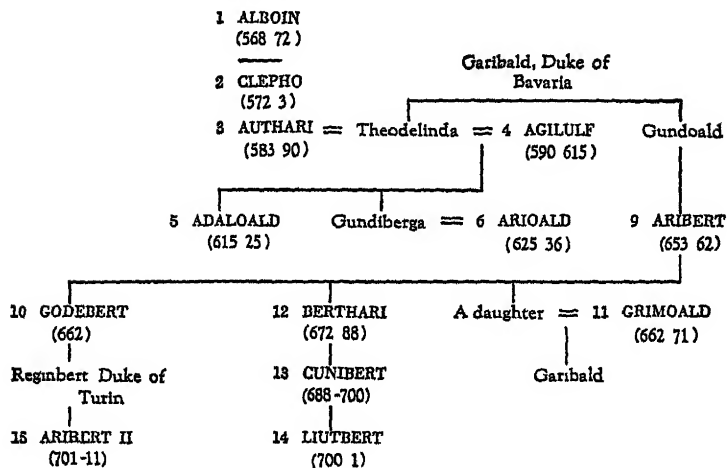
| | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|
| 481 | Clovis | 511 |
| | { Theuderic | 534 |
| | { Chlodomir | 524 |
| 511 | { Childebert | 558 |
| | { Clotaire I | 561 |
| | { Canbert | 567 |
| | { Gontran | 593 |
| 561 | { Sigebert I | 575 |
| | { Chilperic I | 584 |
| 584 | Clotaire II, King of Soissons only | 613 |
| 613 | Clotaire II, sole King of the Franks | 628 |
| 628 | Dagobert I | 638 |

| Reign Begins | Austrasia | Reign Ends | Reign Begins | Neustria | Reign Ends |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| 638 | Sigebert II | 656 | 638 | Clovis II | 656 |
| 660 | Childeric II | 673 | 656 | Clotaire III | 670 |
| 674 | Dagobert II | 679 | 670 | Thierry III | 691 |
| | | | 691 | Clovis III | 695 |
| | | | 695 | Childebert III | 711 |
| | | | 711 | Dagobert III | 715 |
| | | | 715 | Chilperic II | 720 |
| | | | 720 | Thierry IV | 737 |

LOMBARD KINGS IN ITALY

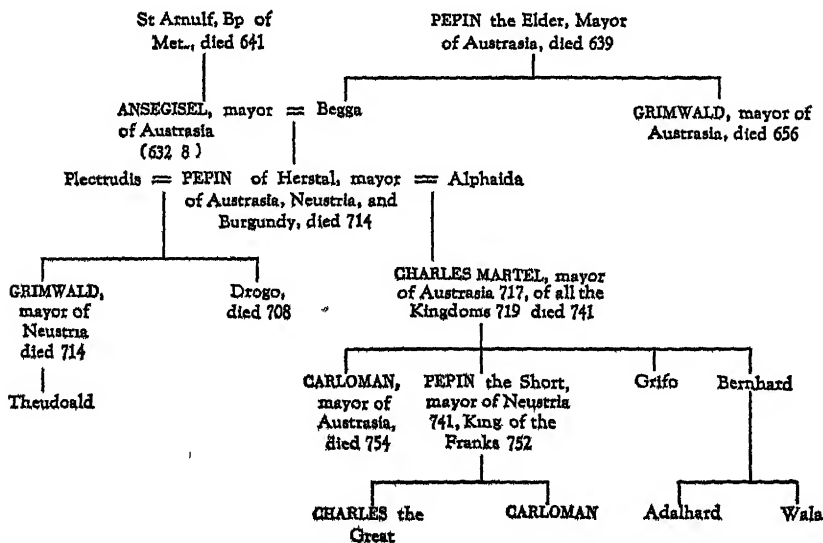
| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|--------|---------------------|
| 568 | Alboin | 662 | Grimwald |
| 573 (2 ?) | Clepho | 672 | Perctant (restored) |
| 584 | Autharis | 688 | Cunibert |
| 590 | Agilulf | 700 | Liutpert |
| 615 (6 ?) | Adalwald | 701 | Aripert II |
| 626 | Anwald | 712 | Ansprand |
| 636 | Rothari | 712 | Liutprand |
| 652 | Rodwald | 744 | Ratchis |
| 653 | Aripert | 750 | Aistwulf |
| 661 | Godepert and Perctant | 757-74 | Desiderius |

THE LOMBARD KINGS IN ITALY



Kings not connected with this house were (7) Rothari, 636 52, (8) Rothald, 652 3, (16) Ansprand, 712, (17) Liutprand 712 44 (18) Hildebrand 744 (19) Ratchis, 744 9, (20) Aistulf, 749 56, (21) Desiderius 756 74

THE GREAT MAYORS OF THE PALACE



CHAPTER XIV

CHARLEMAGNE (768-814)¹

Charlemagne stands alone in history as the creator and founder of a new order of civilization. Intuitively he understood the nature of the work before him. This was to give some semblance of unity to a divided and broken Western Europe, to mold the mixed elements of Roman, German, and Christian institutions, while they were yet plastic, into a composite but integrated civilization. He was no mere conqueror, fighting for the sake of conquest, his life of warfare was largely forced upon him by necessity, and in spite of its destructiveness, war in his hands was a constructive instrument.

This was a most trying epoch in European history. Fortunately the Church had safely survived the danger of becoming involved in the fall of the Roman Empire, and the Frankish monarchy had arisen on its ruins

as the one capable government in western Europe. The Church had given faith and morals unto men, and by its continued existence had saved the most valuable elements of classical culture and created a new educational system. What external progress Christianity had made may be estimated when we compare its boundaries about 400 A.D. with those of 800 A.D. At the former date the Danube and the Rhine were the frontiers of Christianity in the North. Around 800 the boundary in the lower Danube had shrunk, for the Bulgarians were still heathen. But in the central Danube valley the boundary of Christianity was stable. In the upper Danube basin and along the Rhine the territory of Christianity was greatly enlarged, because all the Germanic tribes between the Elbe and Saale Rivers and the great Bohemian Forest (*Boehmerwald*) had been Christianized, and formed a buttress against the Slavic tribes, all of whom yet were heathen. Superficially, the gain may not seem so large for a period of four hundred years. Yet one must reflect that simultaneously extensive lost territories had also been regained. The heathen Germans had practically destroyed what Christianity had been established in the time of the Roman Empire as far as the Vosges Mountains and the Somme River in the east and north of Gaul. The Anglo-Saxons had destroyed the British Church for the most part, fragments of it surviving only in Wales and Cornwall. In the western Alps

¹ The name Charlemagne is the medieval French form for Carolus Magnus, or Charles the Great. But Charlemagne was a German. Neither the French nation nor the French language was yet formed, and his real name was Karl. It is an anachronism to call him Charlemagne, but this name for him is so universal that it will be used in this chapter.

Christianity had been swept away by the Germans, in the eastern Alps by the Slavs. All these regions had been recovered by Christianity by the eighth century.

But serious danger still menaced Western Christianity. All of northern Africa and most of the Spanish peninsula were under the sway of Islam. Mohammedanism controlled the Mediterranean and threatened Italy and southern Gaul. The fusion of the Romanic and Germanic peoples had been accomplished before this storm broke. Spiritually these groups were united in their allegiance to the Catholic Church. Politically Charlemagne united them under Frankish domination. If these two events had not obtained, it is within probability that Western civilization of Latin, Christian, and German nature might have perished in the ninth century.

Charlemagne, who ruled from 768 to 814, united politically and territorially more of Europe than has ever been united since. For all of modern France, Belgium and Holland, one-half of modern Germany, all of modern Austria, the isthmus of Denmark, part of modern Hungary and Jugo-Slavia, all of modern Switzerland, two-thirds of modern Italy, and that part of Spain lying between the Pyrenees Mountains and the Ebro River were comprehended within the empire which he established. In some ways it was of less extent than the Western Roman Empire had been, in some ways it was greater, for Rome had not ruled over Germany. The state which Charlemagne created was a new state — the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation — which combined together the three essentials of medieval civilization: Roman, Christian, and German.

Out of this great Frankish Empire the states and nations of modern Europe emerged, and some of the administrative institutions of the Carolingian Empire passed down the ages, and were the nucleus of later medieval and even modern institutions. The sworn inquest of Charlemagne is the historical antecedent of our trial by jury. It was used by the later Carolingian kings as a special means of discovering property pertaining to the fisc which had been seized or otherwise illegally alienated.

The germ of the jury must be sought in the inquest of proof (*inquisitio per vestes*) of the Frankish procedure. The nature of this inquest can only be understood by tracing it back to the customary procedure of old German law. Proof, as understood by the barbarian customs, was not a judicial means for bringing conviction to the minds of the tribunal; it was simply a satisfaction due and given to the adversary in forms prescribed by custom.

The Frankish inquest was a form of proof by witnesses. Its roots are not found in the customary or folk law, it was a creation of royal law. It consisted of an answer made by witnesses to questions asked by the judge. Its object was to ascertain the facts. It was, therefore, proof in the modern sense of the word. The witnesses were required to swear to speak the truth.

The intellectual impulse initiated by Charles not only saved much of what classical literature we possess, but stimulated the production of a new literature truly medieval in form and spirit. Out of the school system which Charles established, the first universities of Europe were to emerge in the twelfth century. Charles's influence not only preserved something of the art of antiquity, especially architecture, it gave medieval art an impulse which led to the invention of new ideals and patterns of art.

Charles the Great's reign was so long — forty-six years — and the events of his reign so many and so important that if one were to try to study the history of it in mere chronological sequence of events, he would get confused and lost in the details. The most satisfactory way is to study the reign by subjects. Accordingly we shall distinguish Charlemagne's wars, his relations with the papacy, his laws and his government, and finally his influence on literature and education.

War had been a powerful factor in the growth of Frankish power and expansion in the Merovingian period, and it was even more so in the reign of Charles. In all, he waged forty-eight campaigns, or more than one for every year of his reign. All of them, except the two against the Avars, were offensive wars, unless his two against the Lombards in defense of the papacy be admitted to be defensive. The ruling motives in them were the imposition of Frankish domination and with it Frankish civilization, and the expansion of Christianity over the pagan peoples in central Europe.

The political situation in 768 was complicated. Following Merovingian precedent, Pepin had divided the kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Karlmann, between whom there was strife. Hunold, the Duke of Gascony, was in rebellion against Charles and Karlmann refused to aid his brother in subjugation of him. The prospect of civil war so alarmed the queen-mother, Bertrada, that she conceived the fantastic idea of having her two hostile sons marry two of the daughters of the Lombard king, Desiderius, in hope of making peace in the family. But the double marriage added to the complications. Karlmann soon died, leaving two children, who legally were the heirs to their father's half of the Frankish kingdom, but whom Charles set aside and united his deceased brother's share of the realm with his own. Undoubtedly the unification of the kingdom was a wise political act, although unexpected events flowed from it. Karlmann's widow indignantly returned to Pavia with her two little children, and when her sister protested against Charles's disinheriting of his nephews, Charles packed her off to Lombardy, and found an-

Saxons, a messenger from Pope Hadrian I brought him word that Desiderius had invaded the papal territory. Once more the pope begged for Frankish protection. At first Charles hesitated, for he was loath to abandon the Saxon campaign. But when a second messenger *First Italian campaign* brought information that the Lombard king was also supporting the pretensions of his grandchildren to Karlmann's half of the Frankish kingdom, Charles could hesitate no longer. Although winter was approaching, two Frankish armies poured over the Alps, in 774, one by the Great St. Bernard Pass, the other by the Mount Cenis Pass. Pavia, the Lombard capital, withstood a long siege, during which time Charles visited Rome. Meantime Frankish forces had over-run all Lombardy and when Pavia fell the Lombard king, Desiderius, was deposed and immured in a monastery for the rest of his life, but Karlmann's widow with her two children escaped to Constantinople.

Charles assumed the Lombard crown and Frankish domination was imposed upon northern and central Italy, even the two independent Lombard duchies in the south, Benevento and Spoleto, were compelled to recognize Frankish overlordship. On the whole, the fate of the Lombards under Charles the Great was not as heavy as might have been expected. It was a political necessity for him to supplant the local Lombard dukes with Frankish officials. But the nobility was almost the sole class which suffered. Charles made no attempt until after the rebellion in 776 to impose Frankish institutions upon Italy. He did not abolish the kingdom and absorb it within a greater Frankish realm. He called himself King of the Franks and Lombards. It was thus a dual monarchy which he ruled. The fact that later he made his third son, Pepin, king of Italy, indicates that he intended to let that country have a certain degree of autonomy. The conquest of Italy brought the Frankish monarchy into intimate relation with the papacy and it seriously involved Charles with the Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople.

Charles the Great was now free to pursue the war against the Saxons — the longest and most important of the many wars which he waged. All of Germany except Saxony had been subjugated in Merovingian times, and it was inevitable that the Saxons, too, must succumb to Frankish domination. *Saxon war* At this time the Saxons formed a loose agglomeration of kindred tribes and were not yet the compact nation which they afterwards became when the long warfare with the Franks hammered them into a united nation. The most important parts of Saxony were Westphalia and Eastphalia which the Weser River divided, and Nordalbingia, north of the lower Elbe, which touched the territory of the Danes. This vast territory, greater than any other single area in Germany, was bounded on the north by the sea, on the east by the Elbe, on the south by Thuringia, and on the west by the Yssel, which separated the Saxons from Frisia and modern Holland.

Apart from the fact that the Franks tended to unite all the Germanic peoples on the continent, Catholic Christianity demanded the abolition of heathenism among the Saxons, the only German tribe which still worshipped Woden and Thor. The missionary spirit of the Church was not content with benevolent preaching, it demanded Frankish political and military protection of its monk missionaries. Border strife between the Saxons and the Franks was an old story (531, 556, 572, 715, 718, 722, 729, 738, 742, 747, 753, 758) and became more acute when St Boniface initiated his energetic missionary movement in north Germany, where the monastery of Fulda (744) was the base of operations for the conversion of the heathen Germans. The Saxons clearly saw that the preservation of their liberty and their ancestral religion hung together.

It required sixteen campaigns and thirty-two years to reduce the Saxons. In this long period we may distinguish three stages: from 772 to 782; from 782 to 794, from 794 to 804. In the first, Charles wore down the resistance of the Saxons by campaigns almost every summer, which scorched the land with fire and drenched it with blood, so that in 780 it seemed possible to establish the ecclesiastical system in Saxony. Bishoprics were set up at Munster, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Minden, Verden and Hildesheim, and the rudiments of a parish system begun. Heathen practices were declared abolished and drastic penalties threatened the Saxons for violation of the new Frankish laws imposed upon them. All public assemblies and all native political institutions were suppressed.

Outwardly the subjugated Saxons sullenly complied, but in 782 they rebelled. Charles's punishment was terrible. In a single day at Verden he slaughtered 4,500 Saxon warriors who had been taken captives. This ferocious act, however, instead of subduing the Saxons, drove them to renewed revolt, the leader of which was the Saxon chief, Widukind, under whom the Saxons became a united nation. But in 794 the weight of Frankish arms proved irresistible and Widukind and his people surrendered and professed the Christian religion. The bishoprics were re-established and monasteries began to be erected in the conquered territory. In this period, Charles instituted a new policy; to prevent a renewal of war he deported thousands of young Saxon warriors with their families, and settled them elsewhere. The most important of these colonies was established on the Main, across the river from Frankfurt, which still preserves its ancient name of Sachsenstadt. Another Saxon colony was founded on the lower Seine below Paris. Nordalbingia, the seat of last resistance, was subjugated between 798 and 804.

The conquest of Nordalbingia brought the frontier of the Frankish state hard up against the territory of the fierce heathen Danes, who fearful of being next conquered by the Franks had given Widukind support. For two years (808-810) there was war with King Gottrick. But Charles was growing old and was tired of war.

*Missionary drive
against Saxons*

*Vicissitudes of
long Saxon wars*

*Establishment of
Dane-Mark*

Accordingly he did not attempt to reduce the Danes under Frankish sway, but fenced their country off from interference in Saxony by establishing a mark or militarized border province across the Danish isthmus. This was known as the Dane-Mark, from which the Danes later, when they became Christian in the time of King Canute the Great (1000-1035), took the name of their kingdom. The linguistic boundary across the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein has not varied over a day's walk in either direction in eleven centuries from the line adopted as the political and religious frontier between Danish paganism and German Christendom in 810. The religious frontier lasted for 150 years, and the linguistic division exists today in the German and the Danish languages. Already, years before this, Charles had erected a Mark along the eastern boundary of Saxony called the Nord Mark to protect the border from the Slavic tribes in the valley of the lower Elbe, such as the Polaben (the "along-the-Elbe" people), the Wilzi and the Wenidi.¹

In 789 a great campaign was made against the Wilzi, but the real conflict between Germans and Slavs came in the ninth century.

The long period of the Saxon wars was punctuated by other wars which must be noticed. In 777, when Charles was in the depths of Saxony, he was astonished when a deputation of ambassadors from Mohammedan Spain appeared in his camp. Civil war at this time *Spanish campaign* was rending the Khalifate of Cordova and these ambassadors had been sent by some of the revolted emirs, or governors of provinces, imploring Frankish intervention in their behalf. At first Charles hesitated, but some of the bishops pointed out to him that it was a heaven-sent opportunity to come to the aid of the Christian population in Spain. This was the remnant of the Goths who were left after the fall of the West Goth Kingdom in 711, and which for over half a century had been fighting with its back to the wall of the Pyrenees against the Moslems.

In the spring of 778 a Frankish force crossed the Pyrenees through the Pass of Roncesvalles. Pampeluna, the little capital of the diminutive Christian kingdom of Navarre — this is the earliest mention of it — was recaptured from the Saracens, but the siege of Saragossa, lower down the Ebro river, failed and the Franks were compelled to retreat. What followed is famous in history and romance. The western end of the Pyrenean country was peopled by the Basques, the remnant of a strange prehistoric race of whose origin and nature history knows nothing. Their language, which still survives, has no affinity with any other known language. They were, and still remain, a hardy mountaineer people jealous of their liberty, and capable

¹ The Franks called all of the tribes of the lower Elbe Wenden or Wends, from the Wenidi. The word was used precisely as the English used the word "Welsh" to describe the Cymri. In the German language this word is spelled *Walsch* and literally signifies a foreigner, an outlander, usually with a hostile intent.

fighters The Basques had viewed the progress of the Frankish army through the gorge of Roncesvalles with deep resentment, for it seemed to them an invasion of their own country and to betoken Frankish conquest, as indeed it did They manned the heights of the mountain pass and sullenly watched the army laboring through it, often compelled to wade through the ice-cold water of the Nive River flowing along the floor of the gorge, until only the rear-guard was left in the deep defile, the van being miles in advance Then the Basques rose and rolled great rocks and boulders down upon the heads of the rear-guard and when it was almost annihilated, closed in fierce combat with the survivors under command of Roland, the count of the Mark of Brittany The rear-guard was slain to the last man The day was August 15, 778, as we know from an inscription set up soon after the event In military and political history this reverse to the Frankish arms was not serious, for within a few years Charles conquered and annexed the whole territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro and erected it into the Spanish Mark But the story of Roland and the rear-guard's heroic resistance lived in popular memory, perhaps preserved in the form of ballads, and when the Spanish Crusades began in earnest in the eleventh century, the most famous epic in medieval French literature emerged, the *Song of Roland* (*Chanson de Roland*)

In the last decade of the eighth century, when the conquest of Saxony was in its last stage and when the north-east had been protected by the Nord-

Avar wars

Mark, a new danger imperiled Southeastern Germany beyond Bavaria This was the appearance of the Avars in the Middle Danube valley (modern Hungary). The Avars were kin to the Huns before them, that is to say they were of the Tartar race and a nomadic, predatory people We have already seen that at the end of the sixth century their pressure upon the lower course of the Danube, which marked the frontier of the Byzantine Empire in Europe, was severe in the reigns of the Emperors Maurice and Phokas (582-610) For some time the Bulgars were subjected to them but finally escaped by alliance with the Eastern Empire in the reign of Heraclius (610-641), who permitted the Bulgars to settle in Moesia and Thrace, where their descendants are found to this day Meanwhile the Avars pressed farther up the Danube and the migration of the Lombards and Gepids in 568 out of what is now Hungary gave room for the Avars to settle there in their turn From this kingdom of "Avaria," if we may coin a word, the Avars spread the terror of their name and their barbaric power over many of the Slavic tribes between the Carpathians and the Elbe The sway of the chagan or great khan reached into central Europe and obtained over Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia For more than two hundred years nothing had checked their advance or arrested their predatory operations But when, having reduced the countries which they had conquered to the bareness of a threshing-floor, the Avars began to fall upon Germany, the situation changed

Bavaria was naturally the victim, as it was most exposed to their depredations

In 791 Charles started his first campaign against the Avars, advanced over the territory between the Enns and the Leitha Rivers, organized it as the Ost-Mark or East-Mark, and began to colonize it with Bavarian and even Frankish settlers. This new mark was a dependency *Ost Mark* of the duchy of Bavaria, but centuries later (1142) it was separated from Bavaria and erected into the independent duchy of Austria, just as in the same year the Nord-Mark was severed from dependency on Saxony and became the Margraviate of Brandenburg. These two are examples of how far back into the Middle Ages the roots of modern history are to be traced. Foiled from invasion of Bavaria, the Avars turned their raids upon north Italy, so that in 795 Charles was compelled to establish another mark, Friuli (named from the old Roman Forum Julii) around the head of the Adriatic. In the next year a gigantic expedition was organized for the extermination of the Avars. A flotilla of boats floated a great army of men, horses, and supplies down the Danube into the heart of the Avar country. The famous Avar Ring, a rude timber-built town surrounded by a triple palisade, was stormed and taken. The Avar nation was broken and scattered, the remnants of it being absorbed by its neighbors. If we are to believe the chroniclers, the booty found in the great Ring was enormous, being the loot of two hundred years of systematic depredations.

We must now consider the central event of Charles the Great's reign, which is also an epochal event in medieval history — the restoration of the (Roman) Empire in 800.

This marked the culmination of a long chain of events *Importance of restoration of Roman empire* which had taken place in Frankish and papal history, beginning when Chlodweg, the first Frankish king, in 496 professed the Catholic faith instead of Arianism, and thus identified himself and his successors with the Catholic Church and the papacy. At the same time the expansion of the Frankish state which united Gaul, Germany, and Italy in a powerful government, made it politically the successor of the former Western Empire. Finally, papal sanction of the coronation of Pepin the Short (751) and Pepin's intervention in Italy to protect the papacy against Lombard aggression, which established the States of the Church (756), followed by Charles the Great's destruction of the Lombard kingdom and the annexation of Italy to the Frankish monarchy (774-776), cemented the friendly relations between the popes and the Frankish rulers.

The cumulative effect of all these occurrences was tremendous, and culminated in the autumn of 800 when Charles the Great was in Rome, whither he had been called by Pope Leo III to suppress a rebellion of the family and friends of his immediate predecessor, Hadrian I. The incident illustrates the dangers to which the temporal power of the popes exposed them.

On Christmas Day when Charles was attending service in the basilica of St Peter's, as is related in the *Annals of the Franks*, "because the name of the emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their empire was possessed by a woman,¹ it then seemed both to Leo the Pope and to all the clergy of Rome, as well as to the Christian people present, that Charles, king of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Caesars had been wont to sit, and all the other territories which he ruled in Italy and Gaul and Germany, ought to be made emperor." Politically the coronation was a *coup d'état*—a repudiation of the rule of the Eastern Emperors over the West. It was an illegal act. The usurpation of Irene was merely a technicality pleaded to give the color of legality.

The administrative institutions of the Frankish Empire were, in part, inherited from the past, in part, practices which Charles devised to improve the efficiency of his government. There was no uniform system of secular law prevailing over the whole empire. What is known as "the personality of law" obtained, which is to say that every separate people within the empire—Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, Lombards, Frisians, etc., and all who were of Roman and not German origin,—each had its own law, preserved in tradition or customary code.² The only uniform and universal law was that of the Church. The whole empire was divided into counties, some of them of enormous extent. The count was the most important general official. Once a month he held court and administered justice, he collected the taxes, in event of war, he summoned those liable to military service and commanded them until the place of meeting of the whole army was reached. Only the merest remnants of the former Roman municipal government survived and that only in the Far South of Gaul and in a few places in Italy. Most of the cities were episcopal seats and governed by the bishops. Local government was wholly manorial, the villages were peopled by a servile population and governed by a lord who owned the village.

Late in his reign, as a means of bracing his government and checking the counts, Charles created the *missi dominici* or royal messengers. He had found that many unscrupulous counts sold justice, levied unjust taxes, accepted bribes for exemption from military service. "We hear," reads the preamble of one of Charles's laws, "that the counts are imposing unjust rents and insisting on forced labor, harvesting, plowing, sowing, reaping, stubbing up trees, seizing wagons and oxen (the horse was

¹ The Empress Irene had first been regent for her minor son, and then deposed him and ruled in her own name. A woman emperor was unknown and illegal in imperial history.

² Only Frankish and Lombard law was codified, and much of it was still customary law, although remnants of Burgundian and West Gothic law survived. Roman law was distinguished as *written law*.

not yet used for draft purposes, since the horse-collar was not invented until later) and the like from the people" Again we read

"The poor complain that they are being evicted from their homes, and that by bishops and abbots as much as by the counts. It is said that if a poor man will not come across with bribes his property is taken from him on one pretext or another. These dishonest men bring fake lawsuits against him and get him fined or they compel him to do military service so constantly that the wretched man is utterly impoverished (since he has no time to attend to his farm), and is compelled to mortgage or to sell his property, which these unprincipled officials then snap up at a low price."

Accordingly in 802 the territory of the whole empire, except along the frontiers, was divided into *missatica* or great circuits of counties combined together, and every spring and summer, two *missi*, a noble and a bishop or abbot, traveled around from county to county inquiring into the character and conduct of each count and sitting as judges of appeal in the county court. Another important duty of the *missi* was to exact an oath of fidelity from every noble and freeman. There were twenty-one of these grand circuits. As a precaution against these *missi* abusing their power they traveled in pairs, one a layman, the other a churchman, furthermore the pairs were split at the end of each season — thus A and B, and C and D would be together one year, but the next year the combination would be A and M, and B and N, furthermore, no *missus* was ever sent twice in succession into the same circuit. All the *missi* reported to Charles in person. The vigor of the Frankish government depended upon the vigor and intelligence of the ruler.

There was no such thing as a congress or a diet among the Franks. The nearest approach to a general assembly was the meeting of the army in spring for some war, and in these Charles usually promulgated the capitularies or laws which he himself made, after which the text of them was sent out to every count, bishop, and abbot. These capitularies are of every sort, ranging from general statutes to a particular legislation of local applicability. Two of the most important have already been mentioned: the one which established civil authority and bishoprics in Saxony, and the *Capitulare missorum*.

Military service was compulsory upon all freemen and nobles between the ages of eighteen and sixty, and was so heavy a burden that, as we have seen, it impoverished thousands of freemen who were driven down to serfdom under its pressure. Charles never was able to alleviate this condition, since he was engaged in too many wars. In the ninth century the invasions of the Norsemen aggravated this misery so that by 900 most of the population of the Frankish Empire had been reduced to a servile condition. Constant war was an economic and social calamity.

The public economy of the Frankish state is important to understand, for it was the base upon which the whole economy of feudal Europe later rested. As far back as the later Roman Empire, as commerce and trade declined and industry was reduced to the making of only the most essential necessities, land had become the primary and almost the sole form of property. Since land ownership was the chief form of wealth, the landed aristocracy was the highest social class. Small land-owners were freemen. Below them the masses were serfs or slaves who worked the estates of the lord, and dwelt in huddled villages or manors upon these estates. Each hamlet or cluster of hamlets formed a manor, and a group of adjacent manors under supervision of a bailiff or steward formed a "domain." Since taxation, as we understand that term, had disappeared with the decay of the Roman Empire, the revenue for the support of the king, the royal household and the officials of the government was derived from the crown lands.

For example, the count in every county kept one-third of the fees or fines he exacted. Such fees were not in the form of money, but of goods or livestock. The count retained one-third, the rest was turned over to the bailiff of the crown land within the county, for the use of the king at his pleasure.

The crown lands of the Frankish monarchy in the time of Charles were numerous and extensive. We know the names of 1,558 of these estates, and doubtless there were many more. They were spread all over the empire, but thickest (720) in the middle part between the Seine and the Rhine, and in Lombardy (163). The densest agglomerations of manors were in modern eastern Belgium and the Lower Rhineland, where Aachen was the center of them, around Mainz and Worms (53); and in the vicinity of Paris (25).

Charles was keenly interested in the management of these great properties. For the guidance of the stewards he drew up a set of regulations which is impressive for its fulness and minuteness. It is known as the *Capitulaire de villis* or Capitulary for the administration of the royal manors. Every steward was required to return an inventory of everything upon the estate, including its condition, if necessary, on St. John's Day (June 24) and again at Christmas. Several such inventories have been preserved. Here is part of one of them.

This gives a picture of a commodious and comfortable manor-house. The life of the well-to-do in the eighth century between the time when the barbarian invasions ended and the time when the invasions of the Norsemen began was not unlike that of an English country gentleman in Elizabethan England. Almost everything except luxuries was manufactured upon the place, as was the case also in Colonial America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Heristal,¹ the old seat of Charles's ancestors, was his favorite place of residence until he built his great palace at Aachen. He was there at Easter in 770, 771, 772, 773, 779, 784, and at Christmas in 772, 776, 777, 778, 779 and 783. Aachen was the closest approach to a fixed capital. *Palace at Aachen* the Frankish Empire had. The warm springs there, the salubriousness of the region around, the good hunting in the forests, the network of rivers which made transportation of commodities from his other crown lands convenient, attracted Charles to Aachen where the imposing palace and cathedral which he built mark a revolution in the history of medieval architecture. For these two structures were the earliest great stone buildings erected beyond the Alps since the disappearance of the Roman Empire, and the sculptors, mosaic-workers, and painters whom he introduced from Italy and even from Constantinople gave a new impulse to Northern art.

In the eighth century the intellectual and educational condition of Western Europe was very low, and had been so for nearly two hundred years. Only in Anglo-Saxon England and in Ireland was any stream of thought still running. The decay of education especially gave *Charlemagne's interest in education* Charles the Great anxiety. Many of the lower clergy were illiterate and the knowledge of Latin and theology possessed by many bishops and abbots was meager. Some of them could not read the psalter or the breviary correctly. Moreover, as the result of carelessness or ignorance on the part of copyists, the text of service books and of the Vulgate Bible — St. Jerome's Latin translation made about 400 A.D. — was very corrupt. Accordingly, Charles issued a famous capitulary for the improvement of education in the Frank land (*De litteris colendis*), a copy of which was sent to every bishop and abbot. But competent teachers were necessary at once, and for the greatest of these scholars, Charles turned to York in England, the cathedral school of which had carried on the work of Bede and his predecessors in Northumbria.

In York, Charles found Alcuin and called him across the Channel, then he made him Abbot of St. Martin of Tours and master of the palace school at Aachen. At the former, Alcuin trained up a school of educated and expert copyists, for whom he devised a new kind of script so legible and so beautiful that books in this kind of handwriting are among the finest of medieval manuscripts. To the school of the palace, the élite of the Frankish aristocracy was sent for schooling. Here the boys were taught the fundamentals of

¹ In modern Belgium near Liège.

medieval education, — the *trivium* or “three ways course,” which consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the *quadrivium* or “four ways course,” which consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music¹ Remote as these subjects may seem from a modern curriculum, in reality they are still the bases of the courses in arts and letters, and the courses in science given in every college and university The same courses were required in every monastic and cathedral school But the teachers in the palace school were better Besides Alcuin, the head-master, were Peter of Pisa and Paul the Deacon, a Lombard whom Charles called from the great Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino

How influential this education was is shown by the fact that the students whom Alcuin trained in their turn became teachers of others, and the impulse carried on into succeeding centuries, even after the Carolingian empire dissolved in the ninth century Thus Alcuin’s greatest pupil, Rabanus Maurus (died 856), at the monastery of Fulda in Germany made that abbey the intellectual successor of the Palace School and of St Martin of Tours He had three able pupils Walafrid Strabo, the poet, of Reichenau, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières near Sens, in France, and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (died 882), whose pupils in turn made the monastic school of St German des Pres at Paris, as well as the episcopal school at Rheims, new centers of education In the year 1000 Gerbert of Rheims was the most scholarly man in Western Christendom, he had two distinguished pupils, Abbo of Fleury, and Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres Almost all the scholars who generated the movement of higher education in France, a movement which culminated in the founding of the University of Paris, in 1200, were educated in the cathedral school of Chartres One of the most impressive facts in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages is the continuity of the Carolingian tradition through four hundred years

We owe the preservation of most of Latin classical literature to this Carolingian Renaissance For if the works of Cicero, Vergil, Livy, Sallust, Horace, Ovid and many other Roman writers had not been copied and recopied in the scriptoria, or writing-rooms, of the Carolingian monasteries and so transmitted to future generations, they would have perished In still another important particular, the literary movement inaugurated in the reign of Charlemagne had great and lasting influence In the Anglo-Saxon monasteries there arose the custom of recording important local events upon the Easter Table, or calendar of Sundays and holy days Alcuin introduced this English practice into the monasteries on the continent, and in course of time some of these monastic records grew into substantial historical annals and established a precedent for succeeding centuries Thus the *Annals of Lorsch* extend from 741 to 829, the *Annales Bertu-*

¹ Astronomy was required in order to calculate Sundays and saints’ days Music was necessary for church services

*Influence of
Carolingian
renaissance*

*Classical literature
and monastic
annals*

nian (of the monastery of St Bertin) from 741 to 882. If it had not been for such annals we would know far less than we do of the history of the Middle Ages.

Soon after Charles's death his Latin secretary wrote a biography of his master which is almost unique in medieval literature. The *Lives* of saints and popes and bishops and abbots are common, but there are few biographies of laymen. Those of Charlemagne by Eginhard ^{Personal description of Charlemagne} and of Alfred the Great by Asser are almost unique. Eginhard's model in composing this *Vita Karoli* was Suetonius's *Life of the Emperor Augustus*, which shows the profound influence which the tradition of the Roman Empire had upon the Medieval Empire. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the personal description of Charlemagne (ca 22-25). From this short biography we learn odds and ends of information, of which we would gladly know more — that he had diplomatic relations with Harun al-Rashid, the great Khalif of Baghdad, looking towards the welfare of pilgrims from the West going to the Holy Land, that he had dealings with some of the Irish chiefs, that he had a collection made of old German songs and sagas and began a grammar of the ancient German language, that he disliked the Latin names of the months, and commanded the adoption of the German names instead. Thus January was called Winter-month, February Mud-month, March Spring-month, April Easter-month, May Joy-month, June Plow-month, July Hay-month, August Harvest-month, September Wind-month, October Vintage-month, November Autumn-month and December Holy-month. Only two of these months, April and December, it will be noticed, have an ecclesiastical significance.

Architecture and art were less promoted by Charlemagne than education and literature. Yet there was a wholesome improvement in each of these. By the end of the sixth century the mason's art had so far decayed that building in stone had almost disappeared every- ^{Carolingian art} where, except in Italy. France, Germany, and England had to import Italian masons and stonemasons. For the construction of the palace and church at Aachen, Charlemagne brought Italian artisans and also imported columns, capitals and slabs of marble from Italy, with the permission of the pope, some of these marbles were taken from old churches in Ravenna which the Aryan Ostrogoths had built and to which, perhaps, a stigma was still attached, even though they had been reconsecrated. The transfer of these huge blocks of stone from Italy to Lower Germany was certainly no small achievement, but unfortunately no contemporary has left us any information about Carolingian engineering. Charlemagne died on January 28, 814. It was the end of an era.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPE AND THE ORIENT THE RISE OF ISLAM AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOHAMMEDANISM AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (641-1057)

It is a remarkable coincidence in history that at the same time, in the seventh and eighth centuries, when western Europe was reshaped and consolidated in the Frankish Empire, another empire also arose in western Asia. This was the mighty Baghdad Khalifate, Islam's first and greatest state, the ninth oriental monarchy of history.¹

Antiquity had seen the Semites of desert Arabia spread in raids and sometimes with more or less permanent settlements over the Fertile Crescent, or into Old Egypt and Abyssinia, and leaving their mark more or less legibly upon the lands and people there. Arabian history is far older than most people realize. There are references to Arabian queens in Assyrian inscriptions of the seventh century B.C. South Arabian inscriptions and other remains testify to a relatively high civilization about 700 B.C. Arabian history appears in the Old Testament.² Abraham lived the life of a nomadic sheik. The Queen of Sheba, who is typical of the queens known to the Assyrians, represents the zenith of early Arabian civilization.

Arabia, then, was a country known from remote antiquity, but no one of the mighty empires of the past had ever conquered it, for its dimensions were too great, its deserts too vast, its people too hardy to tempt the arms of Egypt or Assyria or Persia or even Alexander or Rome. Arabia always was and still is indomitable by any foreign power. Like China, it is perhaps the only great country in the world which has never "changed hands." The Arabs were remotely kindred to the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians and Hebrews, their institutions were primitively Semitic. There was no political unity among them. Tribal or clan government prevailed, each clan being governed by a patriarchal chieftain called a *sheik*. They were a pastoral people living upon their flocks of sheep and herds of camels.

There was not pasturage enough for cattle and until late in their history

¹ The previous ones had been the First Babylonian, Assyrian, Second Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Parthian, New Persian (Arsacid and Sassanid dynasties).

² James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*

the horse was not known. The oases were fertile and densely occupied, which gave a certain fixity to the population and saved the Arab from nomadism. Only along the coast of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea was any real commerce to be found, for these bodies of water were adjacent to outside countries. There were but two cities in Arabia, Mecca and Medina, both situated upon the great commercial highway running from the Far East to Egypt and Syria.

Areal pastoral life

For untold centuries the Arabs had lived unto themselves almost immune to foreign contact. But in the first Christian centuries outside influences began to filter into the country. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. many refugee Jews settled in Medina, where they became merchants. The rigid orthodoxy of the Roman emperors in the fifth and sixth centuries drove sectaries and heretic groups of Syrians and Egyptians, mostly the former, out of the empire, so that both Judaism and Christianity of one form or another became known among the Arabs. These invading beliefs exercised an influence upon the traditional religion of the Arabic people.

Outside influences

The native religion of the Arabs was a nature worship like that of the ancient Jews. They were idolators and "ancestral voices" taught and prophesied among them. They had their religious feasts and their holy places. The most sacred place was Mecca, where a black meteorite, the *Kaaba*, was venerated as the holiest of objects. A universal religious observance was the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in the spring. This was the feast of Ramadan, which lasted for a month by lunar reckoning and thus shifted through the seasons as do Easter and Whitsuntide. Like all pastoral peoples, the ancient Arabs were prone to war over possession of wells and pasturage grounds, and predatory raids and vendettas were common among them. But in the spring there was peace for a short season. Thus Mecca was both a religious and a commercial capital, but not a political one. The Arabs had no written literature. Their genealogies, of which they were immensely jealous and proud, their history, their songs, were handed down orally from generation to generation.

Arabic primitive religion and civilization

The decline of ancient Arabian civilization seems to have been due to the intrusion of outside influences, as well as the slow advance of the desert upon pastures and tilled lands owing to the disintegration of the rock through extreme changes of temperature and the increasing salination of the soil. This led to the collapse of the ancient trade routes and the consequent relapse of the ancient Arabians into barbarism.

Decline of their civilization

Such was the condition of Arabia when the first great Arabian, Mohammed, was born at Mecca about 570. He was a poor scion of the richest and most influential clan in Arabia, the Koreish clan, which controlled Mecca and the territory roundabout. He became a merchant in a humble way, but soon

passed into the service of a rich widow named Kadiga, whose business agent he became. In this capacity he travelled with other caravans engaged in the lucrative trade along the Red Sea coast north as far as Medina, and maybe even farther. Certainly he learned something of the lands beyond Arabia — Egypt and Syria — from merchants with whom he associated, and came in contact with Jewish and Christian colonists in Arabia. The latter experience had a profound influence upon the development of his religious thought.

Mohammed's life

Mohammed was a silent, thoughtful, introspective man with a deeply religious nature. He was illiterate and his education was that of Elijah — of the desert. He was shocked by the superstition, the base religious beliefs and practices he saw around him. Without knowing clearly what was the difference between paganism and a higher religion, his spiritual instinct led him to revolt against the tribal religion of his people. He resolved to reform it and unwittingly founded a new religion upon its ruins. He began as a reformer and ended as a religious, political, social, and moral revolutionist — one of the greatest in history. He was not an imposter, but a prophet who believed himself the sent of God as truly as the prophets of ancient Israel.

His character

Like many another religious reformer, Mohammed found himself unpopular even among his own kin, and in 622 he was driven out of Mecca¹ with a handful of followers. He went to Medina, which received him with open arms, for between Mecca and Medina there was bitter commercial rivalry and great envy. Here he prospered as a trader, gained many followers and learned something of both the Jewish and the Christian religion from the colonies there. Caravan raids and petty warfare had obtained between the men of Mecca and Medina for years. But now under Mohammed's leadership the raids of the Medinans took a new form and became not only plundering expeditions, but wars of propaganda to extend Islam.² Within eight years Mohammed captured Mecca (630).

The Hegra

In widening circles Mohammedanism rapidly expanded over the whole of Arabia, tribe after tribe lining up under the green banner of the Prophet, so that when Mohammed died in 632 he was "prophet, priest, and king" of all Arabia. Religious fanaticism may have had much to do with this swift expansion. But the opportunity to plunder made a powerful appeal to many Arabs. As the war for the extension of Islam had become a consecrated movement, it was inevitable that the *jehad* would soon be extended beyond the confines of Arabia and the Holy War carried into Syria, Persia, and Egypt.

Warlike nature of Mohammedanism

¹ The *Hegra* or flight, July 16, 622. It is the beginning of the Mohammedan calendar.

² *Islam* signifies "submission" to the will of God. Such a war was called a *jehad*, or crusade.

Before relating these events something should be said about the nature and teachings of Islam. It was and still is simplicity itself. Like the religion of the Jews, Mohammedanism is strictly monotheistic. "There is one God," of whom Mohammed was the prophet and the ^{Islamic religion} teacher. This God is absolute, sovereign and omnipotent, whose wisdom has predestined and ordained the destiny of the human race from before the foundation of the world. In Mohammedanism there is no perplexing concept of the trinity — Three in One, and One in Three — and hence no complex and confusing theological system, as became the case when early Christianity came into contact with Greek philosophical speculation. Mohammedanism was so monotheistic that it condemned even the semblance of idolatry. No statue or graven image, no picture of any animal or any other thing in visible nature is suffered in Mohammedan art lest it become a divine symbol and lead to base worship of it. The God of Mohammedanism is historically the God of the ancient Jews. Moses and the patriarchs, the prophets and Jesus, all of whom figure in the Koran, were precursors of Mohammedanism, which represented the highest religion. It is impossible to convert a Mussulman to another religion, for to him it would be reversion to a lower type of faith.

On the other hand, in medieval and modern times, even today, there are not a few examples of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants espousing the religion of Islam.

The sacred book of Islam is the Koran (from Arabic *Qaran*, book). It contains the teachings of Mohammed as recorded by his faithful auditors upon palm leaves and the shoulder bones of sheep, which were common writing materials among the Arabs. Mohammed ^{Koran} himself could not write, but that does not mean that he was an ignorant man. An illiterate person may be a man of intelligence, force of character, and wisdom. God's revelations were given to Mohammed through the angel Gabriel, who appeared to him in visions. The Koran was not finally reduced to its present form until thirty years after the Hegira by Othman, Mohammed's third successor. It is shorter than the New Testament and contains 116 suras or chapters, divided into 6,243 verses, 77,639 words, and 323,015 letters. Millions of Mohammedans have been able to commit the entire Koran to memory. The sources of the Koran may be found in the religious traditions and practices existing in Arabia before and in the time of Mohammed, in later doctrines of Judaism, in heretical and apocryphal Christian sources, in Zoroastrianism and possibly Hindoo beliefs. The Moslem doctrine of the unity of God may be ascribed, not to Jewish, but to Arabic teaching. The primitive Arabs worshipped idols, to be sure, but they regarded them as intercessors with the great God, whom they held supreme. The teaching of the Koran as to paradise derives from a Persian source.

Obligatory practices of every Mussulman are prayer five times a day with

the face turned towards Mecca, the giving of alms, fasting during Ramadan, and, if possible, the making of a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. If one would not give voluntarily for charity then the government compelled a contribution (*zekat*). The "community chest" among Mohammedans is a legal institution.

*Religious
practices*

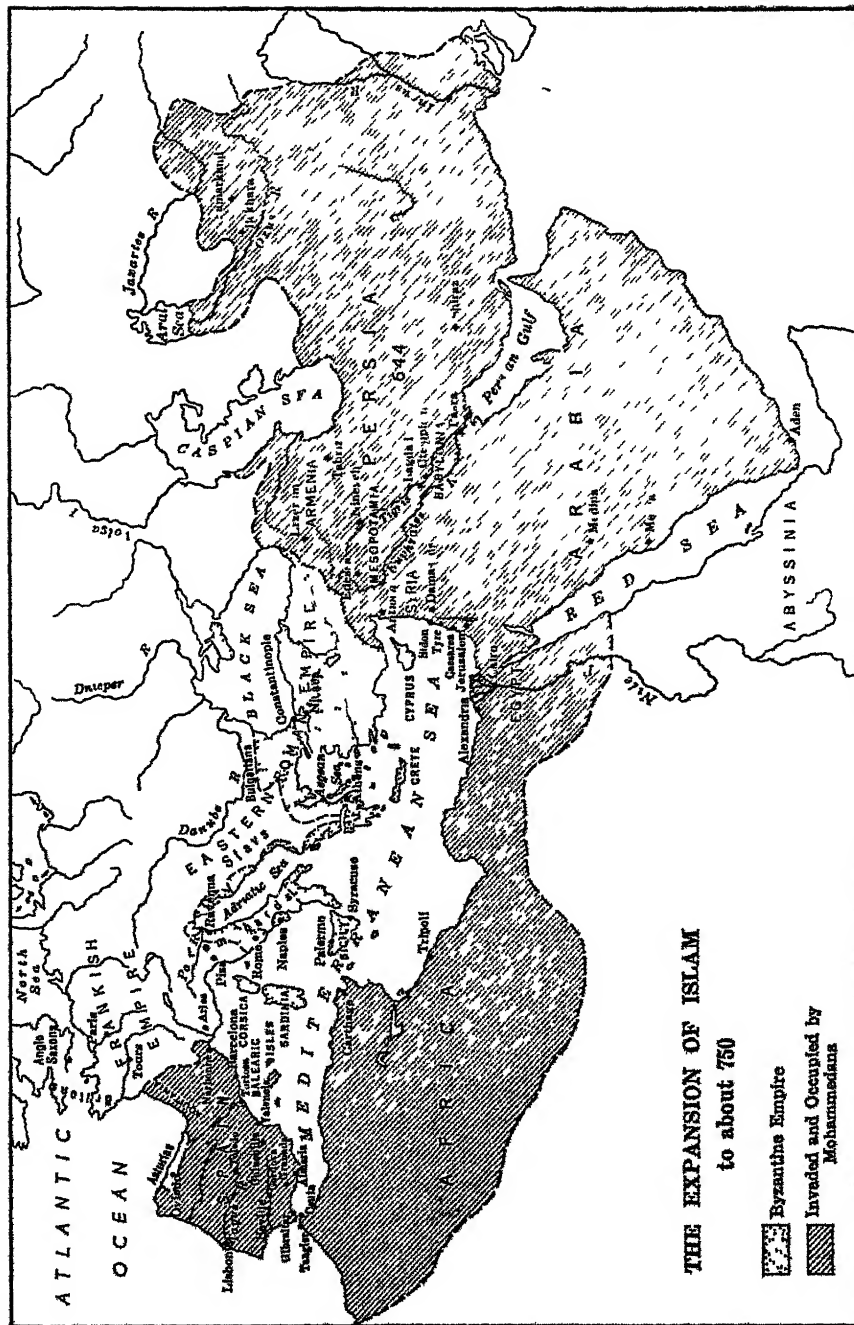
To Islam there was a host of unbelievers outside of Arabia. Abu-Bekr in recruiting for the Syrian campaign aroused desire for it by stressing the booty which might be taken. The Byzantine Empire was prosperous and unwieldy and commanded little adherence among its subject peoples, who were non-Greek in origin and language, and heretic in faith. Persia, after twelve centuries of empire, was losing its grip. By the seventh century the time was ripe for the desert to overflow again. Arabia had not bred the camel, the horse, and the fighting nomad for nothing. The hardy nomads, inspired alike by religious zeal and worldly hope of gain, secure in the certainty of paradise if they died in a holy cause, swept up out of Arabia like a hurricane.

*Expansion of
Islam*

"After the death of the Prophet sterile Arabia seems to have been converted, as if by magic, into a nursery of heroes the like of whom in number and quality it is hard to match anywhere. The military campaigns of al-Walid and al-'As in 'Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are amongst the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napoleon, Hannibal or Alexander. No small share of their seemingly miraculous success was due to their application of a military technique adapted to the steppes of western Asia and North Africa — the use of cavalry and camelry."¹

After Mohammed's death three great leaders carried on his work. Abu-Bekr (632-34), the first *khalif*, or "commander of the faithful," whose daughter was a wife of Mohammed, conquered Palestine, the first country which the Arabs encountered as their hordes poured out of the desert. He was succeeded by the far-seeing and energetic Omar (634-644) under whom Damascus was captured and Syria conquered, but great credit must be given to Omar's general, Khalid. The occupation of Syria was of immense importance to the Arabs, for it gave them a military base from which they could operate against Persia and Syria. They struck at Persia first because the collapse of Byzantine rule in Syria had so alarmed the Persians that they invited invasion by attacking the Arabs. In one day the Persian army was routed (636) so effectively that it opened the eyes of the Arabs to Persia's weakness. Systematic conquest followed, province by province, city after city. The capture of Ctesiphon threw fabulous wealth into the hands of the victors. The decisive battle was fought in 641 at Nihawand near ancient Ecbatana, where the Persian Empire passed from

Islamic conquests



history A huge military camp was established at Kuta near Ctesiphon to keep Persia down

Meanwhile the conquest of Egypt began late in 639 under Amr, who had seen service in Syria He crossed the isthmus of Suez (Pelusium of those days), beat the Byzantine army at Heliopolis in July, 640

and after a long siege compelled the Greek commander of the garrison at Babylon, a strong fortress situated at the head of the delta and guarding Alexandria, to capitulate On September 17, 642, Alexandria, the famous city founded by Alexander the Great, surrendered without striking a blow The imperial commander together with the patriarch had negotiated for its peaceful surrender on condition of security in person and property to the inhabitants and full freedom in the exercise of the Christian religion As had been done in Persia, so now the Khalif Omar built a great military camp near the old fortress of Babylon which the Greeks called *phossaton*, i.e. camp, which name was transformed in the Arabian idiom into Fustat (a tent)

The immense amount of spoil and booty which fell so suddenly into the hands of the Bedouins amazed and bewildered them A man who had never seen gold before would exchange it for an equal amount of silver, for he knew not the value of either An Arab warrior who was reprimanded for having sold a nobleman's daughter, who had been his share of the booty of Ctesiphon, for a thousand *dirhams*, replied "I never knew before that there was a number above ten hundred" One may imagine the amazement with which the conquerors viewed Alexandria, a fabulous city containing 4,000 palaces, 4,000 baths, and priceless treasures of art and learning

Within the ten years after Mohammed's death Islam had conquered the three greatest countries of the Orient, humiliated the Byzantine Empire—the Emperor Heraclius died before the loss of Alexandria—and extinguished Persia For magnitude and speed of conquest the expansion of the Arabs rivals the achievements of Alexander the Great History knows no other parallel The Moslem's simple explanation is that it was the will of God The historian's explanation is that the bravery and fighting qualities of the Arabs, stimulated by hope of booty and certainty of heaven if one perished in battle, made the Arab warriors almost invincible, the more so as they learned platoon methods, discipline, the art of war and siege-craft from their enemies. Then again, the weakness of Byzantium and Persia must be taken into account, both of which were almost exhausted by long previous wars against each other The extortionate taxation and fiscal rapacity of each government had engendered internal opposition Each government, in the interest of imposing religious orthodoxy, had persecuted all recalcitrant sects as heretics, and driven out many of them, who found asylum as the Nestorian Syrians did, in central Asia, while Jews

Conquest of Egypt

Immense booty astonishes Arabs

Reasons for their rapid conquests

and Monophysites and anti-Zoroastrians fled to Arabia. These dissident populations were indifferent to the invasions of the Arabs, and numbers of them secretly abetted them. To them a change of rulers might be better and hardly would be worse.

Omar was murdered by a Persian dagger in 644 and was succeeded by the third khalif, Othman (644-55), the assassination of whom in 655 marked the first climax in Mohammedan politics. These three khalifs had governed their armies from Medina, which was the political capital, as Mecca was the religious capital of Islam, they had left the work of actual conquest to their generals. Two burning issues threw all Islam into civil war after Othman's death. There was a fierce conflict over the khalifate and over the question of what to do with the enormous wealth in the form of loot, booty, and taxes which flowed like a river of gold into Medina.

Islamic political issues

The struggle over the khalifate involved the issue of succession to Mohammed. One faction contended that the rulership over the young Arabian world-empire should be hereditary in the family of Mohammed through his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali. But the principle of hereditary rule was foreign to the political tradition of the Arabs, among whom seniority of years and wisdom and experience constituted qualifications to bear rule. Such was the ancient sheik system of the tribes. Why should it not be applicable now, with a united Arabian people? Moreover, there were those who argued that it was for God, not men, to raise up a successor to Mohammed. Omar, who had long been ill before his assassination, had felt some of these compunctions, and although Abu-Bekr had decreed that Omar should succeed, Omar himself nominated a board of electors composed of six of the leaders in Islam to appoint his successor. Their choice fell on Othman of the Umayyad clan, who belonged to the old aristocracy of Mecca.

Succession to Mohammed

The "Fatimites," whom one may call the "legitimist" party, were deeply offended and went into opposition.¹ The choice of Othman, however, was approved by the greater number of Mohammedans. But trouble soon began to brew. Othman gave most of the high offices of state to his own clansmen and they, too, and their relations got the lion's share of the treasure heaped up by the government. His chief favorite was Mu'awiya, the captor of Caesarea and Cyprus, a brilliant campaigner whom Othman made governor of Syria.

Succession of Othman

Sectionalism also became a disruptive force. Arabia, Egypt, and Persia (Iran) supported Ali, while the Syrian Arabs adhered to Othman. More narrowly the cleavage was between Syria and Persia. Ali's capital was at Kufa. When Othman was murdered, Mu'awiya succeeded him and fixed his capital at Damascus. Arabia lost its prestige and

Sectionalism

Medina sunk to the position of a provincial town. It is curious to see that Egypt played second fiddle to Persia. *The* issue between the two warring parties was who should rule western Asia? For history was to show that whoever ruled western Asia dominated Islam. The issue swung in the balance until the fall of the Osthman clan, the Umayyads, in 750.

But before coming to that event and indeed to understand it, one must know something of the nature of the administration of the Arabian Empire in its political and economic aspects. In the first flush of their victories which delivered the whole of one great empire and half of another to them, the Arabian conquerors became intoxicated with elation and the enormous wealth in their hands. Egypt and Syria were the most densely populated countries of the age, peopled by an intelligent, diligent, and skilled class of artisans, craftsmen, and merchants, and by a hard-working peasantry in the richest lands of the civilized world. Having millions of subject peoples under their hand who differed in language, customs, laws, institutions, and religion, the wisest thing for the Arabs to do was not to destroy the existing machinery of government. Political necessity compelled them to use the institutions which they found. The Greek language was employed for more than a century in all but the highest government offices and law courts. The first Arabian coinage was an imitation of the Byzantine gold coin and for the Persian territories the old silver money obtained. All Arabs were exempted from taxation, the whole burden of which fell upon the native populations.

But in course of time it became apparent that Omar's fiscal system was untenable both in principle and in practice. Millions of natives went over to Mohammedanism to escape taxation, which thus fell all the more heavily upon a decreasing number of tax-payers. The alternative of the government was either to get along on less money, or to increase the weight of taxes upon those who were not exempt, with the danger of driving them into insurrection. Moreover, other economic complications had arisen. As towns and even cities grew up around the military camps, they became new centers of commerce and industry which dislocated the economic life of the older settlements. In addition, the rural peasantry forsook the farms and drifted into these new places, just as the serfs in Europe fled from fields to towns when the latter arose. Accordingly, an agrarian crisis was precipitated, especially in Egypt and Syria. Farms were abandoned because of lack of labor, or sold for little because of decayed revenue.

The result of these complications was that gradually a new tax and fiscal system was evolved. The land tax was levied regardless of creed, upon all land owners, and Moslems paid taxes equally with non-Moslems, except the poll-tax which was peculiar to non-Moslems. Politically speaking, the very highest offices of

*Islamic
government in
conquered
territories*

*The fiscal
system*

*Universal land
tax*

state — except naturally that of khalif — were opened to natives, even though they were not Mohammedans. Many high civil and military officials in Islam were not Mohammedans. The prosperity of Egypt and Syria under these juster conditions was very great — greater than it had been under the less just and more onerous system of the Byzantine Empire before.

Meanwhile, externally, in spite of discord and even civil war, Mohammedanism continued to expand alike eastward and westward. By 724 the Mohammedans had duplicated the feat of Alexander the Great, had crossed Turkestan by the ancient stepping-stones of Meru, Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Balkh, and reached the Indus river and the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. Here their advance was stopped for many years. But as possessors of ancient Persia they were heirs to Persia's old maritime trade by sea with the Far East, and Arab dhows succeeded Chinese junks in the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the China Sea. Before the eighth century was half over, there were colonies of Arabian merchants and Mohammedan mosques on the Malabar coast of India and at Canton and Hangchow.

Arab traders were the first to penetrate the Sahara and established commercial connections with the Negro tribes of Central Africa. They were the first to explore the coast of East Africa, to discover Madagascar and Zanzibar. By the beginning of the tenth century, if not earlier, they were engaged in the slave trade, in gold mining and traffic with the Bantu tribes. "A much-travelled Moslem historian, Macoudi of Baghdad . . . wrote a book about it. In his famous *Meadows of Gold* he tells of Arabs and Persians passing along the ancient monsoon trade route from Madagascar and East Africa to the Malabar Coast and Ceylon; of the coming and going between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and Sofala; of the little Bushmen, the Wak-wak, in the parts around Sofala, and of the Zendjs, the Bantu, who were steadily pushing southward, bartering gold and ivory, panther skins and tortoise shell, to Arab traders for the markets of India and China."¹

The capture of Alexandria with its huge shipyards made Mohammedanism a formidable sea-power in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus (648) and Rhodes (653) were naval bases. Sporadic attacks were made on Constantinople and three successive sieges were made in 667, 672-73, and 717. The last was truly formidable and marks a turning-point in Byzantine history.

From Egypt as a base, the armies of the Crescent advanced westward along the coast of North Africa through the Byzantine provinces of Libya and Tripoli (Italy's present Mediterranean empire). They took Carthage in 693 and before long the territories known today as French Tunis and Algeria, with modern Morocco, suc-

*Islam's spread in
Asia and China*

*Islamic penetra-
tion in Africa*

*Islam's sea
power*

*Conquest of
North Africa*

cumbed to the new invader. The coast towns being difficult to hold and vulnerable to attack from the sea, the Mohammedans destroyed them and built cities inland. The greatest of these was Kairwan, which became the base for new trade routes, crossing the Sahara and penetrating the heart of the African continent, a feat which neither ancient Egyptians nor the Greeks nor Romans had been able to accomplish. Finally, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the Arab armies crossed the straits in 711 and conquered the West Gothic kingdom of Spain. Cordova became one of the most cultivated and brilliant capitals in Europe.

But those who wrought this expansion were not Arabians in origin. Only a handful of Arabs from the desert were to be found in these victorious armies, which were mostly composed of Moors and Berbers caught up into the swirl of Islam.

The history of Spanish Islam is but a segment of the greater history of Islam, and will be noticed in later pages. We must return to Syria and Persia. The sectionalism prevailing in Islam, as has been shown, was most acutely manifest in the enmity between the Syrian and the Persian Mohammedans. Territorially the struggle was whether Syria or Persia should be the central and ruling country of the Islamic empire. Politically it was a conflict between two opposing theories of government — whether the Arabian monarchy should be an hereditary one in the descendants of Mohammed, i.e. legitimist, or an elective monarchy in the spirit of the ancient sheik tradition.

These antagonisms also influenced the interpretation of the Koran. The followers of Ali, or Fatimites, were orthodox interpreters of the Prophet's teaching and rigid adherents of a "close construction" of political theory. The Persians and Egyptians were of this school. On the other hand, the Umayyad house which ruled Syria from Damascus, was politically liberal in that it advocated an elective monarchy and "loose construction" both of political theory and the injunctions in the Koran. For example, the Umayyads were not teetotallers as were the Fatimites, but believed in temperance. This broader interpretation was even extended to religion. There had naturally grown up an accumulated mass of traditional sayings (*soona*), attributed to Mohammed, but which were not in the Koran. Were these sayings and teachings to be regarded as a part of the Koran, or at least of Islamic beliefs and practices, or were they apocryphal and spurious? The Umayyads accepted them, the Abassids rejected them, for they were "strict constructionists."

The great house of the Abassids was descended from Mohammed's uncle Abbas who died in 652. In the middle of the eighth century Abbas's great-grandson Abul-Abbas-as-Saffah arose as the Arabian and Moslem leader in Persia. Arabian legitimism united with Iranian nationalism and pride was arrayed against the Umayyads and

Syrian ambition Abul-Abbas defeated the Umayyads. He slaughtered every representative of the Umayyad dynasty, ninety in all, except one young prince hardly more than a boy, whose name was Abd-er-Rahman. The boy escaped, and after hair-breadth adventures, reached Spain where he became the first ruler of the Khalifate of Cordova. This explains the hatred which never died between Western and Eastern Mohammedanism — why Harun-al-Raschid was friendly with Charlemagne while the Spanish Khalifate was hostile to him. Abul-Abbas built a new capital in the same region where so many ancient capitals had registered the rise and fall of empires.

This was Baghdad, which still survives as a living city, it has often perilously escaped the fate of ancient Babylon and Nineveh and Ecbatana and Persepolis and Ctesiphon.

Baghdad

Thus the great Baghdad Khalifate, the Holy Arabian Empire of the East, the international empire of the Abassids, Islam's mightiest challenge to Christendom, came into being exactly fifty years before Charlemagne established the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in the West.

In the time of Harun-al-Rashid (Aaron the Just, 789-809), the Khalifate reached its zenith. The empire stretched from Egypt to the Indus and Oxus rivers. Harun undertook a series of campaigns against the Byzantine Empire, and over-ran Asia Minor. He was a great builder and converted Baghdad into a glorious world capital. His road system emulated that of the ancient Persians. He constructed a great road all the way to Mecca with wells and caravan-series at fixed distances for the accommodation of pilgrims — and, incidentally, for military purposes, to keep Arabia in subjugation. An efficient courier system kept Harun in close communication with his empire. He established a pigeon post. Under these favorable conditions commerce and trade naturally increased. Harun also was a generous patron of arts and letters and of distinguished scholars. He is the hero of the *Arabian Nights*.

Arabian culture, by 800, had ceased to be predominantly Arabic except in religion. Intellectually and materially it was a blend of Arabian, Egyptian,

*Islamic culture
and Persian
influence*

Syrian, Greek, and especially of Persian elements. The Persians so profoundly affected their conquerors that the great realm of the Arabian khalifs at Baghdad was governed for them by others than the descendants of the conquerors. The *wazirs* were Persians or Syrian Christians. The Magian tradition and culture which had for so many centuries prevailed in western Asia was not destroyed by the conquest of the Arabs — it was not even crushed — and victoriously permeated almost every avenue of Islamic expression. The literature, the architecture, the art were prevailingly Persian. Only the Persian language succumbed. For the literature was written in Arabic. The ancient science of the

Greek learning Although political control passed from the Arabs, the Arabic language survived among all these non-Arabic peoples whom Islam had conquered

Three great states, three great civilizations, confronted one another from the eighth century onward In western Europe, there had been formed a new polity and a new civilization, a fusion of Roman, German and Christian elements In eastern Europe and Asia Minor lay a Graeco-Roman-Christian empire, in western Asia and Egypt had arisen a Perso-Oriental Mohammedan empire, reaching as far as India and China

Rivalry of three great civilizations

We must now return to the Byzantine Empire, situated midway between the East and the West The mission of the Byzantine Empire seems to have been five-fold to civilize and Christianize the Slavonic peoples of southeastern Europe, as Rome and the Church had civilized and Christianized the Germans in the West, to guard Christian Europe against the aggression of Islam, to preserve Greek classical literature in its schools and libraries, to preserve the Roman law, and finally to invent a new and beautiful art and architecture

Byzantine Empire

The lower Danube was the natural frontier between the Byzantine Empire and the Slavonic and Tartar or tartarized nations in eastern Europe.

After the collapse of the Hunnic power when Attila died in 454, the territory across the lower Danube and around the coast of the Black Sea lay more or less open to occupation by migratory tribes, principally Slavs These peoples also practiced a "peaceful penetration" into the Balkans and Greece, somewhat as the Germans had done in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, so that Slavonic settlements dotted the provinces This pacific invasion abruptly changed in 589, for then a newcomer, the Avars, attacked the Byzantine Empire conjointly with the Slavs The Emperor Maurice (582-602) by heroic endeavor stemmed the torrent, but, as we have seen, his drastic military measures antagonized the Greek Church and created enormous unpopularity against him until Phokas (602-10) murdered him and made himself emperor His terror within the empire and flabby policy towards both Persians and Avars finally brought his overthrow by Heraclius (610-41) Fortunately at this time when the danger from the Persians was most formidable, the Avars, after failing in a joint enterprise with the Persians to capture Constantinople (626), pressed on up the Danube and established a predatory "empire" in the middle Danube basin, it was destroyed by Charlemagne in 805

Avars and Slavs

In 630 Heraclius settled two Slavonic tribes in what is now Croatia and Bosnia to safeguard these regions against the Avars, and ten years later these military colonists were followed by the first Serbs to enter the Balkans

New invaders soon followed the Avars These were the Hungarians—Magyars in their own language, They too did not linger along the lower

Danube but penetrated into where Hungary lies today. The invasion of the Avars in the seventh century and that of the Magyars at the end of the ninth split the Western Slavs into a northern and a southern group, a cleavage which endures until today, and has accentuated the differentiation among them, which is further emphasized by the conversion of the Russians, Bulgars, Serbs, Slavonized Roumanians, and Greeks to the Greek Church, while the Poles, Czechs, Slovenes and Croats are Roman Catholics.

As the Avars had followed in the wake of the Huns and the Magyars in the wake of the Avars, so now Bulgars followed Magyars. The Bulgarians were of kindred stock with their predecessors. Their home *Bulgarians* was on the middle Volga River, a region which is still known as Old Bulgaria.¹ In the second half of the seventh century, they began to crowd down upon the region at the mouth of the Danube. In 679 the Emperor Constantine IV, after having been badly defeated by the Bulgars, ceded them the province of Moesia and the territory of Dobrudja, i.e. on the *south* side of the Danube River, and *within* the Byzantine Empire, exactly where the West Goths had been settled before in 375 when driven across the river by the Huns. The Bulgarians united the scattered Slavonic populations into a powerful Bulgarian kingdom in the Balkans, which in the course of time stretched from the Danube almost to the Adriatic.

This Bulgarian kingdom owed its creation to the conquests of Simeon, who became ruler in 893, and who during a reign of over forty years, extended his sway across the whole breadth of the Balkan peninsula. He nearly destroyed the Serbs and threatened Constantinople. After he died great Bulgaria shrank to small dimension. The second Bulgarian kingdom lay farther west, Ochrida, in Albania, was its capital. It was founded by the "czar" Simeon and destroyed in 1018 by Basil II the "Bulgar-Slayer." The Bulgars were converted to the Greek form of Christianity — which is not remarkable — and lost their Hunnic characteristics and traditions; they even lost their language — which is remarkable — so completely did they become Slavonized. For the Bulgarian tongue today is a Slavonic language.

In this vortex of southeastern nations must be included the Roumanians. Who are they? Are they the descendants of the Roman colonists settled by Trajan after his conquest of the Dacians in A.D. 105-106 *Roumanians* to till the fields and work the mines? The territory of the modern kingdom of Roumania is ancient Dacia. The imperial rule lasted

¹ Bulgaria and Volgaria are one and the same term. The name of the Bulgars is first heard of about 480 A.D. as that of a people whom the Emperor Zeno called in to repel Theodoric the Ostrogoth. They were not Slavs, but a Hunnish or Ugrian tribe who, it has been plausibly conjectured, had followed Attila. If this be true then the Bulgarians are the sole surviving remnant of that vast horde which has maintained a permanent place in Europe. The original seat of the Bulgars was in the region of the Araxes river where they were settled about 120 B.C. by the Persian emperor Arsaces I, but they were living on the lower Volga when Zeno called them.

until 271 when the Emperor Aurelian abandoned it to the Goths. What became of the descendants of Trajan's colonists? There are no words of Gothic origin in the Roumanian language, but there are many Slav place-names in Roumania. Avars and Bulgars extended their sway by the ninth century over the future principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Magyars later burst through the Carpathians and settled on the great Pannonian plain where their descendants still are.

The Roumanians themselves contend that they are direct descendants of Trajan's colonists and that modern Transylvania is the ancestral home of their race. The leading Roumanian historian, Jorga, asserts that the continuity of the original Roman stock was not broken during all these barbarian invasions and that only the legions and the officials left Dacia at the time of Aurelian's evacuation of the province. The great bulk of the population remained behind and preserved its racial identity in spite of the pressure of Huns and Avars and Bulgars and Slavs and Patzinaks upon it. One's credulity seems heavily taxed to believe so much. All that can safely be said is that the Roumanians are a partly Romanized stock with an infiltration of Slav and Tartar strains.

Let us now consider the fortune of Constantinople. A turning-point came in 717, when the narrow escape of the city from capture by a great Mohammedan fleet brought to the throne by revolution the greatest emperor since Justinian. This was Leo the Isaurian (717-41),¹ sprung from those wild mountaineers of the Taurus. Leo's drastic reform administration, which his enemies dubbed "iconoclasm," ruptured the peaceful relations of the papacy with the Byzantine Empire. It threw the pope into the arms of the Frankish mayor Pepin, whom Zacharias crowned king of the Franks as reward for protection of Rome against the Lombards, and culminated in founding the temporal dominion of the papacy.

Both in a civil and a military capacity Leo was a remarkable ruler. He reorganized the army, united adjacent provinces into a more compact administrative unit called a *theme*, and combined civil and military jurisdictions. He also revised the tax system, reformed the fiscal administration, checked the growth of the power of the great landed aristocrats (*dunatoi* — the strong) who were especially strong in Asia Minor, tried to relieve the peasantry of their worst burdens, and stimulated agriculture, commerce and industry. All these reforms were codified in the *Ecloga*, a code of laws published in 740.

Leo also fought with success on every border of the empire. In 720 he

¹ It is important to observe that Leo was an exact contemporary with Karl Martel, the Frankish mayor, with Saint Boniface and with the greatest of the Lombard kings. For Byzantine, Papal, Lombard, and Frankish history at this time all ran together.

repulsed the Bulgarians, in 726 he repelled a fourth naval attack on Constantinople, which was timed with a great Mohammedan invasion of Asia Minor as far as Nicæa. By 740 the Arabs had been driven out of Asia Minor and their army routed at Akroinon in Phrygia. Six years later Leo recovered Germanicia and Comagene (part of Syria). In 748 an Arabic attack on Cyprus was foiled. To Europe these events were of far more importance than Karl Martel's precarious triumph at Tours in 732. For Eastern Mohammedanism was ten times as formidable as Western Mohammedanism.

Leo's victorious wars

The Isaurian dynasty terminated in 802. In that year Empress Irene, once a Circassian slave, after having been regent for seventeen years for her son Constantine VI, blinded and dethroned him and seized the imperial crown for herself. In the end she herself was deposed, but not executed. The new emperor was a former logothete of the imperial treasury, Nicephorus I (802-811). His reign was one of adversity. The Mohammedans resumed the offensive, the Bulgarians grew formidable once more, and the emperor died of a wound received in battle against them. His successor was Michael I (811-13), an Armenian. "The time had come when men of Armenian, Slavonic or even Semitic origin might aspire to the highest positions in Church and State, to the patriarchate and to the empire."¹

Empress Irene

This new Armenian dynasty endured until 1057. It was a period, first of adversity, then of triumph. In 813 the terrible Khan Krum of the Bulgarians was worsted under the walls of Constantinople, which he had boasted he would capture. Between 821-23 there was civil war. Crete was lost to Egypt in 823. In 827 Sicily, the outpost of the empire in the West, was taken by the Mohammedans of Tunis. The Arabs invaded Asia Minor in 838 and took Ancyra (Angora, the capital of modern Turkey). The Aegean swarmed with Arab corsairs.

Events under Armenian dynasty

In this crisis there ascended the throne "the first great Armenian," Basil I (867-86). His career is a romance. He was of lowly birth, born in a colony of Armenians who had been settled in Thrace. When a child he was captured in one of Khan Krum's raids, and brought up in "Macedonia," as the Bulgarian territory was then called.² When a young man, he escaped to Constantinople, where his magnificent physique, handsome bearing and great strength got him employment in the stables of a rich noble. His ability to handle horses attracted the attention of the emperor who had a great stallion whom no groom could tame. Basil broke the brute. He became an imperial equerry, then lord high chamberlain and finally was adopted by the childless emperor Michael III, whom he succeeded

Basil I

in 867 He reigned for nineteen years and proved another Leo and Isaurian in ability and energy He made two victorious campaigns against the Arabs in Asia Minor and drove the Saracens out of southern Italy, but could not recover Sicily¹ He issued a new code of laws (the *Basilica*), the effect of which was to elevate the great feudality of Asia Minor (*dunatoi*) with whom Basil I definitely cast in his lot The *Basilica* is a major source for the history of Byzantine feudalism

The Slavs in the Balkans were open to Christian influence, but the progress of Christianity was slow among them, until the time of the Bulgar prince Boris (852-93) who realizing that it was a fatal policy to preserve an island of paganism, adopted the Christian faith The problem for him, however, was to decide which form of religion, Greek or Catholic? He inclined towards Constantinople, but the imperial government spurned the idea of a Bulgarian Church, since Boris wanted both political and ecclesiastical independence Then he approached Rome at the very time when Cyril and Methodius, the latter an apostle to the Moravians, were at the height of their popularity in Rome Popes Nicholas I and Hadrian II were favorable, but with reservations Methodius had been made Archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, and since the papacy wished to extend his authority over Bulgaria, it was unwilling to give it a separate bishop Boris turned again to Constantinople, which had now become more malleable in face of the competition from Rome, and in 869 the Bulgarian Church was established under a Bulgarian archbishop Under Boris's sons Simon (893-927) and Peter, the political and ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria lasted until 1018 In that year Emperor Basil II's subjugation of Bulgaria established Byzantine political and church supremacy until 1186, when revolt again set up a New Bulgarian Empire

In the reign of Basil I the government of the Byzantine Empire had become "a naked despotism," the power of the emperor being tempered only by revolution or assassination, both of which phenomena were common throughout Byzantine history. The *Book of the Prefect*, issued by Leo VI, is an interesting example of minute state control of commerce and industry

Emperor Leo VI (886-912) was a scholar — or a pedant — and so was his son and successor Constantine VII (912-59) The latter's son Romanus II (959-63) was a frivolous simpleton Accordingly, for seventy-seven years the government was in the hands of ambitious courtiers Under the circumstances one might expect adversity and reverses The Bulgars threatened Constantinople and nothing except their fear of the Magyars kept them in restraint In 904 Salonika was sacked by the Tripolitan Mohammedans, Sicily was lost in 907; a serious defeat of the imperial arms by the Bulgar tsar Simeon befell in 917 and the Bulgar

¹ Sicily was wholly lost in 907

offensive might have been more serious later if Simeon had not died in 927. Only against Islam did the empire hold its own in the Caucasus and Armenia.

The tide turned under Nicephorus II Phokas (963-69), who recovered Cilicia in Asia Minor and carried his arms victoriously over Syria and made Antioch again a Christian city. Nicephorus II failed to recover Sicily but saved Southern Italy from seizure by Otto the Great of Germany. In 969 the captain of the guard, Zimisce, who was a lover of the empress, slew Nicephorus and seized the throne. An able soldier, John Zimisce, in his short reign of seven years beat the Bulgarians, defeated a joint expedition of the Russians and their half-Tartar allies, the Petchenegs, who threatened Constantinople, and extended Greek sway in Syria and in Asia Minor as far as Nisibis. He was poisoned by a palace eunuch whose graft he tried to stop.

The "Macedonian" house now came back to rule in the person of Basil II (976-1025), a grandson of the former Basil, who proved stronger than any other ruler of his time. Neither the East nor the West had his equal. "The final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria (between 1014 and 1018) appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the imperial arms" (Gibbon). He united the Balkan peninsula, which was not disrupted until the invasion and occupation in the fourteenth century by the Serbs. In the West, since Byzantine sea-power was heavily taxed to hold its own in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean against the fleets of Egypt and Syria, Basil II formed an alliance with Venice which emerged at this time as a powerful naval and commercial state. The only serious check which Basil II met was in southern Italy after 1016, when the Normans began to stream into the land and to build up a formidable principality. But this is part of the history of the West, not of the East.

Allusion has been made to the repulse of a Russian army which menaced Constantinople in the reign of John Zimisce. The rise and formation of the Russian state in this period is one of the most important events in European history.

The physiography and ethnography of Russia must be made clear before one can understand the development of Russian history—even the very origins of it. All eastern Europe is a vast plain bounded on the southwest by the Carpathians, on the south by the Caucasus and the Black Sea, on the east by the Ural Mountains, and on the north by the Arctic Ocean. The last portion has had no history until modern times. It is the great forest area. But the Baltic and the Black Seas—to a less degree the Caspian which is really a great inland lake—conditioned Russian history from its very beginnings. If the Russian plain is the body, the river system is the arterial system of Russia. An examination of the map will show that many of the rivers of Russia radiate from the Altai Hills and flow, according to the "lay"

Nicephorus II

Basil II

*Formation of
Russia*

of the land into the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Caspian or the Arctic, but that the divide of land between them is low and not wide. The network of these rivers has ever been a potent factor in Russian history. The rich black soil of the Russian plain is another important factor, for it made the heart of Russia a habitable country in which agriculture and cattle raising were staple products.

The Russians represent the greatest block of the Slavs, who have expanded from their oldest seat of occupation, but have never migrated, as so many of the ancient German tribes had done in the early Middle Ages.

The original home of the Slavs was in the marshlands of the Pripyet and the swampy basin of the middle Dnieper. This was "Polesie," a triangular area as large as Ireland. The occupation by the Slavs of the district surrounding Polesie is prehistoric. They moved north-ward after the Germans abandoned their original home on the Baltic in the valley of the lower Vistula, and so the Poles and Polabian peoples were formed. They penetrated the mountainous region of central-eastern Europe where their descendants became the Czechs, they pushed southwards to the Danube and became Serbs. To the eastward they spread over the great central plain to Russia and gave birth to the Great Russians, the core of the Russian nation. They could not occupy what is now southern Russia, where roamed hordes of Petchenegs and Patzinaks.

What the history of Russia was before the middle of the ninth century is a matter of tradition and conjecture. Civilization appears to have established its earliest nucleus at Novgorod¹ in the north on the Volkhov River, where a colony of traders dealt with Constantinople in slaves and furs. But these traders seem to have quarreled among themselves and to have been exposed to attacks from the outside. The oldest Russian document relates that in 862 this community sent word to a Swedish chieftain named Rurik: "Our land is great and fruitful, but there is no order in it. Come and rule over us." This signifies that the beginning of Russian history is attached to the expansion of the Norse peoples in the ninth century, that as the Danes and the Norse went westward and conquered and colonized Normandy in France, the Danelaw in England, and discovered Iceland and Greenland, so the Swedes went eastward across the Baltic and conquered and colonized Russia. Indeed, the very word "Russia" may have been derived from Rurik.²

Rurik, with two of his brothers and a band of hardy henchmen, crossed the sea in their keel boats via the Gulf of Finland, the Neva River and Lake Ladoga (the largest lake in Europe) and reached Novgorod. Twenty years

¹ The suffix *gorod* or *grad* means town or city, e.g. Petrograd. To the Russians Constantinople was Tsar (caesar) grad, the imperial or the caesar's city.

² Another theory is that it comes from Ross or Russ — "rowmen," i.e. rowers of boats, i.e. vikings.

later the Swedish domination in Russia had expanded to Kiev (882), in and around which the Russian state found its nucleus. The native population was reduced to serfdom under Swedish domination. Since there were few women among the invaders, they took wives from among the Slavs and thus a Nordic-Slavonic upper class of warrior noble and rich merchant families gradually was formed. A string of forts—blockhouses surrounded by palisades—at convenient stages, and especially at fords and portages, spring up along the Volchow and Dnieper Rivers to control the inland route between the Baltic and the Black Seas. This is known in history as the Varangian Route¹ along which passed from the north slaves, furs, tar from the forests of pine, and ship stores such as hemp and rope, all of which were exchanged for wares of the south and the Orient. This great trade route lasted until the invasion of Russia by the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. Kiev became a place of international commerce, and already in the eleventh century had eight markets where Russian, Greek, German, Armenian, and even Arab merchants from Baghdad changed wares. The grand duke of Kiev once sent a camel to the Emperor Henry II of Germany. In addition to the influence of trade as an agency of Russian expansion, the balmy climate of South Russia, especially in the Crimea, made possible the cultivation of fruits, wine, and sheep-raising.

In spite of this intercourse, the Russians were not always friendly towards the Greeks, and sometimes co-operated with Patzinaks and Bulgars in attacking Constantinople. There were Russian expeditions in 865, 907, 941 and 1043. Byzantine civilization and Greek

*Christianization
of Russia*

Christianity were the two predominant influences in shaping Russia. In 945 Christianity was established at Kiev and in 988 it was ordained as the state religion. In many cases the old pagan deities were taken over and transfigured into saints. Thus Peroun, the god of lightning, was transformed into Elijah the saint of thunder, while Veles the pagan god of flocks became Saint Basil. The name for God in all Slavonic languages is Bogh, originally the proper name of a Vedic divinity. *Bogati* (rich) and *Oubogi* (poor) seem connected with it, and the word seems also to be associated with the English "bogey"—Shakespeare's "bug," a spirit.

This chapter has now traced the history of Islam and of the Byzantine Empire—with that of Russia as a sort of appendix to Byzantine history—down to the eleventh century. In the middle of this century profound changes took place in the Mohammedan and Greek worlds which were a prelude to the Crusades—and that is another history, for the inception of which we must return to western Europe.

¹ From the word *varyag*, meaning trader.

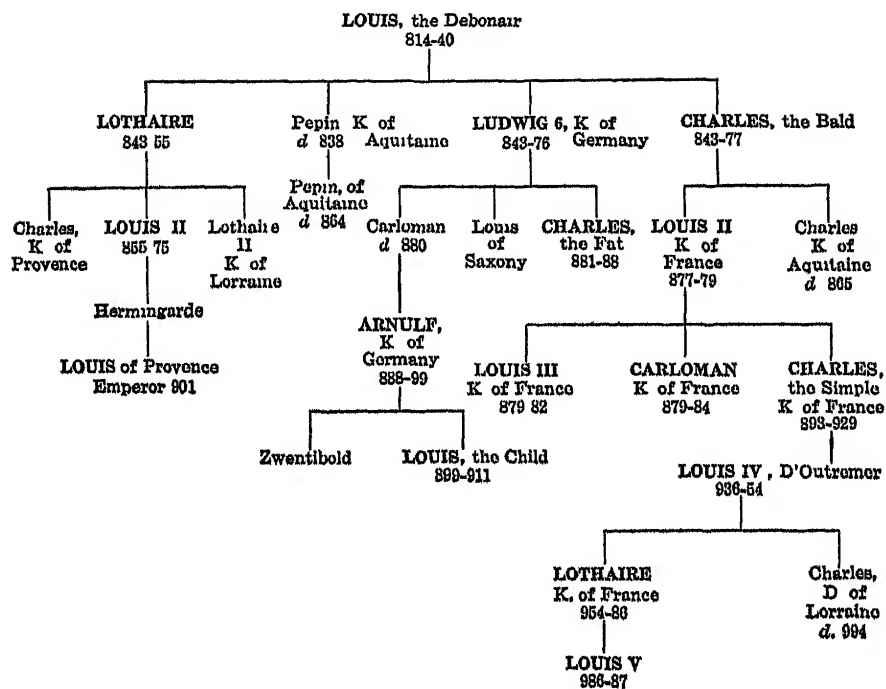
EASTERN ROMAN EMPERORS (641-1057)

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-----|------|---|------|
| 641 | Constantine III | 641 | 829 | Theophilus | 842 |
| 641 | Heraclonas | 642 | 842 | Michael III | 867 |
| 642 | Constans II | 668 | 867 | Basil I | 886 |
| 668 | Constantine IV | 685 | 886 | Leo VI | 912 |
| 685 | Justinian II | 695 | 912 | Constantine VII | 959 |
| 695 | Leontius | 698 | 919 | Romanus I (co ruler with Constantine VII) | 945 |
| 698 | Tiberius III | 705 | | Romanus II | 963 |
| 705 | Justinian II (restored) | 711 | 959 | Nicephorus II | 969 |
| 711 | Philippicus | 713 | 963 | John I, Zimisces | 976 |
| 713 | Anastasius II | 715 | 969 | Basil II | 1025 |
| 715 | Theodosius III | 717 | 976 | Constantine VIII | 1028 |
| 717 | Leo III, the Isaurian | 740 | 1025 | Romanus III | 1034 |
| 740 | Constantine V | 775 | 1028 | Michael IV | 1041 |
| 775 | Leo IV | 780 | 1034 | Michael V | 1042 |
| 780 | Constantine VI | 797 | 1041 | Constantine IX | 1055 |
| 797 | Irene | 802 | 1042 | Theodora | 1056 |
| 802 | Nicephorus I | 811 | 1055 | Michael VI | 1057 |
| 811 | Stauracius | 811 | 1056 | Isaac I, Comnenus | 1059 |
| 811 | Michael I | 813 | 1057 | | |
| 813 | Leo V | 820 | | | |
| 820 | Michael II | 829 | | | |

GOTHIC KINGS OF SPAIN

| | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|--------------|
| 466 | Euric | 610 | Gondemar |
| 483 | Alaric II * | 612 | Sisebut |
| 507 | Gensalic | 620 (? 1) | Recared II |
| 507 | Amalaric (aided by Theodoric the Great) | 621 | Suintila |
| 531 | Theudes | 631 | Sisenand |
| 548 | Theudisel | 636 | Chintila |
| 550 | Agila | 640 | Tulga |
| 554 | Athanagilde | 642 | Chindaswinth |
| 567 | Liuva I | 653 | Receswinth |
| 572 | Leovgilde | 672 | Wamba |
| 586 | Recared I | 680 | Ervigius |
| 601 | Liuva II | 687 | Egica |
| 603 | Vitenc | 701 | Witiza |
| | | 709 | Roderic |

LATER CAROLINGIANS



CHAPTER XVI

DISSOLUTION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE THE INVASIONS OF THE NORSEMEN AND THE HUNGARIANS

The death of Charlemagne in 814 opened a new and trying era in the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. The empire which he had founded was broken into flinders, government was dissolved, institutions destroyed or maimed, the structure of society and economic conditions profoundly changed. Hard upon this *debacle*, indeed in part simultaneous with it, western Europe was beset by a new wave of barbarism — the invasions of the Norsemen and the Magyars. Yet out of this storm and stress a new Europe emerged. The lineaments of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England, as they now are, began dimly to take shape in the ninth century as a smith shapes the hot iron beneath his blows.

*Dissolution of
Carolingian
Empire*

Charlemagne was succeeded by his only surviving son Louis — called the "Pious," who abounded in pious resignation and sulky moroseness. Shortly before his death Charlemagne himself crowned Louis king and emperor, to the resentment of the pope who claimed that the coronation of the emperor was an ecclesiastical rite which

*Louis the Pious's
blunders*

only the pontiff could perform. Louis, who for some years past had absented himself from the court because of his father's profligacy — Charlemagne had many mistresses and several illegitimate children — immediately "purged" the court by expelling every one who had been his father's friend, and along with them made a clean sweep of his father's officials, many of whom were princes of the Carolingian family and the emperor's own relatives. The effect was to create a powerful opposition against Louis at the very start of his reign. Louis also undertook to reform the Frankish Church. An austere moralist, he imported from Christian Spain a harsh and zealous monk named Benedict of Aniane to put teeth in the Benedictine Rule, which he regarded as too lax. Next it was the turn of the secular clergy to be "reformed" against their will. The result of all this misguided zeal was that Louis the Pious split the clergy into two parties, some of the bishops sustained his policy, others resented it and joined the exiled court faction.

But the emperor's supreme blunder was his division of the Frankish Empire in 817 among his three sons, Lothar, Ludwig and Pepin. This invited new trouble at once. Lothar, the eldest son, was designated co-emperor with his father. The territory of the empire was partitioned into three parts. Middle Europe, which contained the two imperial capitals, Aachen and Rome, was to

be ruled by father and son together, "Germany" was given to Ludwig, the second son, and "Fiance" (although it was not to be called such until two hundred years later but was known as the kingdom of the West Franks) was allotted to the youngest son, Pepin. Trouble brewed at once. Lothar was jealous of his father, the younger sons were jealous of the oldest brother. The nobles and the bishops took sides one way or the other, and augmented the general discontent. When the widower emperor married again and sired a son, who is known in history as Charles the Bald, the confusion was increased. The empress Judith¹ at once demanded a repartition of the empire so that Charles should have his share. Between 829 and 839 six partitions were made by the weak emperor in a vain effort to conciliate each of his sons and the factions which supported them. Insurrection flared several times but actual civil war was averted until the death of Louis the Pious in 840.

The political, legal and property tangle by then had become so complex that nothing but the sword could cut the Gordian knot. Yet in spite of the confusion there was a certain alignment. Pepin had died and *Political confusion* Charles the Bald was king of "Fiance" in his stead, between whom and Ludwig of "Germany" there was a natural political attachment since both were hostile to the claim of imperial superiority over them made by Lothar. Territorially speaking, the West and the East were united against the middle territories of Italy and central Europe. Most of the bishops, however, favored Lothar for the reason that church unity had been seriously injured by the repeated partitions. To the Church the unity of the empire seemed essential to the preservation of ecclesiastical unity. But this alignment of partisans must not be taken too narrowly. For even the great families and the bishops were divided, some favoring one contestant, others another.

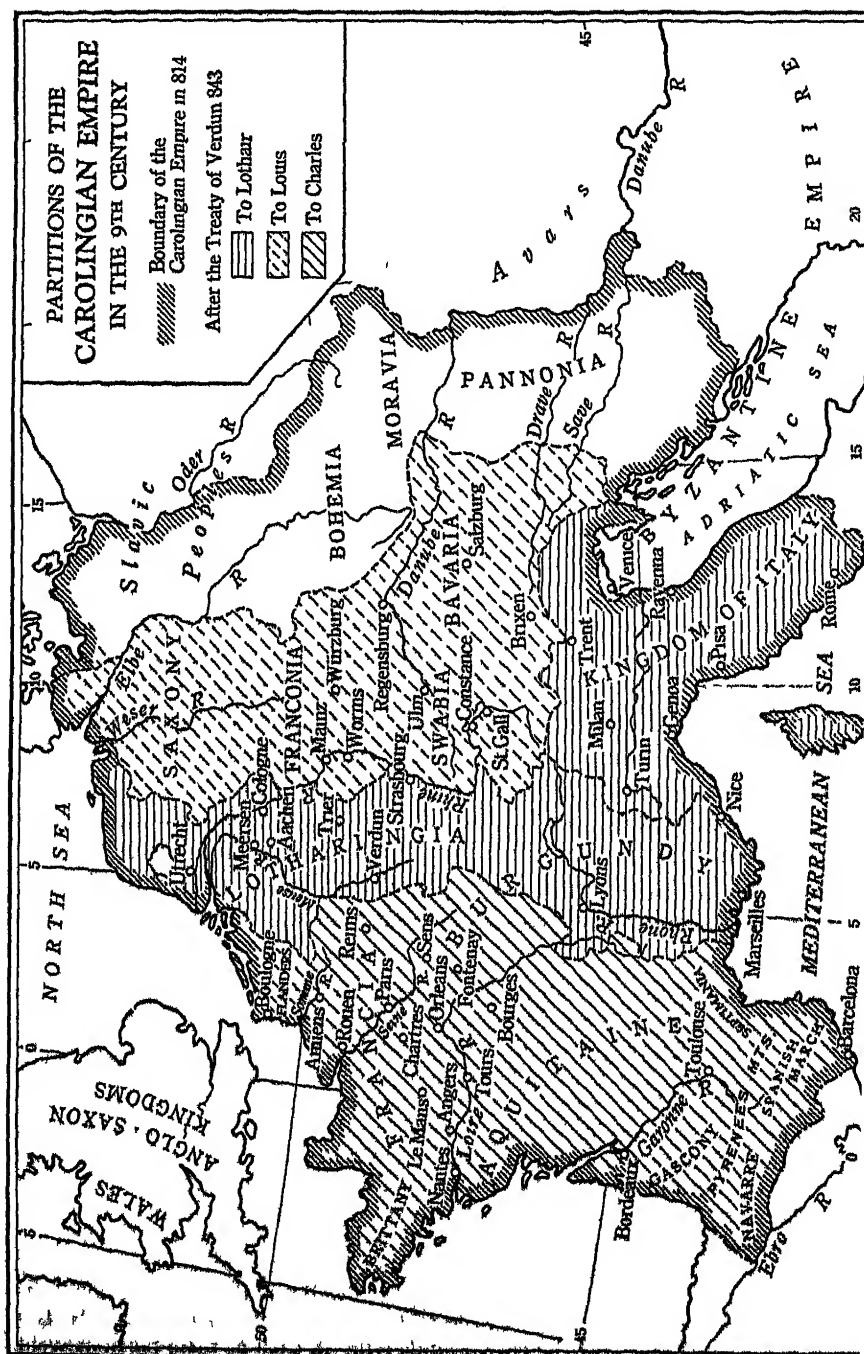
In June, 841 a tremendous battle was fought at Fontenay in eastern France. It was wholly a cavalry engagement. For by this time feudalism had so far developed that only mounted forces were utilized in war and *Oaths of* infantry service had disappeared. The emperor was beaten *Strasbourg* and fled to Aachen in the lower Rhineland, where his following was strongest. Meanwhile, fearing their brother's come-back, Ludwig and Charles met at Strasbourg in the winter of 842 in order to cement their alliance and the support of their partisans more firmly. Here the two brothers and their armies mutually swore to sustain each other. It was a feudal compact. The text of the Strasbourg Oaths has been preserved and is a most interesting document. For it is written in two languages—German and Old French. The latter form is the oldest monument of the French language, indeed the oldest example of any Romance tongue, and there is but one older example of the German language.

prevent further effusion of blood, succeeded in having a peace commission appointed, each principal in the conflict to have forty representatives, part of them clergy, part of them nobles. The *Peace negotiations* essential consideration in the projected settlement was to see that each king got as nearly as possible an equal number of crown lands, bishoprics, abbeys, and counties, which were dealt out like cards in a pack. Little attention was given to natural boundaries or difference of language, the element of nationality did not enter into the question, for as yet there were no nations in Europe in the sense of large homogeneous groups of people subject to a single supreme central authority, occupying a clearly defined geographical area and further united by an ancient community of race, customs, traditions and general spirit, and having a common language among them.

The Treaty of Verdun in 843 was a triumph of feudalism. It is only by anticipation that one may say that Germany, France, and Italy then emerged. The "Middle Border" which Lothar received as his "kingdom," together with the imperial crown, was inhabited by Tuscans and *Partition treaty of Verdun* Lombards in Italy, by Provençals in the Rhone valley, and between the Alps and the North Sea by Allemanni, Romanized Franks who were half-French and East Franks who were Germans, Flemings, and Low Dutch peoples. Ludwig the German's kingdom was more homogeneous, yet Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians and Saxons were more tribally conscious than otherwise. As for Charles the Bald's kingdom, "France" was merely a duchy in the basin of the Seine pivoted on Paris. In the southwest were the Gascons who were Basques, in Brittany the Bretons were Celts who had never been either Romanized or Germanized. The Treaty of Verdun established nothing stable. In 855 the Middle Kingdom was divided among Lothar's three sons, so that there were then six kingdoms. In 870 when their nephew, Lothar II, died, Ludwig and Charles partitioned the Middle Kingdom of Lorraine¹ between them, so that the net number of kingdoms was five.

¹ Lorraine originally was called the *Lotharii regnum* or Kingdom of Lothar, second son of Lothar I. From this term *Lotharingia* was derived, which later in Germany became *Lothringen*, and in French *Lorraine*. Thus from the beginning there have been two Lorraines, a German and a French, a distinction which has persisted even though the two parts have almost always been united.

The Treaty of Meerssen in 870, which partitioned Lorraine between Ludwig the German and Charles the Bald, admirably illustrates the manner in which the settlement of Verdun in 843 was made. Ludwig got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three monasteries, thirty-one counties, four half-counties and two "districts" or fragments of counties. Charles got three archbishoprics, six bishoprics, thirty-one monasteries, thirty counties, and four half-counties, *together with all the crown lands in his portion*. It has been well said that the partition "was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say." All the crown lands lying in each of these portions went to the king concerned.



One of these, Provence, in 879 was seized by a powerful local noble named Bosó and grandiloquently denominated the Kingdom of Burgundy, and in 887 another powerful noble named Rudolph forcibly carved out a similar "kingdom" in the territory embraced by the *New kingdoms* upper Rhone, the Jura Mountains and the Saône River, which for lack of a better name was called the Kingdom of Upper or Transjurane Burgundy. These two "kings," it is to be observed, were not princes of the Carolingian house but usurpers whom the Emperor Charles the Fat of Germany was compelled to recognize. So low had the lineage of Charlemagne sunk in power and dignity. In 887 the depth of humiliation of the Carolingian dynasty was reached when Charles the Fat, who was King of Germany and emperor, was deposed by the bishops and dukes, and Arnulf, a bastard Carolingian prince, made king in subservience to the episcopate and feudality.

It is not enough to say, however, that the formation of five kingdoms within the Frankish Empire was the limit of this process of political dissolution. In Germany the great dukes were practically independent. In Italy and France dukes, margraves, counts, even bishops and abbots, by "boring in" usurped the authority of the crown and made themselves independent lords. The kings were "lean and solemn phantoms."

When we seek to rationalize this process of political disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, the explanation of it must be feudalism — private usurpation of authority. The Frankish sovereigns, Charlemagne most of all, had identified the great landed aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, with their administrations. As long as Charlemagne lived, these officials were held in leash. But under his weaker successors bishops, *missi dominici*, and counts converted their appointments into permanent possessions, and the authority attached to public office into a quasi-private prerogative. Within the circuit of their dominions they administered justice, laid taxes, appropriated the revenues from the crown lands in a private capacity and without regard to the rights and authority of the crown. In course of time these offices became hereditary, along with the lands attached to them as endowments for maintenance. Thus were gradually formed those great territories which in the feudal age were known as fiefs, at once great proprietary lordships and historic provinces, like the duchies of Burgundy, Gascony, and Guienne, the counties of Flanders, Champagne, Toulouse, Anjou, Poitou, etc. "France" originally was the Duchy of Francia in the lower Seine valley of which the county of Paris was the center. It was only when — as we shall see later — the count of Paris and duke of France became king in 987 that the name France extended to the whole kingdom of the West Franks.

The fundamental cause of the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire was of an internal nature. But this dissolution was accelerated in the West by the

invasions of the Norsemen, and in Germany and North Italy by the invasions of the Magyars (Hungarians) Along the Mediterranean coast of France and Italy too, the piracy of the Mohammedans operated in a similarly devastating way

*Carise of
Carolingian
dissolution*

The Norse and Magyar invasions were the second great wave of barbarism which swept over Europe But there was a great deal of difference between the German conquests of the fifth and sixth centuries and the wave of barbarism of the ninth century The Germans had been for four hundred years in contact with Roman civilization before they entered the empire, and they were all Christian except the Angles who invaded Britain On the other hand, the Norsemen — Danes and Norwegians — were both barbarian and heathen Moreover, the invasions of the Norsemen were compressed within a single century (ninth) and fell with extreme violence, whereas the Germanic invasion had been spread over two centuries and more, and much of it was slow infiltration and peaceful settlement The early Germans were colonists; the Norsemen and Magyars were military invaders.

*Norse and
Magyar invasions*

The Norse — though not the Magyars — were barbarians but they were not savages. They were the last people in Europe who had emerged out of the bronze age They were in the condition that the primitive Germans had been in the time of Caesar, who was the first historian to describe the Germans Norse institutions and their religion were those of the ancient Germans They excelled in metal work and shipbuilding, for they were a seafaring people. Agriculture and cattle-raising were wellnigh impossible in the Danish peninsula and in Norway. The former country was a land of swamps and moors, of thick forests of beech and oak. The latter was a land of mountains, glaciers, boulder-strewn valleys and deep fjords indenting the coast Both peoples were fisher folk, hardy, bold, adventurous. The sea to them was the element of life, and as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries the Norsemen had established trade relations with the Frisians in furs and walrus and whale ivory and dried fish which they exchanged for armor, weapons and woolen cloth.¹ They themselves were not in direct contact with the Franks or the English until after Karl Martel's conquest of the Frisians, who formerly had been the "middlemen" in all the trade of which the North Sea was the medium of expansion.

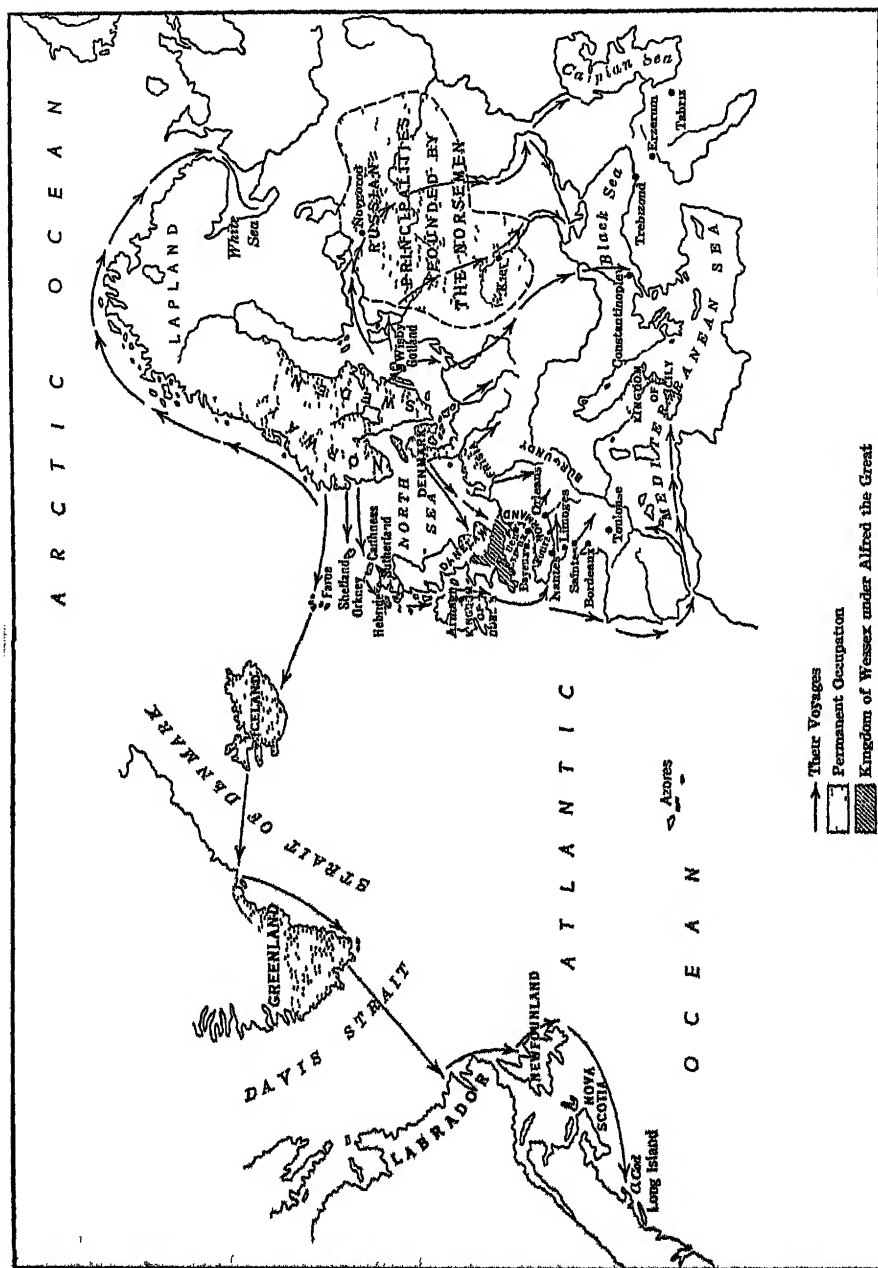
*Ancient Norse
culture*

coast towns of England and France, their painted sails seeming like the wings of some great bird of prey, the dragon pennant at the masthead floating snakily in the wind

The east coast of England was the first country to feel their inroads, and before long the Channel coast was attacked (794, 798, 832, 837, 839, 840, 845) In 851 the Danes wintered for the first time on English soil In 879 Alfred the Great was compelled to cede all of north-^{*Danish attacks on England*} east England to the Danes in order to save the rest of the country from further invasion This territory was known as the Danelaw The Danish occupation of England was a real conquest and imposed indelible marks upon the map of the land discernible to this day This effect is clearly seen in the local nomenclature The historic lines of demarkation between the old kingdoms along the eastern shore were obliterated and the territory sheared into new administrative divisions by the Danes Elsewhere the old kingdoms preserved their ancient lines of demarkation long after their incorporation into Wessex In other words, in Saxon England the former kingdoms became counties of a larger Wessex In Danish England the old kingdoms vanished and the whole territory divided into shires (i.e., sheared) the boundaries of which frequently disregarded the ancient lines This explains why central and western parts of England are still called counties, while the counties in the east of England are called shires and the chief town in each is known as the shire-town, not as the county-seat Again, the names of towns and villages in the ceded territory reveal how the conquered land was divided The Danish place-suffix *by* indicates such settlements, as in *Berby*, *Naseby*

Meanwhile the Danes had also begun to harry the coast of Frankish Gaul so that Charlemagne in the last years of his reign established a channel fleet to resist their incursions Here the record of real invasion is a little later in time, but similar in results For the Norse inva-^{*Norse invasions in France and Spain*}sions in France were not serious until after 840, i.e., they coincide with the civil wars and feudal disintegration of the Carolingian monarchy In that year the Norse burned Rouen near the mouth of the Seine The river system of France made it peculiarly vulnerable to a seafaring invader. The mouths of the Rhine and Meuse led the Norsemen into Flanders and lower Germany as far as Cologne, the Somme led them to Amiens, the Seine past Rouen to Paris, which was assaulted three times (845, 857, 861) before the last great siege in 886-87 After they rounded the point of Brittany, the Loire led the invaders upstream to Tours and Orléans. The estuary of the Garonne was the gateway to Bordeaux and to almost all towns of the southwest as far as Toulouse The fleets of the vikings also harried both Christian and Mohammedan Spain They devastated the Rhone valley and pillaged the Italian coast towns

By nature adept warriors, the Norse became more formidable when they



EXPANSION OF THE NORSEMEN

adopted the armor and mounted themselves on the captured horses of their enemies. The Norse were artful tacticians. One of their tricks was to dig trenches which they covered over with boughs and turfs into which the charging foe would plunge. Another was to advance concealed under branches of trees which they had cut and carried over their heads. Shakespeare has described this ruse in *Macbeth* "when Birnam Wood came to Dunsinane." They captured Angers and Bordeaux by crawling through an aqueduct which supplied the city with water. They operated from fortified camps established at the river-mouths, often on an island, as the island of Walcheren off the coast of Flanders and that of Noirmoutier at the mouth of the Loire. There was no unity of command among them. They were roving bands under a brave chieftain, the names of some of these became famous. "They came over, horses and all, at one passage, with 250 ships" reads an English chronicle, and again "The Danes went southwards over the sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God the 'army' (this was the customary English designation of the Danes) had not utterly broken down the English nation." Events in one country affected the other country. For example, after Alfred the Great made peace with Guthrum the Dane in 879, the fury of the Norsemen in France redoubled.

Charles the Bald made an effort to defend the basin of the Seine by building bridges with parapets and towers at each end across the river at Paris and Rouen and between these two places. But since these structures were made of timber the Norsemen burned them, or if they could not do so, made a detour around them. More effective was a series of blockhouses (*castella*) erected at strategic points from Rheims on the east to Chartres on the west. But this means also failed because the king was so weak that he could not compel his vassals to perform military service and to garrison them. Every noble was interested only in protecting his own lands. The only recourse the king had was to give these blockhouses with the adjacent lands to the nobles, who then were willing to defend them. But this was royal surrender to the baronage, in a word, it was the growth of feudal interest, of private power and wealth to the detriment of the government. At last the wretched king made a virtue of necessity and levied tribute when and upon whom he could in order to bribe the Norsemen off. This was known as the *Danegeld*. It chiefly fell upon the bishops and abbots of the monasteries, but was exacted of merchants and freemen, and of such of the nobles as could be compelled to pay. The burden was an occasional one, but frequent enough almost to become a permanent assessment.¹

In the widespread peril and desolation Frankish society reverted to first principles. Protection and security of person and property became the crying need of the time. The government was unable to give it. Only the great landowners, the feudal nobles, could do so. All over

Military might of Norsemen

Charles the Bald's weak defense

Castle-building

¹ *Danegeld* was levied in 845, 852, 855, 858, 861, 862, 866, 877, 884

the country blockhouses arose, always upon the most inaccessible sites such as hilltops, the edges of cliffs, in the loop of a river. In flat country an artificial mound (*motta*) was thrown up on which the blockhouse was built, this was surrounded by a palisade of stakes or tree trunks set into the ground inside of the ditch which had been made by the excavation to erect the mound. Such "castles" were timber structures with steep roofs having holes in them so that water might be poured through the orifices to extinguish flaming arrows. For the same reason the eaves were wide so that if enemies pierced the palisade they could be driven from the walls by boiling water or hot tar or by arrows shot vertically through the floor of the over-hanging upper story. In time of invasion the peasantry, most of them the local lord's own tenantry, found refuge with their cattle and goods inside this palisade which they helped to defend.

The violence of the ninth century, as the result of internal anarchy and external invasion, revolutionized the way of living of all classes. The bishops and abbots walled themselves and their communities in

Local fortifications

Where old Roman walls had crumbled, they were repaired. In the countryside the big, rambling villa of the age of Charlemagne disappeared; the blockhouse took its place. The old open village was fenced with thorn and palisaded or staked roundabout. Individual farmhouses were converted into fenced and sometimes moated granges. Serfdom greatly increased. Safety was dearer than liberty, the freeman sacrificed his freedom and became a serf for the sake of the lord's protection.¹ Thus the power of the feudal nobles increased and serfdom and manorialism were extended.

In 885-86 the Norse hosts in France united and made a concerted attack on Paris, whose strong situation on an island in the Seine, connected with each bank by fortified bridges, barred their invasion of central France. For eleven months the beleaguered city under the leadership of Odo, Count of Paris, whose father Robert the Strong had been killed by a Norseman arrow twenty years before, heroically resisted all assaults. It was a turning-point. The Norse continued to colonize the Channel coast — conquest and settlement went hand in hand — but there was a limit to their penetration into the country. Finally, in 912 Charles the Simple made a virtue of necessity and recognized an accomplished fact. He ceded the coast from the Somme to Brittany to the great Danish chieftain Rolf as the duchy of Normandy. The problem and the solution were identical in England and France. The Danelaw yielded by Alfred the Great in 879 was England's Normandy. The Five Burghs — Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby — which Alfred erected to guard the frontier between the Danelaw and Wessex, which included all the rest of England, were garrisoned blockhouses which in course of time, because they protected and

*Siege of Paris
and founding of
Normandy*

attracted trade, grew into towns, as some of the *château-forts* in France also later blossomed into towns

Lower or Rhenish Germany and Flanders were the only parts of Germany exposed to the Norse inroads, and these were effectually stopped in 891 when the German King Arnulf stormed their camp on the Dyle River. At this point the Belgian city of Louvain later grew up, first as a trading town and in the sixteenth century as the seat of a famous university.

We must now look to another aspect of the expansion of the Norse peoples. In following down the coast of Europe through the North Sea and the Channel the Norse had taken the "Inner Passage." But in the middle of the ninth century they opened a hitherto unknown and untried route around the north end of Britain, through the clusters of islands lying there, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Faroes, which they conquered and settled, and which thus became stepping-stones to wider expansion to Ireland. They settled the chief port towns of Ireland but never conquered the whole island, and established the Norse Kingdom of Dublin, which became an important place of trade, it was not recovered by the Irish until 1014, after the great battle of Clontarf where their power was broken.

The Norse also discovered Iceland, Greenland and even the northwest coast of America. This northern route was the "Outer Passage," a seaway of discovery and exploration. For though there is evidence that Irish hermits had once dwelt in Iceland, it was unknown to Europe until the Norse discovered it about 867, whence after its settlement adventurous voyagers in search of fishing grounds and whale and walrus ivory pushed on to Greenland, which also was colonized. Finally in 1000 Leif Ericson, from Greenland, reached the American coast, but whether Vinland was Nova Scotia or New England is uncertain. It may astonish the student to learn that in 1112 an Icelandic priest was made the first bishop of Greenland and that in 1121 he journeyed to the American continent (Vinland),—evidence of some sort of settlement there—so that ecclesiastical Latin must at least once have been used in celebration of the mass in North America early in the twelfth century.¹

The Norse were discoverers of new lands and pioneers five hundred years before Columbus and Vasco da Gama, the greatest names in the Age of Discovery. There is written evidence that this Greenland colony survived until the fifteenth century. But until recently the reason for its extinction was not known. The discovery of a graveyard at Herjolfsnes has cast new light. The bodies disinterred were recovered from permanently frozen ground, yet "conditions showed very definitely that the graves cannot have been hewn down into the frozen ground, and in the

¹ *American Journal of Philology* XXX, p. 146 note

costumes we found pieces of glass roots that in the first summers after the interment must have been able to reach down to these layers" (Halldor Hermannsson, *The Problem of Vineland*, 1936.) It is evident that the climate of Greenland changed for the worse in the later Middle Ages. Dr. Nansen's opinion that the colony perished through absorption by the Eskimo is untenable.

"Cut off from all contact with their mother country early in the fifteenth century, with bodies progressively crippled and deformed as an inevitable consequence of malnutrition and in-breeding, the colonists are shown to have clung, with indomitable pride, to the culture, fashions and religion which they had derived from Europe. Waiting desperately for the ship which never arrived, they only just missed survival into the age when Greenland was once more visited. About 1540, an Icelandic sailor, driven from his course, found the corpse of one of them, dressed in the European hood and woven cloth of the Herjolfsnes discoveries, lying by his treasured iron knife, which was 'bent and much worn and eaten away.' This was less than fifty years before contact with Greenland was re-established by John Davis, and but for political difficulties in Denmark relief might have arrived in time."¹

The last news of medieval Greenland and the first news of the North American continent overlap. For there is record of a Portuguese-Danish expedition to "Stockfishland" of the year 1473, and the voyage of the brothers Corte Real (1500-1502) to Labrador took place exactly ten years after Columbus's first voyage.

Thus the whole north of Europe and onward to America was a Norse "empire," not in a political sense but in the rule of it by peoples of the Nordic race, whether Danes or Norwegians or Swedes. Kiev in Russia was its farthest east, Greenland (or America) its farthest west. There is ample evidence that political and commercial intercourse between the peoples and territories of the whole north from Russia to Greenland was lively and intimate. It is an impressive historical fact.

Terrible as the invasions of the Norsemen were, in the long run their expansion and colonization made for a better Europe. In a sense it may be said that Old Carolingian Europe was running to seed in the ninth century. The Norse peoples everywhere displayed a remarkable ability for government and fashioned old institutions into a new form which was more adapted to the circumstances of the time and the spirit of the age. The Norse and Normans played a large part in the transformation of Europe into feudalism. The Norsemen gave as well as received.

Swedes in Russia

Effects of Norse invasions

Europe those of the Arabs in the south and of the Magyars or Hungarians in central Europe.

In the eastern Mediterranean basin the fleets of the Byzantine Empire were fairly successful in keeping the Mohammedan corsairs out of Egypt. But in the western Mediterranean the fleets out of the North African

ports were formidable. By 810 the Saracens were established *Muslims in Mediterranean* in Corsica and Sardinia, between 827 and 843 they took

Sicily, and in 878 Syracuse. They ravaged the coast towns in France and Italy as frequently as the Norsemen devastated the coasts of northern France and of England at the same time. In 836 the Saracens sacked Marseilles, in 842 they penetrated up the Rhone to Arles. In August, 846, they took Rome and plundered St. Peter's of jewels and plate and other treasure, they laid the whole Campagna desolate. To prevent a repetition of this catastrophe Pope Leo IV hastily erected a wall around the heart of medieval Rome — the Vatican, St. Peter's, the Lateran palace and the Castle of St. Angelo, which was known as the Leonine City.¹ In 878 the Saracens returned again. In vain John VIII appealed for succor to Charles the Bald: "Cities, fortresses, villages have perished with their inhabitants. Within the walls of Rome are collected the remnants of the wholly destitute population, without, all is devastation, nothing remains, the whole Campagna has been depopulated, not a single inhabitant, man, woman or child, not even an animal, is to be found."

In two places on the mainland of Europe the Saracens established a permanent domination for many years — southern Italy and Provence. In 881 they built a huge fortified camp on the Garigliano River below Naples, from which they devastated every important town roundabout, until Pope John X, aided by the feudal princes of the South and by the Byzantine emperor, got together an army and a fleet and utterly destroyed the Saracen nest.

In France, at St. Tropez near the mouth of the Rhone, another Saracen encampment was established before 896 on a cape which was heavily fortified. From this as a base the invaders penetrated up the Rhone

valley almost to Lyons, and even crossed the mountains and terrorized Piedmont and the Alpine regions as far as St. Gall. *Saracen foothold in southern France*

It is strange to think that a desert people could have become such accomplished mountaineers, and still stranger to write about the "Saracens of the Alps." But the truth is that for nearly eighty years (until 972) Provence and the western Alpine lands were under the rule of Islam. To this day in Provence occasionally the spade or the plow turns up pottery, tiles, coins of Arabic workmanship and design.

The last invaders who represented this recurrence of barbarism in the ninth and tenth centuries were the Magyars or Hungarians, who, we have already seen, at the end of the ninth century had occupied the great plain below the

¹ Portion of this wall may still be seen girding the Vatican Gardens. The present Vatican Observatory is installed in one of the bastion towers of this wall.

bend of the Danube after the destruction of the Avars. In the first quarter of the tenth century southern and especially southeastern Germany and North Italy were perpetually menaced by them. In 900 and 902 they ravaged Bavaria.

Magyar invasions In 903, 905, 906 they devastated Lombardy. The cities of north

Italy began to repair their old walls and to build new ones, while the open country became studded with castles as it was in France against the Norsemen. The partial success of these obstructions threw the Hungarians again on Germany. In 909 and 910 their raids were extended up the Danube through Swabia and across the Rhine into Lorraine. Towns, abbeys, cathedrals were sacked for the treasure found in them. Southern Germany was almost as badly stripped as France was by the Norsemen earlier, until again walls and castles were erected to block them.

In this awful crucible of the ninth century when the Carolingian Empire dissolved, when civil war and violence reigned within, while from the outside a wave of new barbarism assaulted the countries of the

New Europe emerges

West, a new Europe came into being. "In the ninth century," it has been said, "we find the sources of the institutions, religious, social and political, which governed Europe until the Reformation."¹ Charlemagne's government had been an imposed government and in important particulars was not natural to the conditions and the spirit of the age. Accordingly, when his strong hand was removed these forces were released and gradually moulded new institutions and a feudal Europe. Violent as this inchoate feudalism was, it expressed the spirit of the age. The political center of gravity of the time could not permanently reside in a ruler whose sovereignty was an incongruous blend of the old Frankish kingship with the obsolete concept of ancient Roman imperialism. The empire was only an idea; the reality was represented by the "self-made" dukes and counts whose authority and power had arisen on the ruins of the empire. Dukes and counts governed independently, while the kings could boast only of having Carolingian blood in their veins, but otherwise were lean and solemn phantoms neither feared nor respected. What was true of these powerful nobles was no less true of bishops and abbots who necessarily also became independent and feudalized.

¹ Henry C. Lea, quoted in E. S. Bradley, *Life of Henry C. Lea*, p. 138.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE GERMANY AND ITALY (887-1056)

The earliest constructive government to rise above the ruins of the Carolingian Empire was the German monarchy in the tenth century, with which the history of Italy was intimately connected. One reason for this was that the Carolingian dynasty in Germany died out in 911, with Louis the Child, and there arose a new dynasty free from the inhibitions, the prejudices, the traditions of the Carolingians, none of whom ever understood the mazes and perplexities in which they were engaged and could not reconcile themselves to the new conditions. This was conspicuously true in France where the later Carolingians lasted until 987. Another reason lay in the fact that German feudalism had not advanced so far towards territorial and political particularism as in France.

*Emergence of
German
monarchy*

The explanation of this difference is to be found in the homogeneous nature of the German people. The East Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons were different tribal groups, but they were all of German blood, German language, German institutions, and when the kingdom all but dissolved in the ninth century, the tribal identities were preserved.

*Homogeneity of
Germans*

The kingdom of the East Franks, which we know as Germany, was then no compact and well-ordered state, but originally a fragment of the mighty Frankish Empire built up by Charles the Great. It was now in danger of disruption. For under the stress of peril and disorder the five provinces of which it was composed had developed into hereditary duchies whose dukes held a power largely independent of the crown.

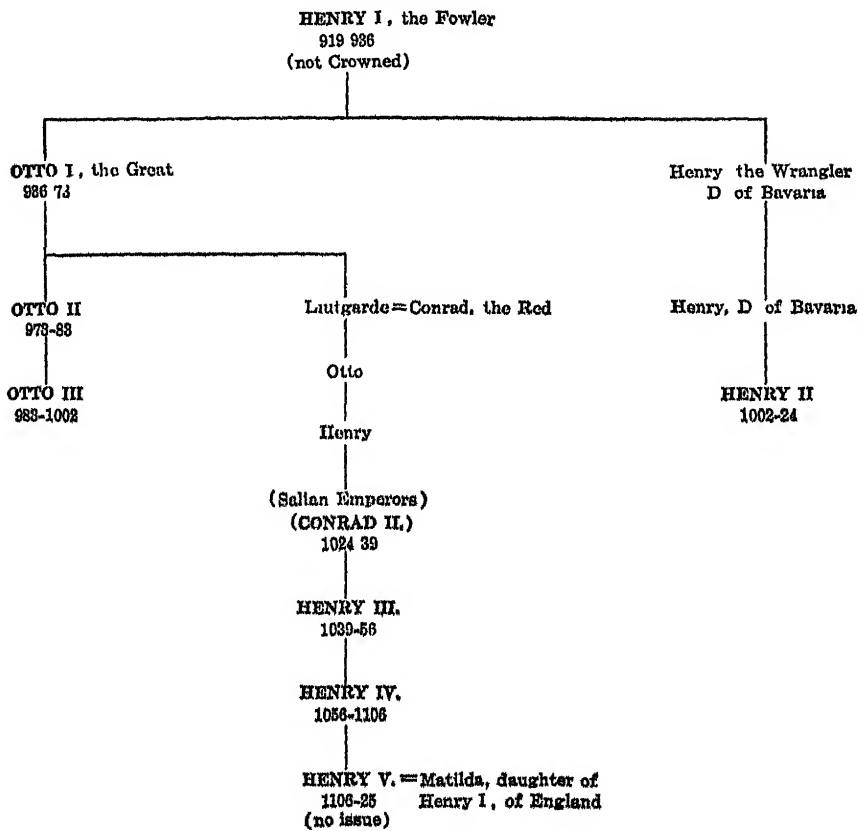
When the house of Charlemagne became extinct, all the various tribes naturally looked to one of their own dukes to become king. The precedent that only a Frank might be a king, coupled with the conservative influence of the German Church, was so strong that Conrad, the Duke of Franconia (Frankenland), was elected by the great dukes and the bishops — notice that with the death of the Carolingian dynasty the German kingship became elective. But Conrad I (911-18) proved incapable of ruling Germany or repelling the invasions of the Magyars.

Elective kingship

The man who was made king was Henry "the Fowler" (919-36), Duke of Saxony. History sometimes stages dramatic changes, and this event is one

THE SAXON AND SALIAN EMPERORS

SAXON





of them Little more than a hundred years before, Charlemagne had fought the longest and sternest war of his long reign in subduing the Saxons, the last barbarian and heathen tribe of the German race, whose intrepidity taxed the Frankish arms for over thirty years Although subjugated and compelled to accept Christianity and the establishment of bishoprics and monasteries in their land, the Saxons preserved much of their vitality and spirit of independence

The Saxon house

The new king felt that the Carolingian form of government was impracticable under the feudal conditions which had developed in the ninth century, his disposition was to go the way the tide of men and events was running, but he was too clear-headed and too strong to be swept away by it He believed in letting the German dukes

Henry I the Fowler

have as large an amount of liberty within their duchies as was compatible with the unity of the German kingdom But the dukes were to be just rulers within their territories and not abuse their vassals nor exploit the Church, otherwise the king would interfere and coerce them Henry I conceived of the German kingdom as a federation of feudo-tribal duchies united with and under the crown, each having complete autonomy in their internal affairs

But Henry I distrusted the great bishops as much as he distrusted the great dukes He was not ignorant of the political ambition of the German Church to control the kingship He knew that the Church had deposed

Charles in 887 because he would not be a pliant tool of its policy, that the Emperor Arnulf whom the bishops had

Henry's distrust of Church

elevated to the throne was just such a king; that in the reign of Arnulf's infant son, Louis the Child, the archbishop of Mainz had ruled as if he were king and had engrossed hundreds of the manors of the crown lands for the enrichment of the Church, that Conrad I had been a weak creature of the bishops In the practice of this policy the bishops had always stressed the argument that the coronation ceremony was an ecclesiastical rite, that the Church made the king and therefore could also depose the king if in its opinion he failed of the duties of kingship This was a crude conception of responsible kingship, and so far so good, but in the eyes of the bishops a "good" king was one who favored them and obeyed their behests, which often meant that the king was passively to permit them to plunder the crown of its rights and property, and victimize the feudality

Accordingly, Henry I made history when he refused to be crowned by the bishops in order not to give them a claim upon him It was a bold act, one necessary for the moment, but it was improbable that such alienation between State and Church in that age could be permanent If Henry I had not been so powerful as Duke of Saxony, with the backing of the greatest "nation" in Germany behind him, he could not have dared to be so independent For the strength of the duke was the strength of the king Without his immense resources in Saxony Henry I would have been helpless against both the

great dukes and the great clergy. The latter gave him less trouble than the former. It required force of arms to persuade the dukes of Bavaria, Swabia and Loiraine that the king meant what he said, and within eight years Henry I had a tractable group of duchies in the hollow of his hand and was ready to give attention to the foreign affairs of Germany.

The most serious of these was the almost constant raids of the Magyars. By this time Upper or Highland Germany (Bavaria, Swabia) had been so often ravaged that there was little left for the invaders to take and they had begun to prey upon Lower Germany, i.e. Saxony, which was peculiarly exposed to their attacks because of the flow of the rivers and because the Saxons still lived in open villages like their forefathers, and there were no castles in the land to withstand the invaders and give some measure of protection to the territory surrounding them. The problem in Saxony was similar to that of northern France during the early period of the Norse invasions in the reign of Charles the Bald. Knowing that peace was necessary in order to give time for castle-building, Henry I for nine years paid tribute to the Magyar khan (*Hungelt*) as Charles the Bald had paid *Danegeld* to the Norsemen in the previous century.

In this interim the king walled the Saxon monasteries, episcopal centers, and *Pfalzen* or great manor-houses, and at strategic points erected block-houses called *Burgwarde*. These, like the similar "castles" earlier in France, were timbered structures surrounded by a palisade made of logs sunk vertically into the ground. Within the compound were storehouses and living quarters for the garrison. These military communities in course of time, because of the protection they gave, became market centers, attracted commerce and trade and by the end of the tenth century emerged into towns. This explains why the names of so many towns in Saxony terminate in the suffix *burg* — Merseburg, Naumburg, Quedlinburg, etc.¹

At the same time the king instituted an important military reform in Saxony. We have already seen that in France cavalry had supplanted infantry in the ninth century, and the same became true a little later in southern Germany and northern Italy. But the Saxons still preserved the old Germanic custom of fighting on foot, with shield, spear and short sword (*seax*, from which weapon they got their name); breast-plates were rare, and as for helmets, the peasant levies wore homemade straw hats. It was necessary to train these raw country youths to fight on horseback. Accordingly in the nine years' interval one-ninth of the young

¹ It is possible that Henry I got the idea of these burgs from the Five Burgs erected in England against the Danes, for the relations between Lower Germany and England were intimate at this time. Henry I's oldest son, afterwards Otto the Great, married Edith, a daughter of Edward the Elder and grand-daughter of Alfred the Great.

male population of Saxony each year had to serve in the new model army

In 933 when Henry I repudiated the tribute, the Magyars resumed their forays and were soundly beaten in the valley of the Unstrut River not far from Merseburg. Specifically it was a Saxon victory but the prestige of it redounded to all Germany, and the German people realized that at last they had a ruler as able and as heroic almost as Charlemagne. For the next twenty-two years the Magyars left Germany unmolested and the flank of Bavaria was secure.

There were other weak points along the German frontier. One of these was in the isthmus of Denmark where the Danish Mark was threatened by the ambition of King Gorm. Henry I colonized the adjacent counties of Schleswig and Holstein with Saxon settlers ready ^{Denmark} to take up arms to prevent any aggressive movement of the Danes, exacted a Danish tribute, and compelled Gorm to accept monk missionaries in his kingdom even though he himself refused to profess Christianity. Not until the year 1000 did Canute, King of Denmark, formally establish Christianity there.

Of much greater importance, for it initiated a movement of immense and enduring significance, was Henry I's expedition against the Slavs across the lower Elbe. The pressure of the Slavs — they were divided into many tribes — upon the eastern border of Germany had ^{Slavs and Brandenburg} been relieved by Charlemagne. But the collapse of the Carolingian Empire after his death weakened German resistance and in the ninth century border-fighting was almost constant. To put an end to this Slav pressure and at the same time give his new recruits practical experience in warfare, Henry I, in 929, made a winter campaign across the frozen marshes of the Havel River against the Havelli and captured their stronghold, Brunabor. This he converted into a *burg*, which became the town and capital of the famous territory known as the margraviate of Brandenburg. Before this campaign was terminated, the Saxons had driven up the Elbe as far as Meissen and had built a thin string of *burgs* to protect the newly acquired territory which ere long developed into a chain of Marks. These events were the beginning of the drive towards the east (*Drang nach Osten*) which was continued, with intervals of Slav resistance, for centuries.

Henry I died in 936. Legally the crown was elective, the choice lying in the hands of the great bishops and the feudal dukes. But so high was Henry I's prestige that there was no opposition to his son Otto I (936-73) succeeding him. It was Otto's conviction that the ^{Otto I} time was ripe to combine the duchies into a more compact kingdom and that the king should be as much ruler of Germany as he was Duke of Saxony. This of course meant fierce resistance on the part of the dukes. At Otto's accession Germany was hardly more than a loosely knit federal State, in only one part of which, his native Saxony, did he hold direct personal rule. To

assert his royal authority throughout the realm was Otto's primary task and the necessary condition for further achievement. After a rebellion which nearly cost him both throne and life, Otto was able to annex one duchy, Franconia, to the crown, and to set over the others men of his own house. The scheme worked well for a time, but ended in another revolt, which tried Otto's powers to the utmost.

Since the Church was a proponent of unity and hostile to the dukes, Otto turned to it for support. He gratified the bishops by permitting them to crown him, it is significant that the coronation took place at Aachen in Charlemagne's old cathedral. This foreshadowed the restoration of the medieval empire in 962. Otto determined to strengthen his government by incorporating the ecclesiastical system of Germany into the State, as — to use a figure of speech — steel rods are used to reinforce concrete. To this end he conferred the count's rights over all counties upon the local bishop, thus extinguishing the old Carolingian count-and-county system and enormously increasing the political power of the bishops. In addition, he showered market and toll rights upon the bishops and finally leased to them great tracts of land which pertained to the fisc,¹ as fiefs held upon condition of feudal service.

Keeping the appointment of the bishops tightly in his own hands, Otto was careful to choose men of good life. But the bishops were called upon for other than purely spiritual duties. Otto required of them service at court, on embassies, and even as military leaders in the field. They became his counsellors and administrators, and provided him with resources. In their own dioceses they acted as counterpoise to the secular officials who had become an hereditary caste. Incidentally, the surest road to promotion to the desirable episcopate lay through the royal chancery, where habits of business and familiarity with the king's policy were best learnt. In increasing degree, too, the bishops were invested with rights of jurisdiction within their dioceses. This "Ottonian System," as it has been called, provided the crown with the means of effective administration, but of necessity tended to secularize the episcopate. Otto made the bishops feudally stronger than the great dukes were. When the dukes rebelled, as might have been expected, the king broke them. In the case of Loiraine, which extended along the entire western boundary of Germany and which was coveted by the French kings, Otto separated it into an Upper and a Lower Lorraine² and gave the former to his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne. This is the first example of a bishop who was also a feudal duke. The feudalization of the high clergy could hardly have gone farther.

Otto's use of the Church

The "Ottonian System"

Incongruous as this identification of the bishops with secular government may seem, the practice was quite in harmony with the spirit of the age and the circumstances of the time. In the Middle Ages every bishop was also a feudal baron¹

Master in his own kingdom, Otto also asserted his overlordship and claim to tribute of Denmark and Bohemia, and through his lieutenants, the margraves Hermann and Gero, he reduced the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder to obedience. But his greatest and most lasting triumph came on that autumn day in 955 when, at the head of an army drawn from nearly every part of Germany, he overthrew a Hungarian host on the Lechfeld, thereby ending the miseries inflicted on the West for more than half a century by those fierce nomads. The defeat forced the Hungarians to become a settled people.

Any sketch of Otto's career would be incomplete if it did not take into account his religious faith and his zeal for the Church. Though no devotee but a vigorous man of action, Otto was strict of life and ever anxious to advance the spiritual welfare of his subjects. The extension of Christendom lay near his heart, and the founding of the archbishopric of Magdeburg with a number of suffragan bishops employed in the conversion of the Slavs beyond the Elbe, was the darling project of his life.

The last, and certainly the most spectacular act of Otto the Great, was the re-extension of German domination over Italy in 962. Such a domination had been imposed by Charlemagne, but Italy had freed itself in the ninth century when the Carolingian Empire dissolved. Apart from this Carolingian precedent, Otto's intervention in Italy would have been justified by the condition of anarchy into which Italy had fallen. The papacy was both the instigator of violence and the victim of it. The popes of the tenth century before 962 were the worst known to history. Not one of them had any redeeming quality.

When the reprobate John XII appealed to Otto for assistance against his enemies, the German ruler marched on Rome, not to save the pope but to restore the empire founded by Charlemagne in 800. In this period the idea of the empire was a natural part of the world's order, and its restoration at once a great ideal and a political necessity, if all central and western Europe were not to be dissolved.

To secure his hold upon the German bishops, now the chief support of his domestic rule, Otto had to make sure of the pope, and only as emperor

¹ In Great Britain this is still the case. Every English bishop must "kiss hands" and do homage to the king before he is wholly qualified as a bishop. *Ipso facto*, he is made a lord, and has a seat in the House of Lords. An English bishop, too, still has a certain amount of secular jurisdiction which has survived out of the Middle Ages, but he is no longer compelled to do military service as many medieval English bishops did. Six of them once fought in the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346.

could he treat with him on equal terms. But Lombardy lay in the way, and mastery of the Lombard kingdom was a prime necessity both for keeping open the path to Rome and for securing the safety of the German kingdom. It was impossible either to permit a strong Lombardy that might dominate Germany, or to allow the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria to aggrandize themselves, as they had already tried to do, by annexing Lombard territory. Germany, moreover, was a poor country, skirted only by the chief trade routes, and free access to Italy would open fresh sources of revenue. Otto's imperial policy, far from being repugnant to his own people, gave them a stronger sense of unity through their possession of the highest of earthly dignities.

In restoring the empire, and in annexing Lombardy, Otto followed the Carolingian tradition. He had now become the dominant figure in western Europe. The world paid homage to his greatness when, but a few weeks before his death, envoys from all parts of the world, even from some so remote as Russia and Bulgaria, came to Quedlinburg to offer him their gifts in token of friendship. The tribute was deserved, for he left a Europe united as it has never been united since. Some, however, have since argued that the union of Italy with Germany entailed a long series of ruinous expeditions which drained the blood and treasure of the German people, and diverted the German kings from their proper task of restraining disruptive forces at home; that Germany would have become a greater and a better country if these resources had not been expended for over two hundred years in the futile effort to maintain a ruinous German domination in Italy.

Something should be said about Otto I's personality. Physically and morally Otto resembled Charlemagne, although he was not so versatile in his abilities.

Otto's personality His contemporary, Widukind of Corvey, has described his appearance, his lofty stature and dignified bearing, his ruddy countenance and sparkling eyes, the greyish hair and the mighty beard which, mingling with a shaggy breast, gave him a leonine aspect. And to these outward traits were added moral qualities befitting a ruler. Though far from faultless, Otto had a high sense of his royal dignity and of the duties it imposed on him; he was tenacious of purpose and steadfast in adversity; though impatient of opposition and of a temper apt to blaze forth on occasion, he bore no malice and was ready to forgive even when forgiveness was undeserved. Above all, he was guided by a manly piety.

The next two reigns, those of his son Otto II (973-83) and his grandson Otto III (983-1002) were precarious years for Germany and Italy, and the

Otto II stability of the empire was put to severe test. In Italy the southern provinces of Calabria and Apulia, the "toe" and "heel" of the boot, had belonged to the Byzantine Empire ever since Justinian's conquest of the Ostrogothic kingdom in the sixth century. Otto II coveted these territories in order to round out and complete the German rule

in the peninsula. He had a plausible claim to them in that he had married a Greek princess, Theophano, whose father's throne was usurped by his murderer. A German army, mostly Saxons, invaded Apulia. But the Byzantine katapan, or governor, called in Saracen mercenaries from Sicily and Otto II was disastrously beaten. This was in 982. In the next year the emperor died, which stirred up new trouble. The Slavonic tribes along the eastern frontier of Germany, whom Henry I and Otto the Great had harshly subjugated, rebelled and drove out the German garrisons in the *Burgward* and massacred the German colonists who had settled in the conquered land. It was the first of three formidable rebellions of the Slavs — the other two being in 1018 and 1066.

Otto III at this critical juncture was a mere child under his mother's regency. The rule of a woman was always difficult in the Middle Ages, and it was doubly so in the case of Theophano, who was a foreigner and a Greek Christian, not a Roman Catholic. The *Otto III* duke of Bavaria, who was the son of Otto I's brother Henry the Wrangler or Quarrelsome, claimed the regency as nearest of kin to the boy-king. The monarchy managed somehow to weather the storm of feudal reaction. Unfortunately, as Otto III grew to manhood he developed a strange and remarkable character. Of German and Greek ancestry, Otto III's head was filled with vague and grandiose ideas of uniting the German Empire and the Byzantine Empire and thus restoring the Roman Empire to its earlier dimensions. The madness and futility of such a design ought to have been apparent, considering the racial, political, ecclesiastical, religious and cultural differences — not to say antagonisms — which had grown more and more acute between the East and the West ever since the fourth century. Perhaps these ideas were instilled in his mind by his French tutor, Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Archbishop of Rheims and whom Otto III elevated to the papacy as Sylvester II (999-1003).¹

The visionary Otto III died in 1002 and the direct lineage of the Saxon house expired with him. But so strong was the hereditary tendency then that Henry of Bavaria, grandson of the "Wrangler," was elected. He had been intended for the Church and was thus an *Henry II* educated man. More important, he was a sensible man. He carried to the limit the policy of identifying the episcopate with the government as became one who had intended to be a bishop himself. No feudal reaction perturbed his reign. Italy, however, was exceedingly restive, and twice there was rebellion in several of the Lombard cities, notably in Pavia, where the royal palace was burned in the second insurrection. In his first expedition (1014), Henry II was crowned emperor in Rome. His second expedition (1023-24) was to the south where a new event destined to be of immense importance in

¹ Gerbert's intellectual genius and influence upon medieval education is considered in a later chapter.

medieval history was just beginning to transpire. This was the invasion and occupation of Apulia and Calabria by Norman adventurers in 1016. But the emperor was in no position to get involved in war with these powerful Normans. The eastern frontier of Germany again was in turmoil. A second uprising of the Slavs took place in 1018. Fire and sword devastated the border once more, and behind the Sorbs and Wilzi and other Slav tribes, the Poles threatened. Against the Poles Henry II made five futile expeditions.

Wielkopolska or "Great Poland" was by now the chief bulwark of the Slavs against German eastward pressure. Strongholds, like the German *Burgwarde*, were created by the Poles. The most important of these was Poznan which was the Polish capital until the thirteenth century when danger in the south caused the removal of the capital to Cracow. The immense distances, the forests, the huge marshes were too much for the German troopers. Finally the emperor made a virtue of necessity and recognized Boleslav of Poland as his vassal and left the Poles in occupation of the lands of the Oder which they had won. This was not altogether a German defeat, since the Poles ceased to back the Sorbs and other Slavonic tribes lying east of the Elbe River. In the reign of Henry II also we find record of friendly intercourse between Germany and Jaroslav, the duke of Kiev in Russia—the first instance of Russian relations with the West.

In 1024 the extinction of the Saxon dynasty compelled a real election again, such as had not taken place since 919. When the great dukes and the chief bishops convened, the choice lay between two high nobles of Franconia, the old Frankish land in the Middle Rhine and Main region where were situated Charlemagne's Frankfort as well as the old bishoprics of Mainz, Wurzburg, Worms and Speyer. It was the oldest part of Germany and the first which was Christianized. The two noble candidates were cousins and of the same name; one was Conrad the Salian, the other Conrad the Red. Both of them were of Carolingian and Ottonian stock. There was little difference between them as to heritage. But party lines were sharply drawn. The monastic clergy in Germany, resenting the favors shown and the wealth conferred upon the bishops by the Saxon kings, favored the election of Conrad the Red. On the other hand, most of the dukes and all the bishops adhered to the other Conrad, who was finally elected.

*Election of
Conrad II*

conceived the idea of strengthening the lower feudality (*vassals*, in Italy they were called *vavassores*), between whom and the high nobles there was a long-standing conflict. The cause for this feud was the inheritance of fiefs, which the vassalage struggled to make hereditary in their families, as great fiefs were hereditary among the high nobles. While Conrad II never formulated this policy into a "system" in Germany, his charters show that he consistently played the lower feudality against the great dukes and the bishops in order to keep them in check. In Lombardy, however, he carried this policy to an extreme. In the insurrection which had taken place in the reign of his predecessor, the great Lombard nobles had been the leaders. Accordingly, in 1037, in the Statute of Pavia Conrad II cut the high feudality to the quick by legally making the Lombard *vavassores* hereditary in their possessions. Thus as the Saxon kings had balanced the bishops against the great dukes, the Salians played the vassalage against both the dukes and the feudalized bishops.

Since the bishops in Lombardy and Piedmont were not to be trusted politically, Otto I had initiated the practice of thrusting German bishops into Italian sees.¹ This policy Conrad II continued. Later it was to become a ground of bitter feud between the emperors and the popes.

On his first expedition to Italy in 1027 Conrad II was crowned emperor. While in Rome he met Knut the Great of Denmark and England (1000-1035) who was there as a pilgrim. The interview between them was important. Denmark was now a Christian kingdom. There was no longer any necessity for the continuation of the old Dane Mark which Charlemagne had instituted in 810 and which Henry I had enlarged by the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein. King Knut wished to possess this territory in and near the Danish isthmus and Conrad II saw no reason for keeping it, especially when he could make a good political bargain by relinquishing it. A political deal was made, which needs some explanation.

When Otto I became king of Germany, he divided the great family duchy of Saxony into two parts, Eastphalia, east of the Weser River, and Westphalia, west of it. The latter he retained as crown land, but gave the eastern half of the Duchy of Saxony, together with the ducal title, to a powerful local noble and loyal friend, Hermann Billung. The Billungers not only consolidated their power in Saxony but also expanded their sway across the lower Elbe and conquered the Slavonic peoples there as far as the Baltic coast and the Peene River. This huge territorial appendage to Saxony first was known as the Mark of the Billungs and later developed into the County of Mecklenburg. By the time Conrad II came to power, the Billungers were mighty lords of the North and their power threatened the monarchy. This explains why in 1027 Conrad II ceded Schleswig-Holstein

Conrad's international politics

The Billungers

¹ Between 950 and 1000 there are forty-seven examples

and the Dane Mark to King Knut. Conrad hoped thereby to obtain an ally in the far north who would help him checkmate the ambitious Billunger dukes.

Another ragged border fence which Conrad II repaired was Lorraine. This was a turbulent territory where the rebellious nature of the dukes was stimulated and aggravated by the kings of France, who had coveted German Lorraine ever since the partition of Meerssen in 870. Otto I, as we have seen, had divided his own (German) Lorraine into portions, Upper and Lower Lorraine. Conrad II reunited them. The act prevented Robert the Pious of France from seizing the country but it did not settle the Lorraine Question.

Germany and France also were in collision in Burgundy (not the French duchy of that name, but the kingdom created in the western Alps and extending southwards between the Alps and the Rhone River late in the ninth century). France and Germany had long looked with greedy eyes upon this realm wedged in between them. It was not only a rich land, but it also controlled the Great and Little St Bernard Passes and the Mont Cenis Pass over the Alps to Italy. Possession of this realm would more firmly unite Germany and Italy. Possession of it by France would create a dangerous territorial salient in the western side of the German kingdom. For many years the two rival diplomacies had intrigued at the Burgundian court in Besançon. Finally in 1032 King Rudolph III, the last of his house, died without an heir and by his will bequeathed the coveted kingdom to Conrad II instead of to Robert of France, who now cherished two bitter grievances against Germany which were handed on to his successors.

Conrad II's fiscal policy was no less adroit than his political policy. When he came to the throne the treasury was nearly empty. The lavish practice of the Ottos in granting crown lands to the bishops had seriously reduced the fisc. Since the ducal lands of Franconia had been divided by Henry II between the bishops of Bamberg and of Würzburg, Conrad II had no lands left. In this distress he had recourse to drastic action for which Henry II had given him a precedent. Neither the Ottonians nor the Salians loved monks and monasteries. There were hundreds of them in Germany and they were very rich, some of them owning thousands of manors. They were in decline. Learning had decayed in them, their schools had deteriorated. They returned little to society for what they got from society. Abbots could not be used like bishops for political and military service; monks lived isolated and introspective lives. Kings, feudality, and even the bishops looked upon monks as drones and their monasteries as out-of-date and obsolete institutions. Moreover, all of them coveted the lands of the abbeyes.

Pious as he was, Henry II had laid a heavy hand upon the resources of

the monasteries in order to pay his bishoprics and replete his revenues from the diminishing number of the crown lands Fulda, Hersfeld, Corvey, Reichenau, Murbach, St Gall, Benediktbeuren, Tegernsee were all deprived of huge blocks of their domains,

*Conrad
confiscates
monastic lands*

St Maximin of Trier in 1023 lost 6,656 manors, equal to thirty-six square miles So now Conrad II, too, confiscated monastery lands in Germany This is to be remembered, for later it accounts in part for the fact that when the great struggle broke out between Henry IV and Gregory VII in 1075, the monks supported the pope whereas most of the bishops sustained the emperor

Conrad II made great improvement in the fiscal management of these estates by employing the most intelligent serfs on these domains to supervise the administration Such serfs were known as *ministeriales*

Some of the ablest among them even rose to civil office In the course of time a regular bureaucracy was thus established, to the benefit of the government and the discomfiture and hatred of clergy and feudality alike The latter disliked the *ministeriales* because of their low birth and hated them because of their vigilance and efficiency To the aristocracy the *ministeriales* were more offensive than Conrad II's emancipation of the vassal class from suzerainty

Ministeriales

Conrad II's success as a ruler was so great that a saying was current that he had sold his soul to the devil as the price of that success During his first expedition in Italy he learned of a notorious bandit who terrorized whole provinces The emperor gave orders for his immediate capture, when the bandit was taken the emperor rode a hundred miles in a single day and hanged him immediately upon arrival Another anecdote is of a different sort As he came out of the cathedral at Aachen after his coronation and was just mounting his horse, two little children, an old peasant and an old woman broke from the crowd and timidly approached him Conrad stopped the procession, leaned from his saddle and asked what they wanted He listened patiently, found that each had been grievously wronged, hailed an official in his entourage and instructed him to take the half-frightened petitioners with him, find out what had happened, redress the wrongs at once and make report to him The emperor had a heart as well as a head

Conrad's character

Henry III (1039-56) succeeded his father without contention The kingship was too strong for the great feudality to venture to oppose him For Conrad II had so dexterously managed affairs that the crown now possessed four of the six great duchies Only Saxony and

Henry IV

Lorraine still had dukes Henry III ruled as duke and king over the greater part of the kingdom In order to hold Bernhard Billung of Saxony in check, Henry began hastily to build castles on the crown lands in the duchy and to garrison them with armed *ministeriales* of Frankish or Bavarian origin, the two tribal groups he could most trust "Castles began to bristle upon almost

every hilltop," records a hostile chronicler. At the same time, as fast as vacancies occurred in the Saxon bishoprics, Henry III filled them with non-Saxon appointees, thus using the bishops as mainstays of government after the Ottonian practice. The greatest of these new incumbents was Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen (1043-71). He was the son of a Saxon noble family hostile to the Billungers, who with some reason feared that Henry III might abolish the ducal title and vest its office, power, territory and wealth in Adalbert. So great was the prospect of power in North Germany, that in 1046 Adalbert declined the papacy when offered to him by the emperor.¹ Duke Bernhard Billung was sullen but dared not rebel.

Lorraine, as always, was a danger spot. Henry III again separated the two Lorraines in 1044, giving Lower Lorraine to the younger son of Duke Godfrey and Upper Lorraine (Lorraine proper) to the elder, also named Godfrey. Trouble soon began. The new Godfrey first intrigued, then rebelled, was badly beaten and abjectly humiliated by the emperor, deprived of his duchy, exiled, and found refuge in Italy, where we shall meet him again — still a trouble-maker.

Henry III's policy along the eastern frontier was a mixture of success and failure. Poland and Bohemia fell to fighting each other, each striving for mastery over all the Slavs along the eastern border of Germany. Henry III finally interfered in favor of Bohemia. Henceforth the Bohemian dukes were loyal to the German kings and thus the dangerous salient which a hostile Bohemia would have made was flattened out. As for Poland, her weakened condition tempted Jaroslav of Kiev, the Russian duke, to attack her, so that Germany had nothing more to fear from Polish ambition and hostility.

Henry III's failure in Hungary was humiliating. In the year 1000 the Hungarian king professed Christianity and was christened Stephen and crowned by Pope Sylvester II. Henceforward a Christian-Germanophile party in Hungary combated a Hungarian-Pagan party which with good reason resented Christianity for fear lest it would lead to German conquest, as it had done in the case of the Saxons two hundred years before. The Pagan party looked askance upon the penetration of German culture and German institutions into Hungary, and drove out or killed monk missionaries who sought to evangelize the Hungarian people.

Henry III, who took his religion seriously, intervened in favor of the

Christian party A first success, after which the exiled Christian king was restored and Bavarian law imposed upon the country, was followed by a colossal reverse which would have been worse than it was had it not been for the heroism of William, Margrave of the Thuringian Mark, and a brave Bavarian noble named Poto, who protected the rear of the routed German army as it filed through the Theben Pass William died of his wounds, Poto lived for many years afterwards and was known far and wide as the "Brave" Indeed, the fame of this engagement was such that Germany rang with songs in commemoration of it It is a pity that at this time Germany had no poets such as France possessed who gave us the earliest ballad poetry of the Middle Ages — the *chansons de geste* Hungarian independence was not threatened again by Germany The history of Hungary henceforward became a part of medieval European history

In 1046 Henry III was called into Italy by reason of the scandalous condition in the papacy Three factions had arisen in Rome and there were three rival popes At the synod of Sutri, the emperor deposed all of them and appointed his uncle Bruno of Toul to be Pope Leo *Italian politics*

IX (1049) He little knew that his most dangerous foe to imperial authority was his kinsman The year 1049 is a turning-point in the history of the Middle Ages, for it marks the initial date in the great struggle impending between the Church-Reform party and the state and particularly between the papacy and the empire The history of this conflict will be considered in a subsequent chapter Here we need to follow the history of those adventurous Normans who in 1016 had unexpectedly landed in southern Italy, when returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and given assistance to the Byzantine governor there against the Saracens from Sicily

In the beginning there were but forty of these knights Word soon reached Normandy that in southern Italy was to be found a sunny and fertile land, weak of defense and ruled by the detested and schismatic (if not heretical) Byzantine Empire Normandy was filled *Normans in Italy* with young knights and higher nobles whom the law of primogeniture debarred from any inheritance of their fathers' property, all of which passed to the eldest son¹ Soon hundreds of junior nobles were streaming southward from Normandy bent upon seeking their fortune, with a horse, a suit of armor and a sword as the means with which to carve it out It was another stage in the expansion of the Norse (Norman) people Among these early arrivals in Apulia were ten brothers, sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a Nor-

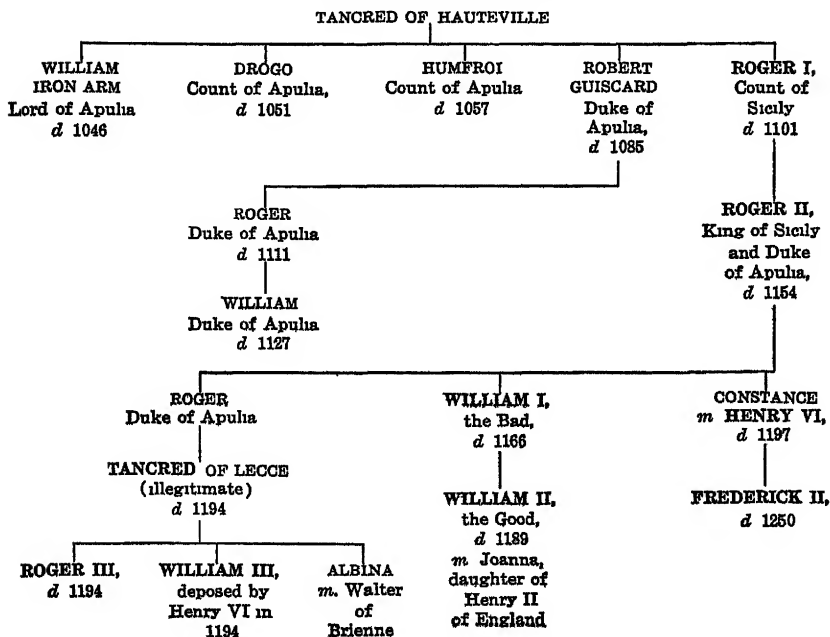
¹ This law obtained in order to preserve the integrity of the lands of a feudal house which otherwise would have been dissipated The law of primogeniture supplanted the ancient Germanic law of equal inheritance of male children It made for preservation of territorial unity and for growth of power of a feudal dynasty The younger brothers received only *appanages* or dependent fiefs which carried no title and to the revenues of which the holder had a right only as long as the real lord was pleased to grant them

man noble having little land and too many children to provide for under the rule of primogeniture. All of them were successful, and four of them attained fame and power. The greatest of them was Robert, surnamed "Guiscard" or the *Shrewd*. The word is related to the Anglo-Saxon *wis*, to know, hence *wisdom*, *knowledge*.

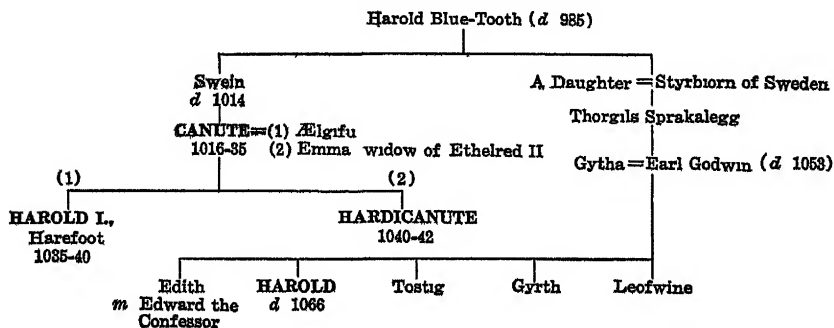
Having first expelled the Saracens the four brothers turned upon the Greeks. By the middle of the century the two southern provinces of Italy were completely in their possession, and the Duke of Benevento and even Pope Leo IX began to tremble for fear lest this mighty quartette would attack their territories, too. Central Italy was in consternation. The pope formed a league to oppose the Normans. In 1053 at Civatella, the papal army was shattered and scattered, Leo IX was made prisoner. The luckless pontiff kept his head and haughtily demanded how good Catholics such as the Normans, of course, were, dared to invade the Patrimony of St. Peter. Robert Guiscard was flustered by the sudden turn of events and stammered his apology, protesting that he had had no knowledge that he was fighting His Holiness in person. Leo IX seemed mollified and said that he would forgive the wrong done, provided the Norman duke would become a papal vassal for Apulia and Calabria, the right to rule which really pertained to the pope and not to the Byzantine emperor. For Constantine the Great had willed all Italy to the papacy when he removed the capital of the Roman Empire to the Bosphorus. Robert agreed, and thus the pope acquired a rich and powerful vassal, and thereby established a precedent for the papal claims to the lordship of all Italy. The new Norman state, which before the end of the century spread its domination over Sicily also, was Catholic in religion, French in language and culture, and feudal in form of government. The line of division between eastern and western Europe was more definitely drawn than it had ever been before.

Death of Henry III Three years after Civatella, Emperor Henry III died.

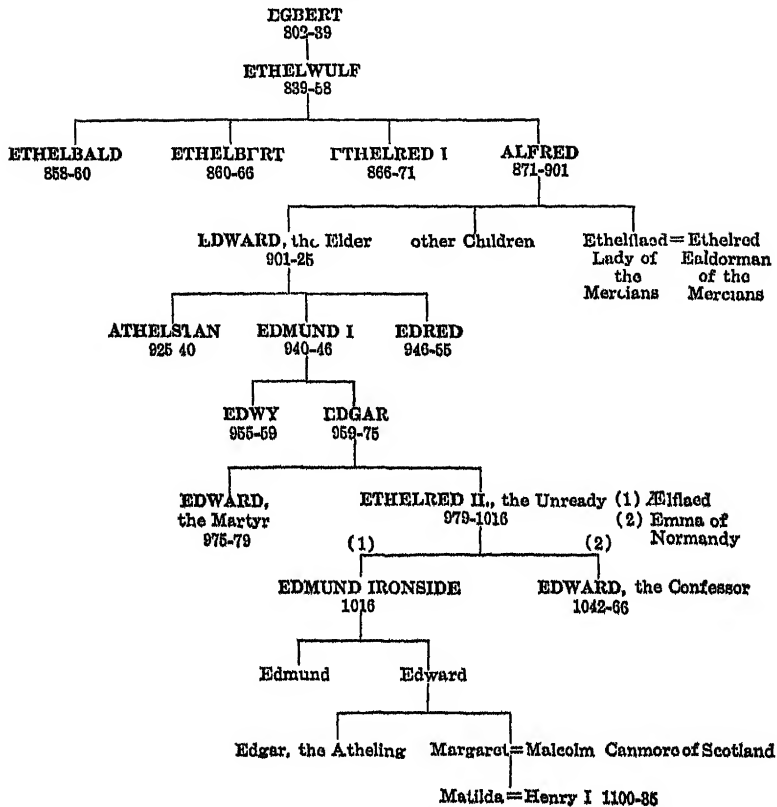
GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF TANCRED OF HAUTEVILLE



ANGLO-DANISH KINGS



ANGLO-SAXON KINGS



CHAPTER XVIII

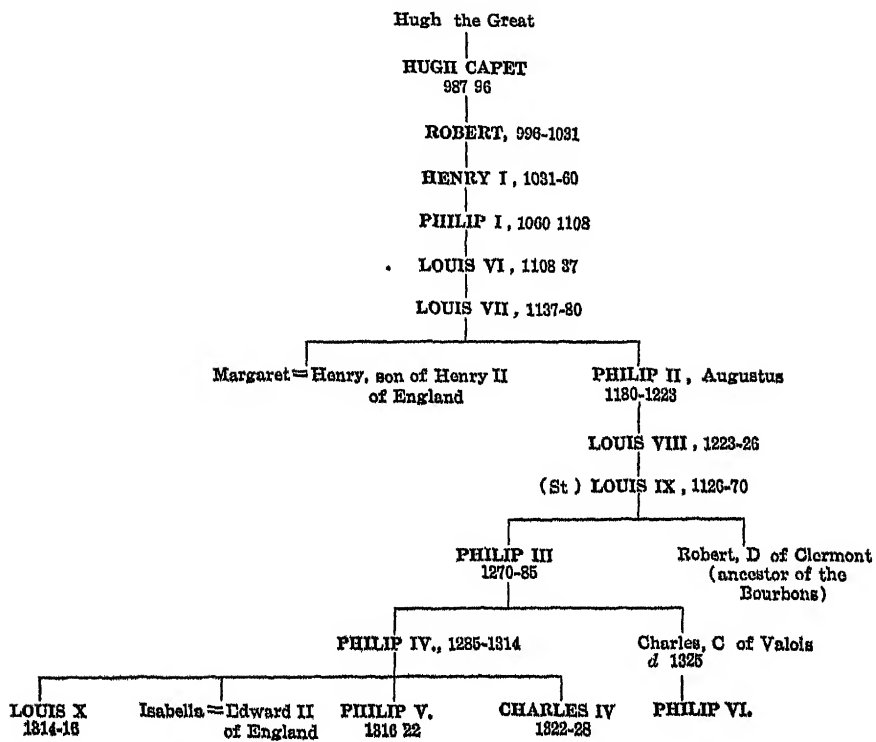
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE FORMATION OF FEUDAL FRANCE (887-1060) ENGLAND FROM THE DEATH OF ALFRED THE GREAT TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST (901-1066)

This chapter, like the one on Germany, must begin with the year 887. For with the deposition of Charles the Fat, the political unity of the Carolingian empire was forever destroyed. Each country flew off on an orbit of its own. The centrifugal forces of feudalism even *French feudalism* went so far as to disintegrate, though not wholly to dissolve the separate kingdoms into which the former empire was divided. In France the process was more acute than in Germany and Italy. For France did not have the homogeneous population which Germany possessed. North of the Loire the population was basically Frankish, though with a considerable ingredient of Romance stock, south of the Loire the strain was predominantly Romance, especially in the valley of the Rhone. In the southwest, Gascony was pre-eminently Basque and in the northwest Brittany was almost purely Celtic. In the east-northeast the population was half-German or Flemish (Low German). These differences of ethnology and language and historical tradition powerfully influenced the political particularism of the feudal nobles, who were all but independent rulers in their principalities.

The royal domain or house-lands of the Carolingians were but a remnant of their once extensive holdings and confined for the most part to Laon and Compiègne—the latter Charles the Bald's favorite seat—and the territory roundabout these towns. East of the royal *Early French feudatories* domain, along the German border, lay Lotharingia (Lorraine), ever fluctuating in its allegiance between the eastern and the western kingdoms. In the north of the kingdom the three chief princes were the Duke of France who was also Count of Paris, Arnulf of Flanders, and Hugh of Vermandois. In the south, we hear just enough of the duke of Aquitaine (or Guienne) to indicate that a nominal connection was supposed to exist between him and the king.

The weakness of the monarchy caused the spread of feudalism. Flanders, Burgundy, Vermandois, Anjou, Brittany, and later Normandy split off in the north and became independent provincial *Increase in number of provinces* governments, as also did Auvergne, Toulouse, Aquitaine, and Gascony in the south. Among these local dynasts, the most important was

CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE



the house founded by Robert the Strong (died 866), Count of Paris and Duke of the Franks

In 887 the most available man to be made king was Odo, Count of Paris, who had so heroically resisted the Norsemen in the great siege of Paris in the year before. The ten years of his reign (888-98) were spent in resisting the Norsemen, who beset the Channel coast continually, though Paris was not again endangered by them. Odo made no effort to exercise any authority beyond "Francia," i.e., the territory north of the Loire, the core of which was the basin of the Seine, with Paris its center of gravity. At this time Francia was one — but the greatest — among several duchies, Odo was Count of Paris and Duke of Francia *and* king. When in 987 Hugh Capet, a grandson of Odo's brother, Robert of Paris, was made king, the term Francia was extended to the whole kingdom, and the duchy of Francia became known as the Ile-de-France. The territory represented the royal domain of the early Capetians.

Odo had no son. His brother Robert who succeeded him in the County of Paris and in the Duchy of Francia was ambitious to be king. But so great was the glamour attached to the name of Charlemagne, and so strong was the influence of the Church, that Prince Charles, *Charles the Simple* the only surviving Carolingian in the west — he was a grandson of Charles the Bald — was enthroned. In spite of his glorious name, Charles, nicknamed "the Simple" in later years, had little power, the crown lands had been wasted or seized by the feudality, bishops, abbots, and nobles alike. His court lived principally upon the bounty of the Archbishop of Rheims. But Charles was not so simple as the sobriquet attached to him would signify. He was shrewd enough to realize that the Norse occupation of the Channel coast was complete, and that the wisest course was to put an end to the constant warfare between the Franks and the Norsemen by recognizing the Norse chieftain Rolf as a vassal and creating him duke of a new principality, the Duchy of Normandy (912). The only condition, other than the customary feudal obligations of homage and service to an overlord, was that the Norsemen should abandon their heathen religion and become Christian. As many of the Norsemen already were Christian and had been dwelling for many years in a Christian country, the transition from a barbarian and pagan principality to a feudal and Christian one was easy.

In connection with the creation of Normandy, the real territorial loss fell upon Robert of Paris, out of whose Duchy of France the new dukedom was carved. Moreover, Charles now could play the Norman duke against Robert, whose ambition for the throne he well knew. *Robert of Paris's rebellion* For ten years Robert nursed his wrath. Then, in 922 he rebelled. Except for the North, the rest of the kingdom was indifferent to the conflict, indeed in the far South the event was not even known until things were over. The sole battle of the civil war was fought at Soissons in 923.

Robert of Paris was killed and Charles might have been victorious if in a moment of consternation he had not thought himself beaten, fled from the field and sought the protection of Herbert of Vermandois, who threw him into prison in expectation of a ransom which never materialized. So low had the crown sunk, so criminal was the policy of many of the baronage that no effort was made to release Charles, who languished in prison until he died, some said of starvation. The queen-mother Edith, who was a sister of the English king Athelstan, fled with her infant son across sea, and Robert of Paris's brother-in-law, Duke of Burgundy, succeeded to the throne (923-36).

To turn to England. Here Edward the Elder (901-25), the eldest surviving son of Alfred the Great, spent his life in a vigorous endeavor to recover the

*Anti-Norse
league*

Danelaw which his father had been compelled to cede to

Guthrum the Dane in 879. The creation of Normandy across sea in 912 gave him great disquietude. Accordingly he wove

a net of alliances around the Danes, both those in England and those in France. He married off one sister to Otto I, who was not yet king and thereby got the support of Henry the Fowler, who was concerned over sporadic Danish incursions up the estuaries of the Elbe (Hamburg) and the Weser (Bremen) and in the Netherlands. The other sister was married to Charles the Simple, which explains why his son Louis and his mother found refuge in England after the disaster at Soissons.

King Athelstan was a man of character and force. He promoted commerce and favored literature as Alfred the Great had done. Most of all, he was a

*Greatness of
Athelstan*

just and able ruler. In 937 he fought and won the glorious

battle of Brunanburg over the Danes, which did much to shatter the Danelaw. There "five kings and seven eals (of

the Danes) were laid in slumber by the sword," exults the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. "Carnage greater has not been in this island of people slain by the edge of the sword since from the east hither came the Angles and the Saxons."

Meanwhile, in the year before this victory, King Rudolf of France had died (936). Most of the northern bishops, notably the Archbishop of Rheims, the primate of the kingdom, and numbers of the great nobles, were Carolingian sympathizers. Louis Beyond Sea (Louis d'Outremer), it was argued, represented the "legitimist" dynasty,¹ and the Counts of Paris as kings had been usurpers.

Duke Hugh the Great was the nephew of King Odo, the son of King

*Policy of
Hugh of Paris*

Robert, the brother-in-law of at least three monarchs. King

Rudolph of Burgundy, later of King Athelstan, and later still

of Otto of Germany but much as he craved the throne, he

found it wiser to temporize. If he could not be king, at least he would be

¹ Compare the term applied to Charles II of England after his father's execution by Cromwell in 1649 — the "King over the water."

king-maker and the power behind the throne. Accordingly he feigned loyalty, declared that he yielded to none in devotion to the Carolingian dynasty and sent a deputation to England to recall Louis IV "from beyond the sea." Duke Hugh met the former exiled prince when he landed, carried him to Rheims and had him crowned with magnificent but empty glory.

The young king was speedily disillusioned. As "the man who made him king," Hugh demanded the gift of the most valued crown land, the county and château of Laon, eighty miles east of Paris, perched on a gigantic and almost impregnable rock which ramps up out of the plain roundabout. From the days of Roman domination in Gaul, it had been a citadel and had repulsed Vandals and Huns in the fifth century, it could only be taken by starving the garrison into surrender. Laon was the Carolingian capital. When Louis pluckily refused, Hugh threw him into prison as his father had been imprisoned before. This was the second instance of a great vassal actually imprisoning his overlord and king. So weak was kingship in tenth-century France, and so strong was feudalism. Once more not a sword was unsheathed in behalf of a Carolingian king.

But Louis IV had an anchor to windward. Relief came from Germany. There the Saxon house had succeeded to the throne in the person of Henry I. But Carolingian sentiment, though not nearly so strong in Germany as in France, because there was no prince of the *Carolingian Saxon alliance* stock of Charlemagne to be found in Germany, nevertheless was of some influence. Accordingly Otto the Great, in order to acquire some tincture of Carolingian "legitimacy," had married his sister Gerberga to Louis IV. It was another dynastic and international alliance, though for a different purpose than that of Athelstan. Though perhaps momentarily taken aback by this marriage, the wily Hugh countered by himself marrying Gerberga's sister Hathwide. Otto the Great therefore was a brother-in-law of the king and of the man-who-would-be-king. The political conflict in France had the color of a family row in which, for the sake of peace, German influence preserved the status quo. This German preponderance preserved the balance between Lothar (954-86) and Hugh "Capet" (956-96) for some years, the German king-emperor exercising his control over the kingdom through his brother Bruno, who was, we have seen, Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lorraine. Even after Bruno died (966) and Lothar and Hugh reached majority, Otto II continued this German control. The political situation was most singular. The three principals were cousins, and the mothers of two of them were sisters yet bitter antagonists, and aunts of Otto II.

Hugh Capet, who was master of subtlety and patience, bided his time, confident that the tangled skein of events would unravel itself. In the meanwhile he cautiously extended and consolidated his power as duke. *Hugh Capet* He had inherited from his father the counties of Paris, Etampes, Orleans, Melun, Senlis, Dourdan, and had a tiny port on the

Channel at Montreuil-sur-Mer, which the Count of Flanders later seized. These territories formed a substantial number of fiefs. In his quality as duke of the Franks — or of France — he received the homage of almost all the nobles north of the Loire and east of the Seine. Richard, Duke of Normandy, was his brother-in-law, the Counts of Vermandois, Troyes, Vendôme, Corbeil, Amiens, Dreux, Mans, Châtres, Blois, Tours, and Anjou were his vassals. In addition, his brother Henry was Duke of Burgundy and Count of Auxerre, Autun, Beaune, and Nevers. Even south of the Loire Hugh Capet possessed considerable detached territories in Auvergne, Touraine, and Poitou. Other important resources were derived from his position as "lay abbot" or lord of many of the monasteries in these regions.¹ Finally Hugh Capet had a devoted partisan in Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims after 969. He was a son of the Count of Metz, a brother of the Count of Verdun and nephew of the Duke of Upper Lorraine, whose wife was Hugh Capet's sister. Nor must Gerbert, head of the cathedral school of Rheims, later tutor of Otto III, who made him Pope Sylvester II, be omitted from this list of Capetian partisans.

Without being "a lean and solemn phantom," as one eminent historian has written, the last Carolingians in political and material resources were no match for the Duke of France. Lothar chafed under his position, almost without domains and with few, and they puny, vassals. He felt that he was gradually being pushed out of his kingdom, and so conceived the idea of re-establishing the old ninth-century Kingdom of Lorraine, the cradle of his dynasty, *the Carolingian country* above all others, notwithstanding the fact that Upper and Lower Lorraine were German duchies. In 968 he made a madcap and unsuccessful expedition into Lorraine, the effect of which was to anger Otto II, who now became an active supporter of Hugh Capet, and to convince Adalberon of Rheims — himself a Lorrainer — that the meddlesome king was a public nuisance. It seems remarkable that Lothar was not then deposed.

The death of Otto II in 983 brought a new crisis. Lothar conspired with Henry of Bavaria, who aspired to the regency over the baby Otto III, with the design of ultimately making himself king of Germany, and secured from him the promise that if he became king, he would cede Lorraine to Lothar and consent to the restoration of a "middle kingdom." This plot, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was foiled by Gerbert and the Empress-mother Theophano. In his anger over this frustration of his plans Lothar, in 985, made a new raid into Lorraine, seized Verdun, and took prisoners Count Godfrey, his son Frederick, his uncle Siegfried of Luxemburg and his cousin Thierry, Duke of Upper Lorraine, all of whom were related to Adalberon. The in-

¹ Hugh Capet's surname derived from the fact that he habitually wore a short cape in imitation of an abbot's cape indicative of his office of lay abbot of St. Martin of Tours. It was a studied pose in order to ingratiate himself with the monks of the many monasteries which he controlled, for they were not without influence.

censed archbishop was actually plotting the king's deposition, with the support of the Saxon house in Germany and the connivance of Hugh Capet, when Lothar suddenly died (986) The Carolingian dynasty was on the verge of extinction Within a year Louis V (986-87) was killed when hunting The crown fell as ripe fruit into the hands of Hugh Capet, whom Adalberon crowned on July 3, 987, in the presence and with the consent of the grandees of the northern part of the kingdom No nobles from the South were present The Realm of France came into being on that summer day

*End of
Carolingian
Dynasty*

The revolution of 987 was as natural as the one in the eighth century which elevated the Carolingians to the Merovingian throne In both instances the force of events asserted itself The power behind the throne for many years at last, after tortuous vicissitudes be-

Revolution of 987

came the power on the throne Fundamentally the Capetian revolution, like the Carolingian revolution in 752, was only a change of dynasty All great revolutions in history are indicative of profound changes, political, economic, and social The monarchy founded by Hugh Capet emerged out of the feudal society which was formed in the ninth and tenth centuries Feudalism had produced its own royal dynasty and its own peculiar form of government Hugh Capet was at once the first of feudal suzerains and king In making him king the great feudatories perhaps thought that they, having "elected" him, would be stronger than he The new king's position was in harmony with the new feudal society An hereditary seigniorial authority, based upon substantial landed possessions was combined with the kingship, whose prerogatives, although at the time attenuated to mere theories, nevertheless in strong hands might be revived and become effective again

*Nature of
Capetian kingship*

The year 987 is a critical date and marks the beginning of the French monarchy as the Middle Ages knew it, Nevertheless at the moment it was not a new era The royal authority of which Hugh Capet became possessor, could not recover at once The Church and the great barons were the real power in the realm Hugh Capet, chosen and crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims, was only a baron among barons before he was consecrated to be king At the moment of his coronation he was unable to exercise the royal authority outside of his own domains He and his immediate successors ruled only the territory around Paris and Orleans, the Ile-de-France, Brie, Beauvais, Valois, The Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Chalons, Laon, Orleans, Langres, and the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens were the king's

*Weakness of first
Capetians*

In France the hereditary nature of the king's domains first neutralized and then destroyed the elective nature of the kingship which finally became hereditary according to the law of primogeniture In Germany, on the other hand, where the kings had few domains, the elective nature of the crown

was perpetuated to its detriment Hugh Capet took the precaution early in his reign to defeat this elective quality of the kingship by having the question of succession settled in advance Since Adalberon of Rheims
Royal domain was alarmed to find that Hugh was more independent towards him than he expected, Robert was crowned by the Bishop of Orleans instead

Hugh Capet has been variously judged by historians Some have thought him weak because he made no effort to extend a vigorous control over the great feudatories Others have called him a clever opportunist, having no constructive policy and content to drift with events, trusting to a lucky "break" The truth would seem to be that he was patient, astute, farsighted, and not too principled He preferred prudence to "glory" He left the great feudatories alone, calculating that if he did not molest them, they would not molest him He favored the monks and ardently supported the monastic reform movement promoted by the great Abbey of Cluny

He successfully bridged the transition of kingship from outmoded Carolingian traditions and practices to new and feudal practices which harmonized monarchy with the conditions of the time and the spirit of the age More could hardly be expected of him

The dramatic interest of French history for nearly three centuries is found in the struggle of the kings with the great provincial dynasts

Winning here, losing there, it was only very gradually that the Capetians rose superior to these local dynasties Nothing in the material resources of the kings accounts for their success For their triumph we must look to the character of the monarchy, its principle, its theory The central thought of kingship was *not* feudal, though this was once widely believed and often said In theory the French monarchy was not feudal but royal The monarchical idea had in fact been transmitted without break The accession of Hugh Capet marked only a dynastic, not a political or social revolution Nothing new was founded What the Carolingians had claimed as kings, that also the Capetians claimed and asserted Consecrated by the Church, the Capetians regarded themselves the legitimate successors of the two previous Frankish dynasties

The monarchy was elective and it was the king's duty to consult the magnates But once crowned, in theory the king was absolute, if he could compel the barons to submit The theory of kingship, however, looked one way, the fact of kingship looked another The task of the first Capetians was to compel the fact to conform to the theory and this they succeeded in doing An important means to this end was the growth of the hereditary principle, which was combined with the custom, introduced by Hugh Capet, of crowning the heir during the lifetime of the reigning king (*cooptation*). Thus gradually a fixed rule

of hereditary succession obtained, and the elective principle was destroyed

Coming to the throne by ecclesiastical influence, the French monarchy from the first leaned upon the support of the Church. The royal officials were clericals, the Church furnished the chief ministers of the crown, of whom Suger, Abbot of St Denis and chief minister of Louis VI and Louis VII, is a shining example. The power of feudalism, which everywhere sought to control the local church, drove the Church to the king's side for protection. Bishops and abbots constantly asserted that they owned no other lord than the king. The royal prerogative of *regale* which gave the king ecclesiastical control during the vacancy of a see tended to increase the royal power in regions outside of the royal domain. The kings managed to keep control over episcopal elections and always to exact the oath of fealty from new bishops immediately after consecration.

*Influence of
Church*

The crown also kept the monasteries subservient through control of their temporalities. It must be remembered that during the early Middle Ages feudalism had made heavy inroads upon monastic property. The king himself from patron, protector, advocate of certain abbeys, ultimately became their lay abbot. Hugh Capet and his successors were lay abbots of St Martin of Tours, of St Germain des Prés, of St Germain d'Auxerre, of Morienval, and other abbeys.

*Importance of
monasteries*

To sum up the Church aided the crown in three ways (1) politically bishops and abbots were frequently the king's ministers, (2) financially the Church furnished the largest portion of the king's revenue, (3) in military service the contingents furnished by the Church constituted the largest part of the royal army.

*Church's aid to
crown*

For the management of the royal domain the kings created a local administrative machinery which stood them in good stead. Upon every separate domain was a provost (*prévôt*) who was held accountable for the royal revenue and for the administration of justice. Hundreds of charters addressed to the *prévôts* survive, showing the solicitude of the kings for efficient government of their domain. Besides these officials the kings made large use of bishops and abbots in matters of administration.

*Local
administration*

The first Capetian kings were not statesmen or warriors, but they had a vein of intrigue in them mingled with adroitness, inherited from Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet, which was sometimes singularly effective in discomfiting their enemies. Robert the Pious (996-1031), who is usually treated with contempt by historians, began his career by an ambitious marriage with the widow of Arnulf II of Flanders, who brought him as dowry the port of Montreuil on the Channel. The marriage endured for only a year, and then Robert married Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy, who brought him a claim upon that kingdom.

Robert II

This was too much of a threat to the emperor, for Germany coveted the territory and eventually got it in 1032. Robert's next marriage adventure was with Constance of Arles, who astonished and scandalized the North by introducing Provençal fashions, fineries, hair-dressing, manners, ribald poetry, jesters, and mountebanks, all of which Paris regarded as frivolous. Constance was the mother of Henry I (1031-1060).

In some respects the reign of Henry I was dramatic. He does not deserve the contempt with which he has been treated. As a diplomat he was exceedingly clever, and a creditable warrior. He was a contemporary of Henry III, one of the ablest and most powerful of the German emperors, of Pope Leo IX, of William the Conqueror, of Godfrey of Lorraine, of Matilda of Tuscany, and of Robert Guiscard. It was an era of great men, and Henry I at least held his own among them, except William the Conqueror, whose conquest of England he could not prevent.

In Henry I's reign the French throne was an object of Emperor Henry III's attack. The German emperor had absolute control of the papacy, he had married Agnes of Poitou, daughter of the great Duke William of Aquitaine, an alliance which also connected him with the powerful counts of Anjou. France was therefore hemmed in by German influence and Henry III planned to reduce the French king to the same condition of vassalage to which Otto the Great had a century earlier reduced the last Carolingians. Against this imperial German menace Henry I struggled for years, and with success. He had no adequate military force for this resistance, but followed the paths of tortuous and secret intrigue. As we have seen in a previous chapter, Godfrey, the powerful Duke of Lorraine rebelled against Henry III. France encouraged and fomented this rebellion. Godfrey was crushed and soon in Italy became even more formidable to the emperor. How decisive a part Henry I played in this matter is described by a German chronicler in 1056 who was too honest to conceal the truth. The emperor had tried to buy off the opposition of France to his Italian policy. As the price of his neutrality the king demanded Lorraine and met a heated refusal, whereupon the two rulers gave each other the lie. The emperor returned to Germany from this interview a broken man, and soon died leaving Godfrey the strongest man in Europe to develop with Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII, that hostile combination against the emperor which was to build up Norman and French power on the ruins of Germany.

Henry I, perhaps because of his father's matrimonial entanglements, warily kept clear of any marriage alliance at home. He astonished Europe by marrying Anne, one of the daughters of Jaroslav, Duke of Kiev in Russia, who named her son Philip, thus introducing a Greek and Russian name into the West.



FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The long period of rule of the Capetian kings became proverbial,¹ and Philip I's was the longest of all except that of Louis IX, of Louis VII and his son Philip II, each of whom reigned for forty-three years. This fortunate longevity did much to establish the hereditary succession and thus spare the French kings the weakness inherent in an elective monarchy — perhaps the worst form of government known. The continuity of the Capetian dynasty prevented intervention or interference by the great feudal house except in the form of overt rebellion, and although these reactionary movements were not unusual, no one of them ever succeeded. In contrast, as we have seen, the elective nature of the German crown was its primary weakness. In France the law of primogeniture debarred the ambition of any of the princes and designated the eldest son to be king, who succeeded in the instant when his father expired. "The king is dead, long live the king." No interval of time elapsed in the continuity of royal authority, as in Germany between the death of the king and the election of his successor, which sometimes was a matter of months, leaving the door open to intrigue and reaction.

Thus the French monarchy grew slowly, but it hardened as it grew. Each increase of authority, each acquisition of territory, however small, enlarged the royal power in just that degree. These acquisitions of territory, it must be understood, were to the royal domain and acquired at the expense of the feudality, thus slowly giving the crown a growing preponderance. The manner of acquisition was by purchase or gift, inheritance, marriage, forfeiture or confiscation, and conquest. But until Philip II in 1204 there is no instance of acquisition by conquest. Until that time the great feudatories of Normandy, Flanders, Champagne, Anjou, Poitou, Guienne, Gascony, Toulouse, Provence were too strong to be coerced or controlled by the king. They were vassals of the crown, but not subservient to it. The king ruled directly only his own immediate territory, the Ile-de-France. Over all the rest he was suzerain or overlord and not immediate sovereign. Until the middle of the eleventh century the kings exercised no sway, not even indirect, south of the Loire, except in the county of Bourges, which Philip I bought when its ruler was hard up for money with which to go on the first crusade. Even north of the Loire the king's overlordship was slight, except in Burgundy, whose duke was of the collateral branch of the Capetian house.

The sturdiest of these vassal principalities was Normandy. The rapid progress of French civilization, culture, and language among the Norsemen since 912 had converted them from barbarian vikings to Normans. They

¹ Hugh Capet as Duke of Francia and king (956-96), Robert II (996-1031), Henry I (1031-60), Philip I (1060-1108), Louis VI (1108-37); Louis VII (1137-1180), Philip II Augustus (1180-1223), Louis VIII (1223-26), Louis IX (1226-70); Philip III (1170-85); Philip IV (1185-1314).

preserved their native energy and remarkable military and political talent under conditions which might have refined away their original vigor "The combination of these elements produced a superb political animal" No such vigorous and effective people had appeared since the palmiest days of the Romans Norman institutions, Norman-French language, Norman architecture, in the eleventh century spread to England, to Spain, to Italy, to the Orient The Norman lances were lifted almost everywhere in Europe Their expansive energy magnetized much of Europe

*Importance of
Normandy*

William the Conqueror's conquest of England in 1066 is a major event in French, as well as English, history If the French king could have prevented it, he certainly would have done so For it made the already powerful Norman duke truly formidable in the magnitude of his resources and the extent of his dominion, a vassal of France so strong that he and his successors menaced the French crown for centuries to come

*Importance of
Norman conquest*

England, after Alfred the Great bought peace from the Danes, had greatly recovered from the effects of their invasions His son Edward the Elder and his son Athelstan recovered much of the lost territory of the Danelaw though it was not entirely subjugated until the reign of Edred (946-55) An awakening town life was now observable The erection by Alfred the Great and his successors of *burhs* or strongholds stimulated this development For these places naturally became centers of administration and of trade and so urban communities came into being After the tenth century fortified towns were much more numerous than they had ever been before The walls often were of earth, or earth and timber combined

*England under
Anglo Saxon
kings*

Although England was again politically united, the country was not in a good condition The monasteries had decayed The learning and education which Alfred had fostered had declined Local administration was disjointed, there was much lawlessness, the great landowners oppressed the common people and many former free village communities had sunk to a servile condition Fortunately there was little war The Scotch and Welsh were quiet Only in Mercia and Northumberland were there short-lived outbreaks

England found a leader not in the kings, but in the celebrated Dunstan, the greatest Englishman since Alfred He was educated by Irish monks at

*Archbishop
Dunstan*

Glastonbury Abbey and was regarded as a prodigy of learning After the subjugation of the Danes, King Edred gave himself up mainly to a religious course of life and entrusted public affairs to Dunstan For over thirty years, first as Abbot of Glastonbury, later as Archbishop of Canterbury from 959 to his death in 988, this able and haughty churchman ruled England In the tenth century a great monastic reform movement began in France which spread across the chan-

nel Monks then were in better odor than secular priests, and through them Dunstan thoroughly reformed the English Church, wherever possible supplanting secular clergy by regulars, even in the bishoprics "All the ministers which the heathen men (Danes) had formerly broken down where were nothing but old walls and wild woods" were restored Ely and Peterborough were among these restorations Exceedingly important was Dunstan's revival of education, so much so that "it seemed as if the days of Alfred the Great had returned"

Unfortunately for him, Dunstan in his last years saw the beginning of the ruination of what he had labored so long to establish A second Danish invasion of England threatened

There were a few piratical raids,¹ then cessation (982-88) and renewal in a shape which seemed to imply intended settlement, and finally the terrific climax of the conquest of all England and the establishment of a Danish dynasty on the throne The leader of this invasion *Second Danish invasion* was Swein, the son of Harold Bluetooth of Denmark who had once attempted to conquer Normandy, with whom in the early stages was another viking rover, Olaf Tryggvesson of Norway His life, as related in the sagas, is an amazing combination of history and romance "The child of a murdered king and a fugitive queen, he is sold as a slave in Esthonia, he flourishes through court favor in Russia, he wins principalities by marriage in Wendland (the Slavic lands east of Germany) and in England and is converted to Christianity by an abbot in the Scilly Islands"

The Battle of Maldon (991), commemorated like that at Brunanburh, by a ringing poem, is the only bright spot in the melancholy reign of Ethelred the Redeless (or "Without Counsel") The engagement was fought near the mouth of a tidal river now called the Blackwater Here was a bridge which three dauntless Englishmen kept, like Horatius and his heroic comrades in the lays of ancient Rome, until the tide ebbed and made the crossing possible by ford² As Charles the Bald in ninth century Gaul, Ethelred II paid Danegeld after Danegeld with such monotonous repetition that it ultimately became a permanent form of taxation In the year 1012 alone, 48,000 pounds was paid to the "army," i.e., the Danes

It would be tedious to relate in detail the history of the Danish conquest of England But space may be given for a quotation from *Details of the invasion* the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

"1005 This year was the great famine throughout the English nation, such that no man ever before remembered one so grim And the fleet in this year went from this land to Denmark, and stayed but a little space ere it came again

¹ On Southampton and Thanet in 980, on the Devon coast in 981, on London in 982

² See a stirring account in Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, 268-74 (2nd edition 1870)

1006 The great fleet came to Sandwich and did all as they had been before wont. They ravaged and burnt and destroyed wherever they went. A force was assembled against them, but it availed nothing for this army went wheresoever itself would. The Danes made the Isle of Wight their headquarters and sent out plundering expeditions into Hampshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. It had been often said that if they reached so far inland, they would never again get to the sea (but) they went homewards another way."

King Ethelred was driven into Shropshire

"Then became the dread of the Army so great that no man could think or discover how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them. Then the king and his *witan* (the royal council) decreed for the behalf of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the Army.

1007 In this year was tribute delivered to the Army it was 36,000 pounds

1008 A great fleet prepared throughout England. From 300 hides¹ of land and from 10 hides, one ship, and from 8 hides a helmet and a coat of mail.²

1010 At last there was no leader who would assemble forces, but each fled as best he might, nor, at the last, could one shire assist another."

In 1013 the king fled to Normandy with his wife, Emma, who was a daughter of the Duke of Normandy, and his two sons. In the same year England submitted and Swein was recognized as King of England by all. His triumph was of brief duration, for he died in the next year. The Danish army and the crews of the fleet set up Swein's son Knut (1017-35), a stripling of nineteen, who was with his father when he died.

The *witan* was an aristocratic body of rarely more than fifty or sixty members, composed of the high officials, the great nobles, the ealdormen who governed the shires, and a liberal sprinkling of bishops and abbots. The clerical element was predominant. The English *witan* recalled Ethelred. England was again racked by war. In the end Ethelred and his son and successor Edmund were both dead, and the *witan* succumbed and recognized Knut as king, who reigned until 1035.

England was now nominally a dependency of Denmark, whose domination extended along the south coast of the Baltic where settlements were situated at the mouths of the German rivers as far as Danzig.³ Norway, too, was comprehended within this Danish "empire," for in 1028 Knut overcame Olaf of Norway. "The good fortune of

¹ A hide was forty acres. Thus 310 vessels were provided.

² This is of interest, for it shows the cost of armor, which only the rich could afford.

Knut had raised him up an empire in Northern Europe to which there is no parallel before or after him" The corner-stone of this was not his native Denmark, but England When he died in 1035 the three states went separate ways If England was unable to keep the conterminous countries, Wales and Scotland in permanent subjection, it was much more difficult to hold Denmark and Norway in dependent relation to England

The eighteen years of Knut's reign gave England an unparalleled period of peace Even when he was abroad for months together, as he was in Rome in 1027 where he met the Emperor Conrad II, nothing happened

In his last hours only did Swein profess the Christian faith *His administration* But Knut was a sincere and earnest Christian ruler He tried to rule as an Englishman and married Ethelred's widow, Emma His government was just, wise, efficient, and firmer than any which had gone before He did not change the administrative system or the laws of England, but the Danish element seemed to act as an alloy to harden the old metal His only radical innovation was the housecarls

England had never had a standing army When war befell the king or ealdorman, the local governor of a county or shire, called out his retainers, or the general levy, the *fyrð* or militia, either of the whole kingdom or some particular part of it If the English kings had had a permanent army the Danish invasions might never have succeeded Knut took no chances either against invasion by a foreign foe, or an uprising at home He organized the housecarls on the pattern of the crews of the forty Danish ships which he retained when he dissolved the grand fleet In time they were increased to 6,000 men, drawn from many countries and constituting a sort of foreign legion No Englishman was in it The force was kept under severe discipline, was well paid and well fed It was not a feudal contingent and free from the laxness and the privileges which made feudal forces so ineffective When Knut passed away and England reverted to its national dynasty, these housecarls found service in other lands, many in the Varangian Guard of the Byzantine emperors

For the five years (1035-40) after Knut's death, Harold, his son by a Danish wife, was king He is only remembered for his speed of foot, which gave him the name Harefoot When he died, his half-brother Harthacnut (1040-42) was "acknowledged king as well by *Knut's successors* English as by Danes" He died without issue and the succession passed to his half-brother Edward, Emma's son by her first husband, Ethelred

The reign of Edward (1052-66), later for his reputation for piety surnamed the Confessor — he was little more than a monk on a throne — was nominal The real power was exercised by the great Earl Godwin of Wessex who enlarged his influence by acquiring *Edward the Confessor* three additional earldoms for his sons, besides bullying the king into marrying his daughter. In 1051 Edward temporarily got over his

meekness and expelled the whole Godwin clan from the realm with the aid of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, who were jealous of Godwin. "And soon after this happened," records the Chronicle, "Then put away the king the lady who had been consecrated his queen, . . . It would have seemed wondrous to every man who was in England, if any one before that had said that it should be so, for Godwin had been erstwhile to that degree exalted as if he ruled all England, and his sons were earls and his daughter wedded and united to the king." In this same year William of Normandy visited England. What did he see and what did he think of things? In less than two years Edward's firmness oozed out like water. At Easter in 1053 Godwin and the other earls, his sons, Swein (who once kidnapped the Abbess of Leominster), Harold, Leofwin, and Tostig were all "inlawed" and the earldoms of which they had been deprived were restored to them.

"And then were outlawed all the Frenchmen who before had upreared unjust law and judged unjust judgments and counselled ill counsel in this land, whom the king liked to have with him." The party cleavage in England by this time was clear and of a double nature. Politically it was a struggle between the king, who was half-Norman, and the great earls and their clients for control of the government. This was feudalism *vs* the crown. The earls accentuated the separatist tradition of their respective earldoms. The Godwin family controlled the whole of the ancient kingdoms of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, East Anglia, and part of Mercia. Their retainers were numbered by thousands. Their boundless liberality to ecclesiastical foundations — Worcester, Leominster, Evesham, Chester, Wenlock, Stow, and above all Coventry — gained support from the Church. England at this time was in a condition similar to that of Frankish Gaul in the reign of Charles the Bald, although the condition was not as acute. "There was no disintegration of the state, as in the Carolingian kingdom . . . The failure of Anglo-Saxon feudalism developed on the political side marks the wide gap which separates it from the continental type."¹

When the "Great Earl" Godwin died the headship of his house passed to his son Harold, whose handsome person and winning manner made him the most popular man in England. He was cultured, as the intellectual prestige of Waltham Abbey which he founded showed; he was travelled, having been to Rome. The tension between the two parties became acute when it was apparent that Edward the Confessor would die childless. Who then would become king? Harold was the greatest man in England and its natural ruler. But he was not of the royal lineage. Legally the kingship was elective and in the hands of the *witan*.

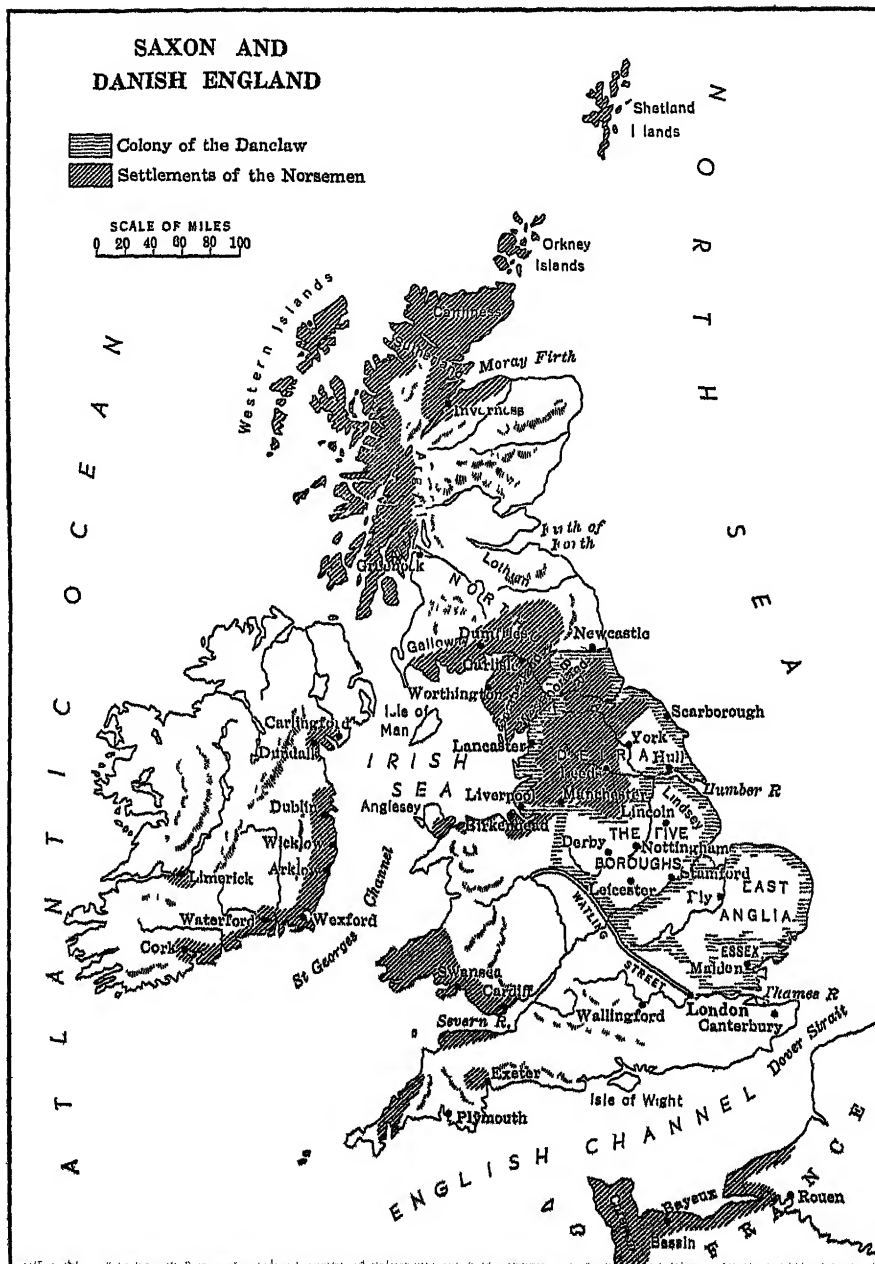
Hereditary succession of males was the traditional practice of succession, but legally the new king had to be confirmed by the *witan*. The condition

¹ W. A. Morris, *Constitutional History of England to 1216*, 121.

was a deadlock between the tradition of hereditary of the crown and the legal theory of an elective kingship. According to the former, the nearest male heir of Edward the Confessor was William, Duke of Normandy, but if the theory of election was valid, then Harold should be king since he was clearly the choice of the *witan*. *Question of succession to the crown*

There is another aspect of the question, however, which deserves attention, and that is the historical nature of the issue. The disintegration of the English kingdom was not so great as that of France in the tenth century. But the process differed in degree, not in nature. Harold's relation to the crown was similar to that of Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet to the last Carolingian kings. In France feudalism brought forth the king from its own body-politic, Hugh Capet was made king *because* he was the greatest feudal lord in the kingdom. If feudalism be regarded as an independent and self-developing theory of the state and of government — in other words, if what happened in France in 987 were valid in England in 1066, then the natural king was Harold. In such an impasse as that which occurred when Edward the Confessor died, only the sword could settle the issue. The king died on January 5, 1066, Harold was crowned the very next day. The speed seems unseemly but it was justified by events. William of Normandy lost no time in claiming the throne of England and, knowing what the answer would be, began to prepare men and ships for the crossing of the channel, and Harold repaired his fleet at Sandwich and posted armed forces along the south coast. *Claims to English throne*

Equally menacing was another danger in the north. In order to understand things, we must go back to the year 1035. When Knut died in that year, his son Swein was left in possession of Norway and Harthacnut, his half-brother in possession of Denmark and England. In the next year the former was driven out by Magnus, the son of Olaf, who received the submission of Denmark on the death of Harthacnut. He and Harthacnut had agreed that whichever of them outlived the other succeeded to his dominions, and Magnus had claimed the English throne when Edward the Confessor became king. He dreamed of restoring the Baltic empire of Knut the Great. But the Norwegian invasion of England in 1045 was averted by an attack of the Swedish king Swend upon Magnus. Now, in 1066 invasion of England threatened from the same quarter. Harold Hardrada — the stern in council — was the son of Olaf's half-brother and was king of Norway and Denmark (1044-66), and now claimed England, too. He was the most famous warrior of his day and even in that adventurous age had seen more adventure than ten other men. He had travelled through Sweden to Russia, where he had visited Novgorod and Kiev, in Constantinople he became commander of the Varangian Guard of the emperors, a body like Knut's housecarls, all of them were recruited among the Swedes in Russia and were a fierce and formidable force. In this capacity he warred for the emperor. *Danish threat to England*



against the Saracens in Sicily and Africa, made a premature crusade to the Holy Land, escaped from Constantinople when the passion of the Empress Zoe threatened to involve him, made his way back to Novgorod where he married the daughter of his former host, Jaroslav, passed to Sweden where he made an alliance with Swend, with whose aid he overthrew Magnus of Norway-Denmark

Harold Hardrada claimed England in the same year that William of Normandy asserted his claim, and arrived in the Tyne in September York speedily submitted Harold of England, who had been king for thirty-six weeks, advanced from London by forced marches and met and slew the invader in the battle of Stamford Bridge

Battles of Stamford Bridge and of Hastings

(September 25, 1066) On the day after this battle William of Normandy sailed from St Valery The English fleet had been dismissed two weeks before for want of provisions and the Norman fleet landed without opposition on the beach at Pevensey and the army of William took up its position at Senlac (or Hastings), seven miles inland The victor of Stamford Bridge marched southward and came in sight of the Norman camp on October 13 The next day he met his death The great battle, which changed history as few events have done, was won by William the Conqueror Since Caesar's conquest of Gaul no military event in western Europe was as important as the Battle of Hastings

England found a master, who saved her from the dissolution which threatened her, exactly as Otto I had saved Germany from dissolution in the previous century

CHAPTER XIX

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE THE REFORMATION AND REORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS IN 1122

The work of the new feudal governments in the reconstruction of western Europe after the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire has been reviewed in the preceding chapters. But the Church, both the monks and the bishops, also played a large part in this restoration.

In Denmark, the Christian faith was first preached by Anskar, the Apostle of the North. His mission was unsuccessful. The vikings were heathen whose ravages of churches and monasteries were terribly destructive. But after their settlement in the Danelaw the Danes gradually became Christianized and in the tenth century gave three archbishops to the English Church. A Dane, Thorketel, accompanied the daughters of Edward to Germany in order that Otto I might choose one of them for his wife. Many converted Danes returned to their fatherland and helped to shape its civilization. English influence reached its height in the reign of Knut. Englishmen were instrumental in completing the conversion of Denmark, an attempt was even made to give Canterbury authority over the Danish bishops, to the anger of Archbishop Unwan of Bremen who claimed to be metropolitan of all three Scandinavian countries. When the first monastery was established in Denmark by King Eric (1095-1103), the monks came from Evesham. The first *Lives of the Saints* in Denmark were written, not by Germans, but by Englishmen. From the twelfth century on, however, German influence began to gain ascendancy in Denmark, and the Danish bishops were suffragans of Bremen. The permanent nature of the Church in Denmark and Scandinavia was given to it by the papal legate Nicholas Breakspeare, in 1152, who later himself became Pope Hadrian IV.

Sweden owes almost as great a debt to English Christianity as does Denmark. After St. Anskar's missionary journey thither the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen did little for Sweden except ordain bishops who were not given to evangelism. Without the English missionaries, who came partly via Norway and partly via Denmark, the conversion of Sweden would have been long delayed. The dioceses of Skara, Vexio, Strengnas, and Vesteras owe their origin mainly to English effort. It was English pressure which broke down the obstinate paganism of Upsala.

*Christianization
of Denmark*

*England Chris-
tianizes Sweden*

The Norsemen had destroyed hundreds of monasteries in France in the ninth century, and the Magyars a little later did the same in southern Germany and Lombard Italy. The devastation made by the Mohammedan corsairs along the Riviera and the Italian coast was equally severe. What this destruction meant to civilization will be appreciated when one understands that a monastery was not only a house for the worship of God, but a social and economic community which had an important influence upon its neighborhood. It was the center of a cluster of manors, often very many of them, peopled by a servile tenantry who worked the farms roundabout the villages. It was also a hospital, a school, and a hostel for the wayfarer.

Destruction of monasteries

The German peoples soon asserted their proprietorship over churches and monasteries which they had founded and endowed. Lords began to assert their right to appoint the priest who was to serve the altar, or the abbot over the monastery. This intrusion led to a struggle, which lasted for centuries, between the Church and the feudality. The monasteries suffered from the tyranny of the feudal nobles, who appropriated their revenues and even engrossed their lands, which they in turn granted out in fiefs as if their own. Other monasteries, which had managed to preserve their independence, had become feudalized in a different way. An abbey became a lordship, the abbot a baron who might be a suzerain for some of the enfeifed lands of the abbey and a vassal for others. The Abbot of St. Riquier, a monastery which was neither large nor rich, had 117 vassals in the twelfth century.

Proprietorship of monasteries

Reformation of these abuses and relief from these conditions came early in the tenth century, and first appeared in Flanders whence the current ran up the Rhine into Germany, where Otto I's brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, promoted it. This restoration was intimately associated with the reform of the German clergy and the revival of learning in the movement known as the Saxon renaissance. Another stream ran down the Channel coast to Normandy, where the dukes favored the reform movement and founded many monasteries which did much for the rapid conversion of the Norsemen, who were just emerging out of heathenism and barbarism into Christianity and civilization. This monastic reform movement also crossed the Channel into England. King Edgar (959-75) and Archbishop Dunstan introduced from Flanders the new rules for monks and secular canons.

Monastic reform movement

The most permanent and far-reaching of these monastic reform movements was that connected with the great abbey of Cluny, founded in 910, in French Burgundy. In order to protect Cluny against appropriation by any unscrupulous feudal noble it was put under the immediate authority of the pope; not even the Bishop of Macon in whose diocese Cluny was situated had any jurisdiction over it.

Reforms of Cluny

Technically Clunyism was meant to be a restoration of old Benedictinism, and the Cluniacs called themselves Benedictines. Actually Cluny created a new Order of monks. In old Benedictinism every monastery was independent of every other monastery. This separateness of each house from every other house had been a weakness of organization, of which the violent feudality of the age took advantage, and appropriated unto themselves the monasteries, their lands, and their seigns. To guard against this abuse Cluny was made an Order, that is to say all the houses were combined under the central administration of Cluny, which was the *only* monastery. All other houses were priories, ruled by a prior or sub-abbot who was appointed by the Great Abbot of Cluny. This new form of organization was further strengthened by the practice, although it was not in the Rule of the Order, for the Great Abbot to appoint his successor, always the ablest person in the membership who had had long training for the post. The ability and length of rule of the abbots of Cluny account in large part for its success.¹ A third factor which contributed to Cluny's success was that it was an aristocratic Order. It strongly appealed to the feudality because its monks were wholly recruited from the families of the nobility, who soon took a pride in being able to boast that at least one scion of the family was a Cluniac. This sentiment of itself neutralized the old evil of misappropriation of monastic property by the feudality, and moreover inclined the grand proprietary class to be liberal in donations to Cluny and its subordinate foundations. The rapid spread of Cluny was remarkable. By about 1050, there were numerous Cluniac houses in France, England, and Lombard Italy. In Germany they were fewer in number and mostly centered in the Black Forest region of Swabia, where Hirsau and St. Blasien were of chief importance.

Meanwhile the bishops—the secular clergy—had not been idle. The crying need of the time was for protection from violence, especially private war. In the disintegration of western Europe into a myriad of semi-independent principalities of greater or less extent, ruled by a warlike caste of nobles of many ranks—from dukes and counts down to viscounts, barons, and chatelains—each country had a maze of interior frontiers, mere ranges of hills or streams might be political boundaries. The ambition of every lord was to enlarge his territory by fair means, as through advantageous marriage alliances, or foul, as by war upon his weaker neighbors. Woe betide the vassal whose overlord could not protect him in such circumstances, for the king might be far away and himself be only a nominal king, having unruly vassals stronger than he. When law was unwritten and indefinite and courts could not protect a man,

¹ In the 248 years between 910 and 1158 Cluny had but eight abbots. These were Berno, the founder (910–26), Odo (926–44), Aimard (944–64), Majouls (964–94), Odilo (994–1044), Hugh (1044–1109), Pons (1109–22), Peter the Venerable (1122–58).

the only recourse he had was to his sword. He had to fight either to redress a wrong or sustain a right or to protect life and property. Much feudal warfare was just such a "struggle for rights." Then also there was much sheer brigandage committed by robber barons. Perhaps the freest and the most violent society that ever existed was precisely the feudal baronage of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Unless some restraint was put upon this warlike class, society might be destroyed.

Such a restraint came to be known as the Peace of God. It originated in southern France in synods at Charroux (989), Narbonne (990), and Anse (994). Thence it spread generally over France. The Church did not attempt to suppress private war, but under pain of excommunication, it enjoined warfare on the last three days of the week — the days of the Passion of Christ — and at all times and everywhere to protect all clergy, all women and children, all travelling merchants and laboring peasantry from spoliation. In every conflict between barons, the manorial villages which were peopled by simple peasants, were the first to suffer from fire and sword. Against the assault of a body of armored men the peasants were helpless. The warring knight was a moving castle carrying death and destruction with him. The bad baron sometimes was made to swear before the bishop that he would not commit such atrocities when he engaged in private war. Thus in 1023 the Bishop of Beauvais exacted the following oath:

"I will not carry off either ox or cow or any beast of burden, I will seize neither peasant nor merchant, I will not take from them their pence, not compel them to ransom themselves, I do not wish them to lose their goods because of wars carried on by their lords, and I will not beat them to obtain their subsistence. I will seize neither horse nor mare nor colt from the pasture, I will not destroy nor burn their cottages, I will not uproot their vines nor set fire to their fields nor destroy their mills."

Unfortunately many barons were so "foresworn and reprobate" that they had no fear of the Church's anathema. Coercion and physical punishment were necessary to stop them, and the civil authorities stepped in to assist the Church. The better nobles lent military and legal support to a movement known as the Truce of God which did have teeth in it and which the bad baronage soon learned to respect. It was an alliance between the spiritual authority of the Church and the police power of the civil authorities.

The first declaration of the *Treuga Dei* (Truce of God) was made in 1027. It decreed that the last three days in every week, Christmas week, and the forty days of Lent were "closed" seasons for the game of war. Later these "closed" periods were extended from the beginning of Lent to St. John's Day (June 24) and again from Assumption Day (August 15) to St. Martin's Day (November 11). Thus the fighting baron had to limit his activity to the

hottest weeks in summer and the coldest weeks of winter, and the peasant had a chance to plow, to sow, to reap his crops, and in late summer and autumn to gather his grapes, make his wine and finally to get in his root crops before winter came. These measures were not always effective, human nature being what it was, but it was a great step in advance. The Truce of God was aided by the formation of local peace associations in many provinces in which the clergy, the better nobles, and the common people were associated together. One of these at Puy, France, was called the Brotherhood of God. The psychology of this movement for peace in the Middle Ages had the passion and the idealism which modern "pacifism" possesses.

This mass psychology and spirit of revivalism was also manifested in the new zeal for church building in the eleventh century in which all classes co-operated, giving of their time, their money or their services according to the capacity of each. Hundreds of old, dark, damp wooden churches were torn down and new edifices of stone erected, which were far safer against fire and much more beautiful. For a new type of architecture, the Romanesque, which originated in Lombard Italy but not in Rome, spread over Europe on this wave of religious feeling.

Thus by the middle of the eleventh century, through the efforts of kings and great nobles, abbots and monks, bishops and priests, artisans and craftsmen, and the common peasantry, too, a New Europe had come into being, a Europe which though still abounding in many evils and abuses, nevertheless was purposeful and original.

The Church and the papacy, the states of Europe and their rulers, the emperor and the kings at this time were eager for power. New political ideas were in the air. Emperor and kings wanted stronger monarchy. The papacy wanted supermonarchy. The old teaching of St. Augustine in the *City of God* that the Church was superior to the state because the Church was of divine foundation whereas the state was man-made and necessarily evil, was revived not as an idle dream, but as a reality capable of achievement.

The superlative dreamer of this vision was Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), who had an instrument ready to hand in the Cluny reform. We must go back for some years before him, however, in order to understand his action. The Cluny reform had begun and continued as a movement for the reformation of the monasteries for many years. But in the middle of the eleventh century a radical wing of Cluny conceived the idea of extending it to a reformation of the secular clergy, i.e. the episcopate. The project was at once supported in Lorraine and Tuscany, not for religious, but for political purposes. In Germany and Lombard Italy the bishops had been so heavily feudalized by

the Saxon and Salian kings that they were prince-bishops and powerful instruments of the government used to fortify and to enforce the civil administration. Since the time when Otto I's brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, had been Duke of Lorraine, the cluster of bishops in Lorraine—Metz, Toul, Verdun, Trier—had been utilized by the German kings to restrain or suppress the dukes of Lorraine, always the most insubordinate of the great German feudality.

In 1044, as we have seen, Henry III had expelled Godfrey of Lorraine from the duchy. Godfrey went to Italy and married Beatrice, daughter of the former Frederick II of Lorraine and his distant cousin, and widow of Count Boniface of Tuscany, the most powerful lord in Italy. Godfrey left behind him in Lorraine to watch over his interests his brother Frederick, Archdeacon of Liege, who in 1057 became Pope Stephen IX. With Lorraine and Tuscany allied together, the next move of the opposition to Emperor Henry III was to capture the papal office. It was not difficult. Henry III was sincere and earnest in his wish to purify the church in his dominions. In 1046 he had deposed three popes to end a scandal and put in his uncle Bruno, the Bishop of Toul, as Pope Leo IX (1049-54).

This was the moment when the "new" Cluny reform promulgated its advocacy of the abolition of "lay" investiture of bishops, and demanded a return to "canonical" investiture. Behind what purported to be a genuine purpose to abolish "simony"¹ and to purify episcopal election was a cleverly designed and deep-laid plot to weaken, even to overthrow, the German monarchy. In feudal Europe all bishops were both priests and barons, who were vassals of the king to whom they owed homage, fidelity, and military and political service. In this double episcopal function, where was the line to be drawn? Whose wish should prevail in the choice of the bishop? The king's or the pope's? In last analysis, of course, the answer depended upon who chose the bishop, and on this issue the principals violently disagreed. If successful, the popes not only could gain great power for themselves and the Church, but could also deprive the state of political power. For by gaining exclusive control of the bishops the popes also could acquire the bishops' temporal power as a feudal lord as well. Behind the camouflage of alleged reform of the Church the Cluniacs, the papacy, and the Lorraine-Tuscan party were preparing a revolutionary movement to overthrow the emperor and make the Church not only in Germany and Italy but everywhere else, superior to the state.

Less self-interested and less political in its intention and application was

¹ Simony was an ecclesiastical term for corrupt practice in the Church, such as nepotism, sale of offices, toleration of concubinage, and the general abuse of ecclesiastical affairs. The word was derived from the story of Simon Magus in *Acts*, who tried to bribe St. Paul to show him the trick which enabled him to shake off the viper which wound around his arm and yet suffer no harm.

the demand of the Cluniacs, sustained by the papacy, for celibacy of all priests

Priestly celibacy Monks, of course, were celibate according to their vows, but the common priesthood was married. The law of celibacy applied only to the upper clergy. The reason for this requirement was not because it was thought that some mystical power or peculiar virtue was attached to the priestly office which was impaired if the priest was married. The argument for celibacy was based on the practical fact that priestly authority and property were too intimately tied together. In the feudal age land was almost the only source of wealth and every ecclesiastical office, like civil offices, was endowed with a certain amount of land. A priest who was a father not unnaturally wished that his son succeed him in possession of the land attached to his office, which meant that his son would succeed him as priest. This involved nothing less than that the teaching of religion and the administration of the sacraments would in time become an hereditary vocation. A little reflection will show that such a development was unthinkable if the Church were to preserve its spiritual nature. What church would want an hereditary pastorate, or what college or university would tolerate hereditary professorships? Not all sons are as good and as capable as their fathers. Drastic as the requirement for unmarried priests was it was justified in the eleventh century, although it disrupted families, injured the innocent, stigmatized priests' wives as concubines and branded priests' children as bastards. History can point to no more radical and revolutionary doctrine. It changed the *mores* of the European peoples.

The papacy, Cluny, and the Lorraine and Tuscan parties were allied to compass the ruin of the imperial authority, though the motives of the churchmen and those of the feudality were worlds apart.

Alliance of papacy with feudality The papal party wanted to subordinate the state to the Church. The feudal party wanted to make themselves and their principalities free from control of the crown. Both elements disguised their real purposes behind the mask of pretended "reform" of the Church.

The time was propitious. Henry III died in 1056 leaving as heir and successor his son Henry IV, who was a child of seven, the opposition profited by his minority. The regency of the boy's mother was soon overthrown by a cabal of the bishops headed by the ambitious and intriguing Anno, Archbishop of Cologne. Soon afterward, Pope Victor II died, and Frederick of Lorraine, Godfrey's brother, was elected pope. He took the name of Stephen IX. The new pope died within a year and seemingly Godfrey's plans were foiled. But it was not so, for the one act of Stephen IX had been to make Hildebrand Archdeacon of Rome. Henceforth the threads of papal diplomacy passed through the hands of Hildebrand.

Bishops dominate emperor Rome was in a state of political turmoil. The feudal nobles of Rome and the Compagna for centuries had fought among themselves for control of

the papal office. The German intervention in 962 had changed this scandalous state of affairs and the emperors had often appointed German bishops to be popes. Now, when there was no strong imperial hand to interpose, these factions revived their old policy, with this difference that they were now united against the reform party. For they saw that if every papal election in future was to be "canonical," the hope of any political faction in Rome to control the papacy would be destroyed. But there was another angle to the question "canonical" election would put an end to the emperor's domination over the papacy as well as destroy the enterprises of the Roman aristocracy. It would make the papacy independent of the imperial authority and papal independence, under the circumstances, would be merely a preliminary stage to assertion of papal supremacy over the empire.

*Struggle for
papal office*

For a brief moment the Roman faction triumphed. But Benedict X died within a year. Hildebrand played his cards well. He appealed for assistance to the Lorraine-Tuscan party, with the result that a Lorrainer, Nicholas II, was chosen pope. In 1059 the College of Cardinals was established, composed of the seven highest churchmen in the diocese of Rome, who alone, besides the pope, could celebrate mass at the high altar in St. John Lateran. Henceforth when the reigning pope died, his successor could be lawfully elected only by the College of Cardinals. The independence of the papacy from secular control, except by force, was thereby assured.

*College of
cardinals*

Meanwhile trouble was brewing in Germany. Anno of Cologne and his brother, who was Archbishop of Magdeburg, made an alliance with Ordulf, the Billunger Duke of Saxony. Ordulf was the son and successor of Bernhard Billung, whose growing hostility to the crown Henry III had watched with apprehension. In Swabia Rudolph, Count of the Rheinfelden, kidnapped Henry IV's sister Agnes and did not surrender her until promised the Duchy of Swabia. Berthold of Zaehringen demanded and received the Duchy of Carinthia and the Mark of Verona. Otto of Nordheim, a powerful Saxon noble, got Bavaria. No great noble supported the young king, who was aided only by one churchman, the redoubtable Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, a mortal enemy of the Duke of Saxony. But Adalbert was defeated and compelled to surrender over a thousand manors to the Duke of Saxony and one hundred and twenty to the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The great ecclesiastical principality of the North which Henry had built up to be a counterpoise to the Saxon dukes was ruined.

*German political
struggle*

Disaster also overtook the eastern border. The suzerainty of Germany over Hungary and Poland was repudiated by the kings of these countries. Only Bohemia, lying between them and fearing each, adhered to Germany. Worse still, in 1066 the third and far the most formidable rebellion of the Slavic tribes beyond the Elbe

*Slav-German
conflict*

broke out. The Slavs at last had found a leader of genius named Kruto, who terrorized the German frontier for a generation.

Torn within and beset from without, Germany again seemed on the verge of dissolution, when Henry IV reached his majority in 1067. The only territory in the kingdom which had remained loyal to Henry IV was his native Franconia, where the city population of Mainz, Cologne, and Speyer offered him their militia — a significant fact. The king's first move was to regain control of the southern duchies — Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia — and then to endeavor to restore royal authority over the North. He began by reviving his father's policy in Saxony, and soon a host of castles bristled on every domain of the crown, notably the Hartzburg and Goslar, the latter the Saxon key-point which Henry IV planned to make into a permanent capital for the kingdom. These new castles were garrisoned with Franconian, Swabian, and Bavarian *ministeriales* whose presence infuriated the Saxons, both nobles and free peasants — of whom there were thousands — because of their servile origin and pretentious position.

In 1073 Saxony burst into flame. The peasantry, not without reason, fearing lest they would lose their freedom and be reduced to serfdom under the weight of Henry's rigorous taxation, were the first to rebel. In two battles their raw levies were crushed (1073). Otto of Nordheim, who had lost his Duchy of Bavaria, had sided with the peasants. But the Saxon nobles had held aloof. Nobles and peasants could not make common cause together in the feudal age. But in 1075, seeing that the king's power in Saxony was greatly increased and anticipating that their turn would come next, the Saxon nobility aided by some of the peasantry, rebelled. Again the king was victorious at Langensalza on the Unstrut River, not far from where Henry the Fowler had beaten the Hungarians in 933. The whole body of prisoners taken — bishops, nobles, peasants, barefooted and bareheaded, were paraded before the king in the plain of Speyer. It was a deep and unnecessarily severe humiliation which Henry IV inflicted, for it maddened the Saxons to furious insurrection again when the conflict broke out between him and Pope Gregory VII.

Since his establishment of the College of Cardinals, Hildebrand had been sedulously undermining the imperial authority in Lombardy where, as has been pointed out in previous pages, there was widespread resentment against the German rule. In addition to the hostility of the local nobles, the larger towns like Pavia, Piacenza, Parma, and above all Milan had trained militia. The Lombard bishops, however, some of whom were Germans or of German descent, were largely loyal to the king. But there was another dissident element in the Lombard cities: the Patarians, who were at once a fervid religious sect and a radical economic-social group. They were recruited from among the

lowly working classes of the towns, poor weavers and other artisans whose poverty made them hate the rich bishops and higher clergy, and whose program was one of spoliation of them. Hildebrand, who pulled the strings of papal policy, saw in this discontented proletariat a means to break the Lombard bishops. When two poor priests found success in haranguing the masses, Hildebrand sent Anselm da Baggio as papal legate to pour oil on the fire. Anselm had been defeated for election to the Archbishopric of Milan by a combination of the upper clergy and the *capitani*, therefore he joined the Patarians out of revenge. He was an artful agitator who knew how to inflame the prejudices of his hearers. His reward was great. He became Pope Alexander II (1061-72), whom Hildebrand cleverly utilized as a stepping-stone to his own elevation to the papacy. Hildebrand succeeded Alexander II.

What manner of man was this Hildebrand who became Pope Gregory VII in 1073? The character of no great man in history is more enigmatic. In any estimate of Gregory VII, it must not be forgotten that all the original writers about him were monks. Gregory VII is a *Gregory VII's character* "lover of righteousness and a hater of iniquity." He so called himself, and the monastic writers took him at his word. Can a modern critical historian equally do so? Gregory VII pushed the theory that the world should be ruled by the Church to its conclusion — and defined once for all the attitude of the papacy towards the state. He has had ardent admirers in every generation since his time, and equally intense detractors. No one has ever doubted his courage, his force of will, his clear sightedness, his ability — even his genius. Later popes like Innocent III and Innocent IV were more powerful than he, but they built upon the foundations which he laid. Beyond doubt Gregory VII was the greatest of all popes in originality and fecundity of ideas. For all his magnificent idealism, he was not a mystic. With his vision of a restoration of the City of God on earth by establishing the supremacy of the Church over the state, he combined shrewd political practices. He was at once a great idealist and a superb realist. It is this dichotomy which makes his character so difficult to judge. The dualism was not one of positive and negative qualities of character, but of difference between his upper and his lower nature, between his spiritual and his temporal ideas. He was sometimes swayed by the former influence, and sometimes by the latter. Perhaps perfect consistency cannot be expected of genius. He was not hypocritical though he often hid political aims behind the mask of religion or ecclesiastical reform. Everything with Gregory VII was a means to achieve his great end — the supremacy of the pope over the Church and that of the Church over the state. The first object he realized, for he established the monarchical papacy, the second failed of achievement in his time, but was carried out by the popes of the thirteenth century.

Fortunately for the historian, Gregory VII or some one in his confidence, formulated his ideas in twenty-seven categorical propositions, which may be

called the "planks in the Gregorian platform" This document is known as the *Dictate of the Pope* The most important of these claims asserted the papal supremacy over the Church The pope was the only universal monarch and only he alone could use the imperial insignia, he could depose the emperor or any other ruler, no action of synod or council was valid without his approval, he was not subject to judgment by any authority since he was responsible to God alone, by his command or permission subjects might rebel against their rulers when or if the pope absolved them from their oath of fidelity The formidable nature of this last proposition must be clearly perceived, its meaning is that the pope in his discretion might foment rebellion and civil war in a state and even dissolve the state with all the political, economic and social violence such a revolution inevitably would entail The Roman Church is often thought of as the most conservative among human institutions Yet no more revolutionary and subversive idea than this can be found in history, except theoretical anarchy

Other claims of Gregory VII are equally illuminating His was a feudal age, when suzerainty or overlordship, vassalage or underlordship, homage, fidelity, service of man to man according to his status and capacity, were theories and practices of government These notions of a feudal nature colored Gregory VII's thinking, too Gregory's claim to royal overlordship If the Church was superior to the state, then the emperor and all kings were his vassals and the pope was the overlord of them Accordingly, we find Gregory VII claiming suzerainty over the kings of Castile and Aragon on ground of the ancient tradition that St. Paul, between his two imprisonments in Rome, had made a missionary journey to Spain and at his death had willed the redeemed land to the Holy See Gregory claimed Saxony similarly on the ground that Charlemagne, after subjugating it and forcibly converting the heathen Saxons to Christianity, out of gratitude to God, had bequeathed that territory as a temporal possession to the papacy He claimed overlordship over Hungary because its first Christian king was crowned by his predecessor Pope Sylvester II. Gregory insisted also that Pope Alexander II had sent his blessing to William the Conqueror for the success of his great enterprise, and that Norman England was therefore a vassal kingdom of the Holy See Gregory likewise claimed that the Capetian kings of France were his vassals according to the terms of Clovis's coronation in 496, he claimed supremacy over the German emperor on the ground of the pope's coronation of Charlemagne in 800. The grandeur of Gregory VII's pretensions is only exceeded by their audacity He surely could quote "history" for a purpose One becomes dubious when one looks into some of his practices In order to ruin Henry IV, as will soon be shown, Gregory VII threw Germany into years of civil war during which the material and moral civilization of a great nation was nearly destroyed

Gregory VII had watched with interest the progress of Henry IV's power. He had once studied at Cologne and knew Germany. His agents were in Saxony before and during the rebellion of the Saxons. Unless he struck soon, Henry IV might become too strong to break. Gregory struck in December, 1075. Beginning with a mild remonstrance against the king's continuation of the good medieval practice of appointing bishops — the king had recently filled three sees in Italy — the pope closed his missive with the warning "In order that the fear of God may affect your heart more than our reprimand, remember what happened to Saul when he gloried in his triumph and failed to obey the warnings of the prophet (Samuel), and, on the other hand, recall what grace King David acquired by reason of his humility to that same prophet." The implication is obvious. Gregory VII stood as Samuel of old had been to Saul, and Henry IV would be another Saul. The symbolism of the argument does not obscure the theocratic idea in it. Priestly authority was superior to secular, spiritual above temporal. The Church was over the state.

The papal letter was carried over the Alps in record time, though it was the depth of winter and the passes were filled with snow. On January 24, 1076, a council of twenty-six German bishops, whom the king had hastily summoned, met, they framed a letter of protest against Gregory himself and his pretensions couched in stern language, "You do not consider us to be bishops (because of lay investiture). We reply that no one of us shall ever hold you to be pope." The pope was accused of having secured his own election by force, fraud, and bribery of the cardinals, of having by his "mad acts" thrown the churches of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain "into flames."

As for Henry IV himself, his indignation went beyond all bounds. His letter is a violent harangue against Gregory VII, whom he addresses as "not pope, but false monk." The conclusion is in these words: "Let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, one who will not use religion as a cloak of violence (an allusion to the charge that Gregory VII had secretly instigated the rebellion in Saxony). I, Henry, say unto you 'Come down, come down, and be accursed through all the ages!'"

Gregory VII's reply was the famous first deposition and excommunication of Henry IV. While the king threw his impetuous personality in the issue, the pope sedulously strove to conceal his own personal interest in the struggle, and hid behind St. Peter, whose cause he represented it to be. The deposition is worded as if a prayer to the Prince of the Apostles. In it Gregory denies the accusation that he had been actuated by ambition in becoming pope — "Thou art my witness, as are also my mistress, the Mother of God and St. Paul Thy brother, and all the other saints, that thy Holy Roman Church called me to its government

Gregory's reprimand to Henry IV

German bishops protest against Gregory

Indignation of Henry IV

Excommunication of Henry IV

against my will, that I did not gain *Thy* throne by fraud or for worldly ambition" The stress upon Thou and Thee is a studied pose, and artfully done There is more of it Then comes the terrific climax in which Henry IV was "pinned by the thunder" "In *Thy* name I curse him that all people may know and have proof that *Thou* art Peter, and upon *Thy* Rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" Never was more dramatic utterance of the doctrine of Petrine supremacy

The insurrectionary nobles in Germany seized upon the pope's action as a justification of their previous rebellion, and revolted again Henry bent before the storm but he did not break The pope had declared that Henry was deprived of his rule over Germany and Italy Reconciliation with the pope then would restore him It was tentative deposition which the rebels wanted to make complete by actual deposition At Oppenheim on the middle Rhine, in October friends and enemies met in a stormy conference, the upshot of which was that the king was *suspended* from the kingship until or unless he made his peace with the pope, who was to come to Augsburg for final reconciliation or deposition of him Henry's cause seemed all but lost It was then that he made that dramatic *coup* which saved him Fearing lest he would be permanently deposed if the pope should get to Germany and hear his cause amid his rebellious subjects, Henry determined to forestall matters by going to Italy to see Gregory In the depth of winter and not without peril, accompanied by his wife and children and a few faithful followers, Henry IV crossed the Alps to meet Gregory VII, who already was on his way to Augsburg The pope had stopped at Matilda of Tuscany's huge castle at Canossa high above Reggio to await the issue, when he learned of Henry's approach The king came as a Christian, not as a prince, professing repentance and praying for forgiveness, knowing that the pope could do nothing else than forgive him, and knowing, too, that his restoration to Holy Church would *ipso facto* dissolve the ban against him and restore him to the kingship It was an adroit action the import of which the pope clearly understood He knew that the king had foiled him Hence the delay of three days before Henry was admitted to Gregory's presence At the price of personal humiliation Henry IV scored a diplomatic victory The pope could not now come to Germany to try the king, who having now been forgiven and the ban dissolved, was again every inch a king.

At Canossa the pope was compelled to choose between his office as a priest and his policy as pope, and to his credit he took the former course After Canossa it was evident that "the pope must either abstain from politics altogether or else let the course of politics constrain him"¹ Hence at the Lenten Synod of 1080, Gregory again excommunicated Henry

¹ J. P. Whitney, "The Hildebrandine Ideal," *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 70, p. 443

Gregory VII returned to Rome, one may believe with chagrin. As for the German rebels they were wild with wrath and put up Rudolph of Swabia as counter-king. For three years Germany was torn by civil war in which Henry IV maintained the upper hand. The *Revolt in Germany* pope meanwhile preserved at least an outward neutrality, in his letters he addressed Henry as king and Rudolph as *quasi-rex* or *counter-rex*. Did Gregory VII hesitate because he had come to have scruples about the spectacle of the pope fomenting civil war and teaching vassals to rebel against their suzerain? Finally in March, 1080, Henry IV had so far triumphed that the pope grew alarmed, abandoned his policy of "watchful waiting," and again declared the king under the ban. It sizzled like a wet firecracker, there was no explosion. Instead a council of nineteen bishops declared the pope deposed. Thirty Italian bishops put up the Archbishop of Ravenna as antipope. Godfrey of Bouillon, the strongest partisan of Rudolph, with many other nobles, deserted him and went over to the king. The civil war went on for another year. Henry's supporters increased, the Rhenish cities furnished money and militia. Finally, in 1081, the king had triumphed over all his foes.

In Italy during these years Venice and the Byzantine emperor had backed the Henrician cause out of fear of the Norman Duke Guiscard, who planned to acquire possession of Durazzo and so block entrance to the Adriatic, bottling up Venice and leaving him clear to *Sack of Rome* attack Constantinople without the assistance of the Venetian fleet. Both powers wanted a strong emperor in Italy to hold Guiscard in check. As for Gregory VII, he was in great anxiety. The Countess Matilda provided him with money but she hesitated to take up arms overtly against Henry IV, for legally she would then forfeit her great county of Tuscany for treason. The only available military supporter to whom the pope would look was Robert Guiscard, whose eyes were fixed upon Constantinople, not on Rome. A Venetian naval victory over the Norman fleet cheered the pope. In June 1083 Henry IV, who had come over the Alps with his army that spring, laid siege to Rome, and Gregory VII summoned the Norman duke as his vassal to come to his aid. Henry IV, whom the antipope had crowned emperor, had no wish to lock arms with the Normans, neither did he want to take the pope prisoner. A captive pope would be more of an embarrassment than an advantage, as the event of Civitella in 1053 had proved. The emperor withdrew his troops around Rome and let the Normans take it. The sack of the eternal city which followed the capture of it beggared those of the Goths in 410 and of the Vandals in 455. Rome was looted and burned from the Lateran to the Vatican. The pope, who had saved himself from the fury of the Roman populace by fleeing to the Castle of St. Angelo, was rescued by Guiscard and taken south with his army when it retired. Two years later, in 1085, Gregory VII died at Salerno, the Norman capital. Convinced of the truth of his ideals, and the rightness of his conduct, the shattered old man said on

his death-bed "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, for which I am dying in exile"

The reconstruction of Germany when the civil war was over, was a long, hard task. But Henry IV accomplished it, he had his grandfather's head for administration. The feudo-ecclesiastical party, however, never ceased its hostility. In the last years of the king's life this party alienated his two sons Conrad¹ and Henry, and used them as tools wherewith to instigate new rebellion, the former in Lombardy, the latter in Germany. Henry IV had no staunch supporter among high clergy or great nobles. But the burghers of the Rhenish cities to whom he had given charters, befriended and protected him when his ingrate son hurled the imperial ban against his father. For the last six years of his life Henry IV was a fugitive in his own land. He died in 1106 and for years his body lay in unconsecrated ground, so bitter was his son's hatred.

Henry V (1106-25) had the Salian ability and resolution, but he was devoid of any moral sense. He held the German duchies in an iron hand, but he could not acquire control of Saxony. When the last male heir of the Billunger dukes died, in 1115, according to feudal law the duchy ought to have escheated to the crown. That would have made Henry V Duke of Saxony, an intolerable thought to the Saxons, for they hated the Salian house, and prized their independence. They put forward as the new duke Count Lothar of Supplinberg, whose mother was Hedwig Billung, and whose wife was a daughter of Otto of Nordheim. Henry V, after having been badly beaten in the battle of Welfesholz by Lothar, made a virtue of necessity and recognized him. It was the first triumph of the right of inheritance of a fief through the female line in German history.

The question of royal investiture of bishops still smouldered and Henry V was determined to settle it. In 1111 he wheedled Pope Paschal II into a conference and then holding him practically prisoner, bullied him into submission. The pope was compelled to issue a decree commanding all the high clergy everywhere to resign all their fiefs and temporal offices, and henceforth to exercise only spiritual functions. The document is a major source illustrative of the ill effects of the feudalization of the Church. It recites that:

"Bishops and abbots regularly attend courts and do military service. The ministers of the altar are made ministers of the royal court and are given cities, duchies, marks, mints and other offices to hold and to rule. Our predecessors, Pope Gregory VII and Pope Urban II, of blessed memory, were impelled by the many abuses arising from this practice to condemn lay investiture."

Accordingly Paschal II authorized renunciation by the Church of all such

¹ Died 1101. The pope, the Countess Matilda, and some of the Lombard cities combined in 1093 to declare him "King" of Italy.

privileges This drastic decree was tantamount to the separation of Church and state, and practically impossible of execution in a feudal age It amounted to compelling the Church to renounce all lands which had been acquired since the time of Charlemagne

The action met with a storm of protest from all over Europe Two months later, after he had escaped from the emperor's clutches, Paschal II published another decree, cancelling the previous one on the ground that it had been extorted from him by force and issued another decree which is important for the reason that it afforded a partial solution of the problem of investiture In this the double nature of the bishop's office, as a priest and as a feudal baron, was recognized and the ceremony of investiture made a double one Henceforward the bishop was to be consecrated to the spiritual attributes of the episcopal office by the pope, or his legate or archbishop whom he might appoint, while the state, i.e., the ruler of the country concerned, invested the bishop with the regalia of the office The only restraint imposed upon the ruler was that the incumbent's election should be conducted canonically and without simony or other illegality The king could not appoint the new bishop arbitrarily

*Paschal II cancels
renunciation*

Henry V accepted this new *Privilegium* and then ignored or defied it, having three antipopes to cover his practice with approval The solution of the problem in this double form of investiture was a device of some of the French clergy, the most intelligent, the most truly religious clergy of the period who had worked out the scheme as a compromise settlement between Church and state Relief for the reform party came when the Archbishop of Lyons was elected Pope Calixtus II in 1119 He was French, in clear sympathy with the reform movement and a man of resolution and courage Negotiations between pope and emperor were again resumed Henry V fumed and stormed, but finally in 1122 accepted the double form of investiture as provided previously This settlement is known as the Concordat of Worms It brought an interim of peace which lasted until 1157, and when the strife was renewed the conditions and principals of the struggle had greatly changed

*Investiture
compromise*

Three years after the Concordat of Worms, in 1125, Henry V died The Empress Matilda, who was a daughter of Henry I of England, returned to England taking the German crown jewels with her We shall meet with her again in a different capacity

CHAPTER XX

GERMANY AND ITALY UNDER THE HOHENSTAUFEN (1125-1214) SECOND PERIOD OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EMPIRE AND PAPACY FREDERICK I AND THE LOMBARD CITIES

The political tension in Germany when Henry V died in 1125 was great. The party of the feudal nobles and the rebellious Saxons had been crushed, but again, as in 1024, the ruling house had expired. The bishops, the great feudality, and the Saxons were all resolved to have Lothar, Duke of Saxony, as king (1125-39). He was acceptable to the Church because of his resubjugation of the Slavs across the lower Elbe. *Hohenstaufen candidacy*

As for the feudality, Lothar was one of them. He had beaten Henry V in battle. The only resistance to Lothar II came from the two Hohenstaufen brothers,¹ of one of whom, Frederick, it was said that he dragged a castle at his horse's tail, so warlike and rebellious was he.

Lothar II scrupulously adhered to the terms of the Concordat of Worms and got along amicably with the papacy—too amiably in the minds of some who looked upon the course of the popes with suspicion. There were others also who criticized him because his policy towards the Norman power in southern Italy was one of non-intervention. *Lothar II's policy*

Like many another ruler, Lothar II was anxious to perpetuate his power. He had no son, but his daughter Gertrude was married to Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, whom he wished to succeed himself as king. It was a natural ambition, but one which met with strong opposition from the great nobles, for holding Bavaria and Saxony, Henry was already the strongest duke in Germany. If then he became king the royal power would again be almost as strong as in the days of Henry III. The great nobles had no intention of permitting the crown again to become powerful if it could be prevented. Accordingly, when Lothar II died in 1139, instead of electing Henry the Proud to be king, the nobles chose Conrad III (1139-52), son of Frederick of Hohenstaufen. The Salian dynasty was back again upon the throne under a new name. *Election of Conrad III*

¹ Henry IV's daughter Agnes had married Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, who had two sons, Frederick and Conrad, but neither of them could claim succession through their mother to the crown.

SICILY AND NAPLES

| THE NORMANS | | THE HOHENSTAUFENS | |
|-------------|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1131 | Roger II unites kingdoms of Sicily and Naples | 1197 | Frederick II of Germany |
| 1154 | William I the Bad | 1250 | Conrad IV of Germany |
| 1166 | William II the Good | 1254 | Conradin |
| 1190 | Tincred | 1258 | Manfred |
| 1194 | William III | | |
| 1194 | Empress Constance and Henry VI of Germany | | |

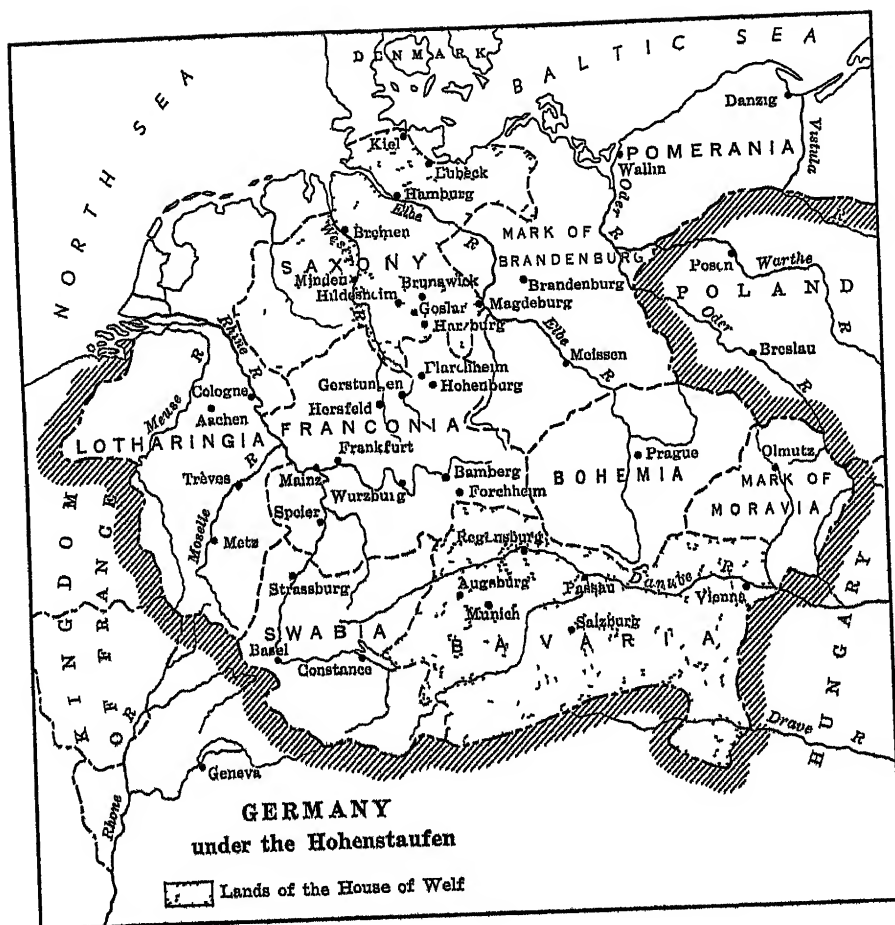
| Reign Begins | NAPLES | Reign Begins | SICILY |
|--------------|--|--------------|---|
| 1268-1282 | Charles of Anjou | 1282 | Peter of Aragon |
| 1285 | Charles II | 1285 | James of Aragon |
| 1309 | Robert the Wise | 1296 | Frederick of Aragon |
| 1343 | Joanna I | 1337 | Peter II |
| 1382 | Charles III | 1342 | Louis |
| 1386 | { Ladislaus and Louis II (rival Kings) | 1355 | Frederick III |
| 1414 | Joanna II | 1377 | Maria |
| 1435 | Alfonso I (also King of Sicily and Aragon) | 1391 | Mary & Martin I |
| 1458 | Ferdinand I | 1402 | Martin I |
| 1494 | Alphonso II | 1409 | Martin II of Aragon |
| 1495 | Ferdinand II | 1410 | Ferdinand I of Aragon |
| 1496 | Frederick II (expelled by French, 1501) | 1416 | Alphonso I (also King of Aragon and Naples) |
| | | 1458 | John of Aragon |
| | | 1479 | Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain |

Civil war at once broke out, for Henry the Proud and his partisans refused to accept the election Henry the Proud died during the conflict leaving his claims to his little son, later known as Henry the Lion, destined to become one of the heroic figures in medieval German history. In the nature of things the struggle could not be longer continued. In order to diminish the power of the Welf house Conrad III's policy, in 1142, cut off the old Mark of Brandenburg from Saxony, of which it had been a dependency since its creation in 929, and gave it as a separate fief to Albert the Bear, who became the first margrave and a strong power in the North. In the same manner he severed the old East Mark from Bavaria and gave it as the independent Duchy of Austria to Leopold of Babenberg. Thus simultaneously two new and powerful feudal states emerged in Germany. Peace prevailed, but the kingdom still smouldered and Conrad III — who unlike every other German king except Henry I never went to Italy and never was crowned emperor — went off to the East on the Second Crusade in 1147, where he achieved nothing except humiliation and returned so broken in health from the privation that he died in 1152.

The political condition in Germany was then so precarious that Conrad III on his deathbed recommended the succession of his nephew Frederick instead of his own son Frederick I (1152-90), called Barbarossa or Red Beard, proved to be the most brilliant if not the ablest *Frederick Barbarossa* sovereign of the twelfth century. He was in the prime of young manhood, strong-minded and strong-willed, handsome, energetic, haughty yet capable of eliciting unbounded admiration, ambitious and furious when crossed. The dream of his life was to establish a closer connection between Germany and Italy, to impose the German domination upon the latter more firmly than before, to make the German Empire stronger, broader, and more effective. His mind was filled with grandiose reminiscences of Roman imperialism. He would be another Charlemagne, even another Augustus. He introduced the word "holy" (*sacrum*) into the title of the empire to signify the part which the Church should have in this grand design. What the papacy thought of this plan we shall see soon. Great as his ambition was to go to Rome for imperial coronation, however, Frederick I was not so rash as to quit Germany until he had placated the Welfs. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to restore Bavaria to Henry the Lion of which his father had been deprived by Conrad III.

In the meantime a formidable complication had arisen among the Lombard cities which hastened Frederick's crossing of the Alps. The high-tide of the crusades was reached in the twelfth century. The contact and the conquests of the crusaders in the Levant had enormously *Emergence of powerful Lombard cities* stimulated commerce. The volume and the variety of eastern importations was enormous and the Lombard towns grew apace in population and in wealth as middlemen in distributing these commodities over the Alpine passes to the countries and peoples of northern and western Europe. A revolutionary change ensued in Lombardy, at once economic, social, and political in its nature. This was the rise of the bourgeoisie or "middle class," who represented a new social stratum, intermediate between serfs and nobles. The bourgeoisie was sustained by commerce and industry instead of by agriculture, it dwelt in towns instead of in the country, its political aspiration was to possess rights of self-government in the communities. The two greatest of these Lombard cities were Milan and Pavia.

It must not be supposed that this rise of the towns was a sudden upheaval. Actually the process had been going on slowly and obscurely from even before the crusades, which stimulated but did not originate the movement. As far back as the early tenth century the Hungarian invasions had compelled the towns to build walls, and the new protection increased the community and attracted trade. The effectiveness of the rule of the Saxon and Salian emperors had further improved commercial conditions. But neither the emperors nor the Lombard nobles were clearly aware of these revolutionary changes until, so to speak, the Lombard cities burst into bloom in the middle of the twelfth century.



When Frederick I learned of this situation in Lombardy he was filled with amazement and wrath. In his political philosophy there was no room for such people as bourgeoisie or the "middle class," and "self-government" was a term he could not understand. It was not to be found in the vocabulary of feudalism. To him the Lombard towns were mere rebels and their talk about "rights" drove him to fury.

*Barossa's
anger at
Lombard defiance*

In 1154-55 he made the first of six Italian expeditions, and destroyed some of the smaller towns. He then went on to Rome whither Pope Hadrian IV¹ had urgently summoned him. For the communal spirit had been carried to Rome from Lombardy by a passionate priest of Brescia named Arnold, one of the most eager and attractive social reformers in medieval history. Arnold of Brescia protested against ecclesiastical wealth and corruption. His teachings made a strong appeal to the rising bourgeois of the Italian cities. The Roman populace had rebelled against the pope, driven him out, and established a Roman Republic — neither the first nor the last of such — whose officials fantastically revived the nomenclature of the ancient Roman Republic, and the world again was made familiar with the titles of consul, praetor, senate, and the ancient symbol S P Q R.² Frederick Barbarossa met the exiled pope a few miles outside of the Eternal City, and then captured Rome after furious fighting. Hadrian IV was restored, Arnold of Brescia was seized, hanged and his body burned, and Frederick got the desire of his heart — imperial coronation.

*Barossa's first
Italian expedition*

It was inevitable, with two such fiery personalities as Frederick I and Hadrian IV, that the old friction between emperor and pope would be renewed. Neither was inclined to abate an iota of his contentions. Soon after Frederick's departure from Italy the pope had made a settlement with King William of Norman Sicily which brought an end to the long struggle between these two powers. The emperor was highly displeased because the treaty was made without his consent and without consideration for imperial claims over the South. In 1157 when Frederick was in Besançon in the Kingdom of Burgundy, Cardinal Roland Bandinelli appeared with an imposing cortège, seemingly to conciliate the emperor, but actually to challenge the whole imperial position. The pope was a man of courage and imagination. When Frederick was seated in his throne chair flanked by his great officials of state, chief among whom were Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne, and Otto of Wittelsbach, a stalwart warrior, the car-

*Barbarossa defies
papal claims*

¹ He is the only Englishman ever made pope. His name was Nicholas Breakspere. Alexander III made him a cardinal and sent him to Norway in 1152 to bring the Norwegian Church into line with Rome.

The first Christian king of Norway was a son of Harold the Fair-haired. He had been reared at the English court of Athelstan.

² Senatus Populusque Romanus — The Senate and People of Rome.

dinal appeared attired in full splendor of his office, and standing before the throne, after respectful salutation, began to read aloud the papal missive to the emperor, which was like all papal documents couched in resonant and rhythmic Latin. After some long sentences of polite verbiage the conciliatory language altered to that of a ringing challenge. His auditors grew tense as the pope's legate, in allusion to Frederick's recent coronation in Rome, read these words of Hadrian IV: "We would be glad to confer even greater benefices (*beneficia*) upon you if that were possible." As Bandinelli read the Latin letter, as fast as it was read, the Archbishop of Cologne translated it into German, for Frederick knew no Latin. Rainald without hesitation translated the word *beneficia* by the German word for fief (*Lehen*), which implied that the emperor had by his coronation received the empire as a fief from the pope and that he was the pope's vassal. There is no doubt that the double play was intentional, especially since *beneficium* was the old-fashioned word for fief.

Now the lightning flashed. Otto of Wittelsbach whipped his great two-handed sword out of its scabbard and with the cry "Haro!" made a lunge at Cardinal Roland. But Frederick made a flying leap and covered the papal legate with his imperial mantle, to pierce which was treason. It saved Roland's life. The pope's intrepid legate and his suite were packed under guard across the Alps, while Frederick returned in haste to Germany to inform his people in a furious manifesto, which after reciting, whether truthfully or untruthfully, that blank forms had been found on Roland's person sealed by the pope and to be filled out at discretion which were intended "to spread this venom throughout the churches of Germany,"¹ concluded with this declaration: "We hold this kingdom and empire through the election of the princes from God alone. Moreover, the Apostle Peter has said 'Fear God, honor the king' (I Peter II, 17). Therefore, whoever says that we hold the imperial crown as a benefice (*fief*) from the pope resists the divine ordinance, contradicts the teaching of Peter, and is guilty of a lie."

Frederick I now had two enemies in Italy: the Lombard cities and the papacy. In 1158 he made his second Italian expedition and was gone for four years from Germany. In a diet held under military rather than civil panoply in the broad field of Roncaglia the emperor in a decree denied the rights and claims of the cities and transferred jurisdiction in them from their own officials to imperially appointed officers called *podestàs*.² Milan at once rebelled, but the other Lombard towns were over-awed by Frederick's military supremacy, although some of them gloated over her fate in hope of getting possession of some of her great commerce. The siege endured for two years, at the end of which Milan sur-

¹ The form of papal propaganda is to be noticed. Pamphleteering had been practiced earlier during the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV.

² The word comes from Latin *potestas* or power used as an official title.

rendered and was totally destroyed. The half-starved and wretched populace was distributed among other towns (1162).

At this juncture Hadrian IV died and Cardinal Roland Bandinelli succeeded him as Pope Alexander III (1159-81), the greatest pontiff of the twelfth century. For twenty-two years the new pope was the brains of organized opposition against Frederick, not only in Italy, but in all Europe. When he was driven from Rome he took refuge at Sens in France and continued to direct men and govern events. By this time, too, the Welf opposition in Germany was beginning to raise its head, given courage by Frederick's increasing difficulties south of the Alps. In 1163 the emperor made his third expedition into Italy, but was almost immediately recalled to Germany by threatening conditions there. In his fourth expedition (1166-68) he reached Rome again and drove Alexander III into exile into France. His fear and hatred of the pope had now reached a pitch of anxiety. For Alexander had pointed out to the Lombard cities that they must unite or else be subjugated by the emperor. The result of this suggestion was the formation of the formidable Lombard League in 1167. Actually it was a union of the cities of the Veronese Mark (Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, which had combined in 1164) with the cities of the Lombard plain (Milan, which had been rebuilt, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, and Ferrara). Pavia was the only large Lombard city which adhered to Frederick.

Imperial papal conflict

In these fateful years the emperor had not dared to leave Germany. For a tremendous feud was being waged there between Henry the Lion and his enemies, the Archbishops of Cologne,¹ Magdeburg, and Bremen, Albert the Bear of Brandenburg, Otto of Meissen and others, all of whom coveted possession of his vast and rich lands. The emperor intervened to secure peace in order to be able to go again to Italy and Henry the Lion went off on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1172).

Emperor makes peace in Germany

Frederick was in Italy for three years (1174-77) on his fifth Italian campaign. It was one of disaster. In the Battle of Legnano (1176) the German cavalry was completely routed by the militia of the Lombard cities. It was the first defeat of a *feudal* army by a citizen militia and the first military victory of the bourgeoisie in medieval history. Preliminaries of peace were arranged at Venice in the next year in an interview between the pope and the emperor. It must have been a dramatic meeting, it is a pity that we have no eye-witness account of it. But the final settlement of the terms was not made until six years later at Constance.

Barbarossa's fifth Italian campaign

In the interval, having nothing more to gain or to lose in Italy, Frederick turned upon Henry the Lion, whom he hated for his power in Germany and

¹ Rainald of Dassel, the former archbishop, had died and been succeeded by an enemy of Frederick.

his opposition to the imperialistic policy in Italy. For Henry the Lion was an opponent of political absolutism. He believed in feudal "liberalism" and in bourgeois "liberalism" as well. When the citizens of Mainz rebelled against the harsh government of the archbishop, Frederick nearly destroyed the city. In contrast, Henry the Lion founded Lubeck, Brunswick, and Munich and was an active promoter of burghal rights. In Germany he wanted to preserve the historic identity and the autonomy of the duchies under the crown, to make a federated feudal monarchy, to preserve the states rights of the duchies. In Italy he advocated a federation of the various principalities under the presidency of the pope, though this did not mean extension of the temporal power of the popes. Of course, if realized, such a political result would have attenuated the theory of the Holy Roman Empire to the shadow of smoke. Such doctrine was anathema to Frederick Barbarossa, whose head was filled with Carolingian political theory and day-dreams of restoring ancient Roman imperialism which the revived study of the Roman law in the twelfth century stimulated. The legists shamelessly flattered the emperor's pride and ambition. He claimed to be not only the successor of all the Roman emperors since Augustus, but also of Julius Caesar and the ancient kings of Rome back to Romulus!

In 1181 Henry the Lion was condemned for recalcitrance. When he refused to present himself before the diet after four summonses, he was put under the ban of the empire in 1181 by the votes of his enemies and his fiefs declared to be forfeited. He was allowed to retain his allodial or private lands, Brunswick and Luneburg, but personally was exiled for five years. All the rest of his territories were distributed. The old Duchy of Saxony was torn to shreds. The Archbishops of Cologne, Magdeburg, and Bremen, the Bishops of Halberstadt and Hildesheim, the Counts of Oldenburg and Holstein got the largest slices. Philip of Cologne in particular profited by the partition, for in Westphalia he was given, as the document recites, "all the counties, advocates, rights of safe-conduct, domains, farms, fiefs, ministerials, serfs and all other things which belong to that duchy," and invested with the banner of the empire as a prince-bishop. Thirteen years previously, in 1168, the Bishop of Wurzburg had similarly been made a duke in Franconia. This sinister, self-seeking policy of the German feudality is further illustrated by the practice of other princes, who gradually stripped the crown of its powers and prerogatives. In 1156 the Duke of Austria compelled Frederick Barbarossa to exempt him from military service, except in lands which adjoined his own, and from attendance on the diet.

The parcellation of Saxony is the most striking illustration of Frederick I's practice of weakening the great duchies by slicing them into pieces. It is true that the number of vassals of the crown was increased thereby, but the effect upon Germany was calamitous, for a swarm of petty territorial principalities

arose where a single great duchy had been before. The kingdom became a crazy-quilt of states, most of which were absurdly small — the principality of Windrunkel, for example, was less than one mile square. And this division was aggravated by the German law of equal inheritance of the sons, so that with each succeeding generation the size of the portions was reduced. By the middle of the thirteenth century Germany was composed of nearly three hundred states, lay and clerical. Since the bishoprics were not hereditary these territories were not divided when the bishop died but passed intact to his successor. The result was that in course of time the German bishops became the strongest princes in Germany, rivalled only by the greatest of the lay princes such as the Duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Austria, the only secular nobles who were strong. Europe gazed with wonder upon these mailed German bishops, more warriors than priests. During the Barons' War in England in the reign of Henry III, the English king's son Richard of Cornwall in 1257 was in Cologne, and wrote to his brother Edward "God! what fighting bishops are here in Germany. Would that we had such in England."

*Disastious
parcellation of
Germany*

Frederick I's incapacity to understand the best elements in feudalism and to strive for their enforcement, his sacrifice of the reality of power for empty glory, his fantastic conceptions of imperialism, is further exemplified, as has been pointed out, in his attitude towards the Lombard cities. He triumphed over Henry the Lion to the detriment of Germany. Fortunately he failed in his policy in Lombardy.

*Victory of
Lombard
Bourgeoisie*

At Constance, in 1183, Frederick conceded everything for which the cities of the Lombard League had fought. The Lombard cities did not secede from the empire. They won as burgher communities the recognition of their claim to preserve and maintain their local institutions and customs, principal among which was the right of self-government, within the empire. "Better a brave death than such humiliation," Frederick had exclaimed at the beginning of the conflict. At Constance his haughty tone changed to one almost of supplication. For the first time in European history the common people of the Middle Ages — or at least a large burgher portion of them in Italy which had risen above serfdom — had made good their struggle for rights against prerogative and privilege. In the next century the new burgher spirit was spread over all western Europe.

Frederick I had lost political control in Lombardy. But a substantial part of the peninsula was still in his hands — Piedmont, the Mark of Ancona, Romagna, Benevento and Spoleto, and most of all Tuscany, the former territory of the great Countess Matilda which the Empire had confiscated because of her support of the papacy, in violation of her duty as a vassal of the emperor. Ever since her death in 1115 the Matildan lands had been a bone of contention between the emperors

*Barbarossa's aims
in Italy*

and the popes. The vigor of the Hohenstaufen government was not relaxed in these provinces. Indeed, far from being dismayed by the loss of Lombardy, Frederick I resolutely set to work to find compensation for it by acquiring possession of the Norman kingdom in the South, which every emperor since Otto the Great had coveted and been unable to acquire. The male line of the dynasty which Robert Guiscard had founded expired at this time. The heir to the throne was the deceased king's aunt Constance, who, since the right of a woman to govern in her own name was questionable in feudal law, found it difficult to enforce her authority. In these circumstances, when the emperor's son Henry paid court to her, Constance accepted him, though it may have been with some reluctance, since she was ten years older than her princely swain.

In 1189 Frederick Barbarossa jubilantly went off on the Third Crusade, from which he never returned. Henry VI, "a man who inherited all his father's severity with none of his father's generosity," in defiance of the protest of the pope, who was legally the overlord of the Norman kingdom, entered the southland with a German army at his back and married Constance. And when the Normans rebelled and put up Tancred, a natural son of Roger II and half-brother to Constance, as king, Henry VI mercilessly conquered the country.

The Hohenstaufen acquisition of Norman Italy and Sicily was an event of some importance in medieval history. It repaired the imperial fortune to an enormous degree. For the kingdom was fabulously rich not only in natural resources, but more so because of the vast commerce of the Mediterranean. The harbor of Palermo was crowded with shipping. The Hohenstaufen acquisition of southern Italy shifted the center of power from Germany to the far South. It gave Henry VI control of all the sea-routes of the Mediterranean west of Venice and the Adriatic, since Sicily lay like a battleship in the narrows of that Midst-of-the-earth Sea — which is what Mediterranean means. The fleet of the Norman kingdom was as powerful as that of the Byzantine Empire. To conquer Constantinople became Henry VI's dearest aspiration. Jerusalem had been lost in 1187; his father had set out to recover it, but had perished by drowning in Cilicia. Christian Europe cried for the recovery of the Holy City. Henry VI would make a new crusade, but first he would conquer the Byzantine Empire which, it was charged, had flagrantly frustrated the previous crusades. This was the grandiose dream of Henry VI and it vanished into air when the emperor died on September 28, 1197.

The sudden death of the emperor threw Germany into chaos. The Hohenstaufen-Welf feud blazed into flame again. It was impossible for the former to espouse the infant Frederick II, son of Henry VI and of Constance, since Pope Innocent II had immediately taken possession of his person on the ground that the pope was

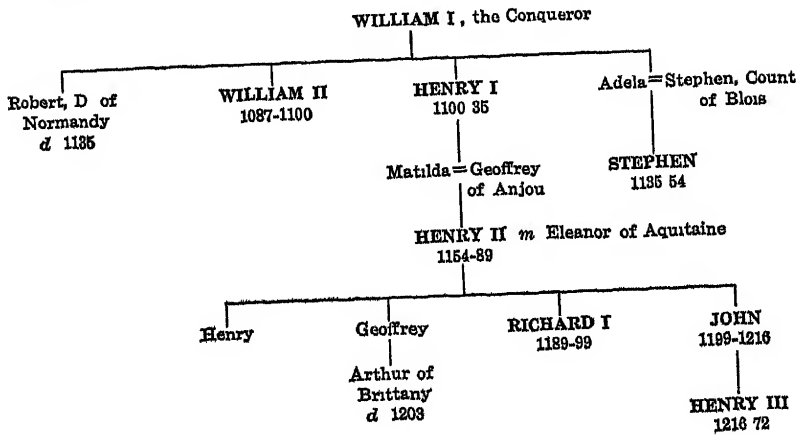
overlord of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Accordingly, the imperialists put up Henry VI's younger brother Philip of Hohenstaufen as king (1198-1208). The Welf party retaliated by putting up Henry the Lion's¹ son Otto IV of Brunswick (1198-1218). Who was king and who was counter-king was hard to tell. The latter was naturally the one recognized by the pope, but in spite of the prestige thus given, he was defeated by Philip and his rule reduced almost to the limits of Brunswick. Then, of a sudden, Philip was murdered at Bamberg by the Count Palatine Otto of Wittelsbach in a private brawl, and since there was no other possible contestant, Otto IV was universally recognized and crowned emperor at Rome by Innocent III, in return for which he abandoned the imperial claims to the Matildan lands, which were annexed to the States of the Church. In the nature of things, however, no emperor — even the son of Henry the Lion — could be friendly with the papacy. Otto IV soon was involved in a quarrel with Innocent III, who put forward young Frederick II as counter-emperor. The papal policy was consistent with its political principles, but it was a strange turn of fortune to see a pope supporting a prince of the family of Frederick Barbarossa.

At this juncture Innocent III — we shall see the details later on — was involved in a struggle with King John of England, and at the same time John was at war with Philip Augustus of France. John was also allied to Otto IV of Brunswick. On July 27, 1214, at Bouvines (not far from the site of Waterloo) the Anglo-German army under Otto IV was defeated by the French. Otto fled from the field, John was seized by the English barons who had been long outraged by his tyranny and compelled to put his seal to the Great Charter, Philip of France retained possession of Normandy, which he had wrenched from John of England ten years before (1204), and Innocent III, with little Frederick II in his possession, was master of the empire — and almost of western Europe.

At this point (1215) we may rest the history of the Medieval Empire until we have examined the history of France and England and that of the crusades.

¹ He had died in 1194.

KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM THE CONQUEST TO HENRY III



CHAPTER XXI

NORMAN AND ANGEVIN ENGLAND (1066-1216) THE FRENCH MONARCHY (1066-1224)

As Germany and Italy were united, Lombardy being, as it were, the hinge which combined the two flanges of the empire together, so France and England in the feudal age were associated although under separate monarchies. In this case Normandy was the connecting link through which each was to affect the other's history.

*Dualism of
English-French
history*

For France the Norman Conquest in 1066 was a turning-point of immense importance. For England, it was the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new era—the passing of Anglo-Saxon England and the beginning of Norman England, from which time England was governed for two centuries by a foreign ruling class, sprung from three different provincial dynasties of France—Normandy, Blois, and Anjou. English institutions were profoundly changed by the amalgamation of Norman institutions and processes of law with native English institutions, and the domestic and the foreign history of each country was greatly influenced by the history of the other country.

*William the
Conqueror*

William the Conqueror had learned the game of politics and war in a hard school. He was the natural son of the sixth Norman duke, Robert, who had died when he was a child when on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Norman barons were a headstrong race, and both of the boy's guardians were murdered. In 1047 a widespread rebellion broke out against him, but William won out in a pitched battle at Val-ès-dunes and spent the years immediately following in storming and taking the barons' castles until at last he had Normandy subdued. After 1066, the victor of Hastings determined that no such condition of feudal independence and baronial power would be suffered in England. He would be absolute master in the kingdom. Not only were the immense private lands of Harold and his kindred seized immediately, but all the land of England was declared forfeited, and thousands of landowners bought back their land at a heavy price. Necessarily he had to reward his chief supporters in achieving the conquest, and to this end the best land in the country was distributed among them as "knights' fees" or fiefs. There is very great difficulty in ascertaining the exact number of these, but the traditional number is 60,000. These allotments varied from 600 to 800 acres in size, for which the recipient was required to furnish forty days' military service of a fully equipped horseman each year. But about 600 of William's

greatest followers, called tenants-in-chief, were given great tracts which they held in fief as baronies, for which the customary feudal services and feudal aids were required. The choicest of these were known as great baronies or honours. But the Conqueror was too wise to permit the vast proprietary system which obtained in France to grow up in England. These grants of land were not in a single, compact area, but formed detached parts. Five or six allotments in as many counties were not unusual, and there is an instance of one Norman baron who held 166 manors in eleven different counties. No land could be alienated without a *fine* or fee, and when a tenant-in-chief died the successor, whether the heir or some purchaser, paid a sum to legalize his possession called a *relief*.

From the beginning William kept the administration of the government in his own hands. The *curia regis* or "court of the king" was at once an executive, judicial, and fiscal body, but it was a more compact assemblage than the *curia regis* of the French king. Bishops and barons sat together in William's court. It met periodically. The king affected great state and held splendid court thrice a year customarily at Westminster (London), Winchester, and Gloucester, though he could not always be punctual on these occasions, sometimes being in the north of England, which was the most restless region of the country, or across the sea in Normandy. There was necessarily a small, permanent group of officials selected from the *curia* for constant attention to the routine business of administration.

William preserved and continued the Anglo-Saxon shire system but took care that the magnates should not get their clutches upon it, as feudalism had engrossed the Carolingian count-system in France. It is significant that the title of count did not obtain in England, though the wife of an earl was called a countess. The sheriffs were chosen from among the lesser barons. There is an instance of one baron who served over forty years as sheriff.

William, by virtue of the fact that he had *conquered* England, was master of it as no other king. The French and German kings were hampered by the network of customary law and traditional privileges of many sorts. In England there was no longer a law of the Saxons, a law of the Mercians, another law of the Danes, nor even for the Normans, but a royal law. Because the royal court was powerful and seigniorial law was shattered with the fall of the great earls, the law of the king's court rapidly abolished all or nearly all local and tribal peculiarities. In a later period the common law began to be formed—the "law and custom of the realm," made and enforced by the king. One of the most potent instruments of the growth of royal authority was the royal writ. The man who disobeyed or ignored the writ was soon in trouble. He might be fined, imprisoned, have his property confiscated, or be exiled. By the thirteenth century a series of legal principles thus became formulated and precedents established,

the effect of which was to clarify and give edge to the king's authority "The unimpeachable character of the royal writ is one of its magic powers"

The Conqueror handled the Church as rigorously as he handled secular institutions. Bishops were barons. Almost every English bishop was deposed and his place filled with a Norman in his stead. In his ecclesiastical policy he had the support of Lanfranc, the great Arch-^{William's Church policy}bishop of Canterbury, who was a Lombard Italian from Pavia and had attained eminence as a lawyer before he became a monk at Bec in Normandy, the school of which he made famous. In 1070 he was called to Canterbury, where he remained until his death in 1089.

William of Malmesbury, one of the best of twelfth-century English historians, declared that the Norman Conquest was more than justified by the salutary effect which it produced upon the English Church. But the Norman ecclesiastical policy gave great offense to the English people. One of the most unpopular acts was Lanfranc's drastic treatment of the old English saints. "These English," he said, "have instituted for themselves persons whom they venerate as saints." What incensed him was that these popular local saints were without authorization from Rome, but were "home-made," so to speak. Before the denationalizing and Romanization of the English calendar by this Italian primate there was scarcely a parish in the country without its local saint. Lanfranc not only erased these names, but filled the vacant places in the calendar with the names of foreign saints of whom not even the parish clergy knew anything. It is easy to understand how this policy outraged the sentiments of the English people. For there must have been folk still living in 1070 who were children at the time when the heathen Danes had killed the sainted Archbishop of Canterbury, Aelfheah (or Elfegus), who was one of Lanfranc's own predecessors. William was ruthless. In 1075 he determined that several episcopal sees should be removed to more important places, for the population had greatly shifted since the first bishoprics were founded in the seventh century. In consequence Bath, Chester, Chichester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Thetford were made bishops' sees.

The supreme monument of William the Conqueror's genius as a ruler is the *Domesday Book*. This was a general survey and valuation of the land ordered in 1085. It was a census to which no other similar inventory made in the Middle Ages may be compared. A few ^{*Domesday Book*} areas were omitted, and the statement in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is nearly true that "so very narrowly did he commission them¹ to trace it out that there was not one single hide² nor a yard of land (quarter acre), nay, moreover — it be shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it — not

¹ The justiciaries appointed, of whom the names of four have been preserved.

² An area of land like the acre and the carucate, roughly containing 120 acres or thereabouts. The term came from the old German practice of measuring land by means of leather thongs or ropes.

even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was there left that was not set down in this book "

The statistics in *Domesday* give us clear information of how cautiously William distributed his land-grants among his great barons. Thus Robert, Earl of Mortun, William's own half-brother, received the earldom of Cornwall and 793 manors scattered over 20 counties, Gilbert of Ghent, nephew of Queen Matilda, who was a daughter of the Count of Flanders, had manors in 14 counties, Alan, Earl of Richmond, had 442 manors in 13 counties, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux in Normandy, before he became Archbishop of York — he also was a half-brother to the Conqueror — had 439 manors in 17 counties. In addition to the huge estates of Edward the Confessor and of Harold and his brothers, the king possessed about 1,400 other manors of his own, besides the quit-rents and other proceeds exacted of all land owners.

Domesday Book was not intended as a census of persons but of property. The whole number of persons recorded amounts to 283,242. Since property conditioned the social classes the record shows the various ranks of society and their relative importance from the king down through bishops and barons, then vassals holding of the tenants-in-chief, then freeholders, — these were few in number, — then socmen, who held of some great baron but not by military service, and then a mixed mass of persons of servile condition of various kinds and degrees, but commonly lumped together as villeins.

Many columns in the *Domesday Book* pertaining to localities in Yorkshire and East Anglia bear the word *vasta* (waste) and nothing more. These were the territory of the old Danelaw where William encountered the fiercest resistance to the conquest. He frightfully devastated the whole of Northumberland. The last stand of these hardy descendants of the Danes in England was in the morasses of the Isle of Ely (eels) under Hereward Wake-dog, whose memory is yet preserved in historical fiction and ballad. "Then William beset the land all about, and built a bridge and went in and had ships at the same time on the sea-side . . . and the outlaws then surrendered, except Hereward and those who would join him, who escaped."

In 1072 William invaded Scotland to keep alive the claim of England to overlordship, "but he found nothing there of any value," asserts the chronicle. Wales was nominally a vassal principality to the English crown, but the king had too many irons in the fire and invaded the country only once, in 1081. He took care, however, to protect the frontier of England by establishing permanent military organization, with strong castles planted in strategic places in the border counties. Along the Welsh border these areas were called "marches", along the Scottish border they were counties palatine, and, what is not so astonishing as it may seem, the bishoprics of Durham and Chester constituted these militarized regions. Both were soldier-bishops and the episcopal palace in Durham has been aptly described as "half house of God, half fortress 'gainst the Scot."

William the Conqueror was fatally injured in 1087 when besieging Mantes, a town on the Seine below Paris which was in dispute between Normandy and Philip I, King of France. William was buried at Caen in the exquisitely beautiful church of the Abbaye aux Hommes, which he erected and which still stands almost intact. A corresponding structure, the Abbaye aux Dames, also preserved, was built by Queen Matilda. William's tomb was destroyed by the Huguenots during the civil wars in France in the sixteenth century and his ashes scattered. But Matilda's remains still lie quietly beneath her recumbent marble effigy on her marble tomb, around which yet kneel in prayer blue-clad nuns in the half-light of the chapel praying for the repose of her soul, as they have done for eight hundred years past. It is one of the most impressive sights the European tourist is privileged to witness.

William's death

There have been few abler men or greater rulers than William the Conqueror. "No man ever did his work more effectually at the moment, no man ever left his work behind him as more truly an abiding possession for all time." He was intelligent, masterful, strong of will. In a hard age, he was one of the sternest of men, but he took no pleasure in cruelty or oppression for mere indulgence of these practices, as some of his contemporaries did, though he could be shockingly cruel. His justice was just, if often terrible. His administrative appointments were excellent. His record is clear of corruption in ecclesiastical affairs. He hammered England into a compact entity, as a smith might hammer iron upon his anvil, and made it the most united kingdom in western Europe. Feudalism as a social structure and an economic regime he preserved, feudalism as a form of government he made forever impossible in England. The land did not bristle with castles as in France, capable of resisting the king. No lord in England might build a strong keep without royal consent, and no man could refuse the king entrance into his castle.

His character and ability

When the Conqueror died, England and Normandy were separated for some years. The eldest son William II, surnamed Rufus from his red hair and ruddy complexion, got the crown and the kingdom of England, Robert, the second son, received Normandy, and Henry, the youngest, got the Cotentin, the peninsula of Normandy. In 1095 Robert mortgaged his duchy to William II for funds to enable him to go off on the First Crusade. Meanwhile the English king was engaged in suppressing conspiracies of Norman nobles in England and in resisting Welsh forays and Scottish invasions. He cleverly checked the former by granting lands in Wales to such nobles as might wish to attempt their conquest, and built new castles in the Welsh marches. He was an eager and able builder, erecting a wall around the Tower in London, the first stone bridge over the Thames and the great hall at Westminster, the finest example of medieval carpentry that remains. William II had his father's vices without

William II's character and policy

his virtues. He was senselessly cruel, notoriously avaricious with a vein of brutality and coarse jocularity in him. His chaplain was his chief minister, the notorious Ralph "Flambard" or the Firebrand, whom he made Bishop of Dunham, whose extortionate practices drove the people to fury. The greatest reproach of William Rufus was his flagrant abuse of Church property. He kept bishoprics and abbeys vacant for years and appropriated the revenues of them. In the year in which he died (1099) the sees of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Winchester and eleven abbeys were in his hands. He drove Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc as Archbishop of Canterbury, out of the country when he protested. The king was killed by a mysterious arrow when hunting in the New Forest on August 2, 1099. His funeral was "attended by many nobles, but he was lamented by few," records William of Malmesbury.

Henry I (1100-1135), the youngest son of the Conqueror, lost no time in seizing Normandy and England while his brother Robert was in the Holy Land. When Robert returned, he was promptly imprisoned in Gloucester Castle, where he died eighteen years later. King

*Henry I's
clever policy*

Henry I had his father's genius for politics and war, his determination and clear-sightedness united with an astuteness and subtlety which made him a formidable figure in western European diplomatic history. For a layman, he was well educated and hence was nicknamed "Beau-clerk." He exhibited this astuteness when he married the "good Queen Maud," the orphan daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, niece of Edgar Atheling, and so a princess of the fallen English royal dynasty, she had been brought up as a nun, and left the cloister reluctantly to become queen. The new king ingratiated himself with the Londoners by clapping Ralph Flambard into the Tower and granting a charter to the people of London, offering reformation of abuses. To crown his conciliatory policy, he recalled Anselm, and in 1108 effected an amicable settlement of the relations of Church and state in England and especially of the important question of investiture of bishops by inaugurating the double form of installation, spiritually by the archbishop, temporally by the king. This solution set a precedent for the Concordat of Worms in 1122 between Pope Calixtus II and the Emperor Henry V.

A perfecter rather than an innovator, Henry I polished the machinery of Anglo-Norman government until it ran with more smoothness and efficiency than under his father, he made it strong enough, indeed, to withstand the reaction in his successor's reign. Across the Channel Henry I's continental policy was so formidable to the French king that English and French history telescoped together.

We must now resume the thread of French history, which we left in the year 1060 when Philip I became king. The Norman Conquest marked the inception of this enmity between the two governments — we cannot yet speak of national antagonism. William I had too much to do to spend much time in Normandy and in his reign relations were strained but not hostile between

himself and the French kings William Rufus magnified the disputes over the border between Normandy and the Ile-de-France, the French king's domain, into aggressive war in the latter years of his reign and sorely taxed the abilities of the crown prince, afterwards Louis VI (1108-37). For William II had far more men and

*Conflict with
French king*

material resources to wage war with than had the crown of France. Henry I fell heir to this conflict, but he fought for the aggrandizement of Normandy not only with arms but by diplomacy. Louis VI pluckily resisted but was badly beaten in the field, one time disastrously. More formidable, however, was Henry I's diplomacy which wove a league of French nobles and their territories around Paris that almost tangled the King of France in a net.

In spite of constant Anglo-Norman intrigue or open hostility, Louis VI found time to invigorate the French monarchy after the long and lethargic reign of Philip I. At his accession, Louis VI had not dared

to go to Rheims for his coronation. He was crowned at Orléans instead, because the roads were infested with robber

*Louis VI's
firm reign*

barons, whose towers fretted the horizon even in the vicinity of Paris. It required years of unrelenting, petty war to clear these gentry out and demolish their strongholds. These campaigns against recalcitrant barons were in reality executions of judgment found against them in the royal court, often after they had defied a summons. By the end of the reign such recalcitrance had ceased, and a baron seldom refused obedience to a summons. At the same time Louis reduced the useless judicial bureaucracy. An act of Philip I, for example, in 1066 bears the seals of twenty-four persons, including the king's physician and chief cook. An act of Louis VI, on the other hand, in 1136 bears only the seals of the chief officers of the crown — chancellor, seneschal, chamberlain, and butler.

It required a stiff fight to accomplish this exclusion of intrusive officials. The tendency of all offices in the feudal age, both secular and clerical, was to become hereditary. For seven years, in the middle of Louis VI's reign, four brothers divided between them the four chief offices of state until the king broke them. It was a palace revolution which brought forward the first great minister of medieval France. This was Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, whom Louis VI first knew when the two were schoolmates in the great abbey. Twice Suger was sent on diplomatic missions to Rome, and once to Germany.

The chief political problem of the French king was how to prevent the network of English alliances with his own vassals, spun like a spider's web by the English king, from strangling the monarchy. The English monarch's only male heir was drowned at sea in 1119. His daughter Matilda was the wife of the Emperor Henry V.

*Problem of
Norman
succession*

What was to become of the succession to England and Normandy? In 1125 the emperor died and the empress returned to her father. The English king saw a great opportunity — he married his widowed daughter to Geoffrey,

Count of Anjou, England, Normandy, and the Angevin lands together would make a combination strong enough to break the French monarchy.

Anjou derived, like so many other place-names in France, from the word *aques* (from Latin *aqua*) or water. The province was a land of rivers. The ancient Celtic Andegavi had been alloyed with Frankish and later with Norse blood and the amalgamation had made the hardiest sort of people. The Counts of Anjou, the first one of whom emerged out of the wreckage of the Carolingian monarchy about 892, from first to last were among the ablest and fiercest provincial dynasties in feudal France. The "demon blood" of the Angevin counts was a by-word. Their very nicknames are ominous. Fulk "Rechin," the Surly, Fulk "Nerra," the Black, Fulk "le Rouge," the Red, Geoffrey "Martel," the Hammer.

In 1133 the English wife of the Count of Anjou gave birth to Henry Plantagenet, the surname of the Angevin dynasty.¹ The child was heir to England, Normandy, and the collected territories of the Angevin house — Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. Except for peninsular Brittany, all the provinces in the northeastern part of the realm of France were thus in the hands of the boy who was also to be English king. The preponderance menaced the very existence of the French monarchy. In the feudal age of landed possession, territory carried political authority and material resources with it, the readiest way for a feudal noble to increase his power was to make an advantageous marriage alliance with another feudal house. The French king was dying of an obesity which could not be remedied, his son Louis, who succeeded to the throne in 1137, as the seventh king of that name, was a stripling. The greatest heiress in France was the Duchess Eleanor of Guienne (Old Aquitaine) and Gascony, whose domains extended from the Loire to the Pyrenees, in addition to which she had suzerainty over a host of lordships in the South. Eleanor was the second medieval countess who governed her own principalities. The marriage of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine was a foregone conclusion. Louis VI died happy in the thought that he had at least counter-balanced the English-Norman-Angevin preponderance in France.

But Louis VII was spared for years any anxiety arising from English domination in France. All Henry I's carefully laid plans for the permanency of the union of England with Normandy and the Angevin possessions were thwarted by events which he had not anticipated.

When Henry I died without male offspring two claimants arose, each of whom could claim succession only through the female line. Both were descendants of William the Conqueror, but in different degrees of proximity. Stephen, Count of Blois, was a son of William's youngest daughter, Adela.

¹ Tradition says that the name was derived from Geoffrey, called "Plantagenesta" from his fondness of hunting amid the miles of yellow gorse which bordered the rivers.

Henry Plantagenet, at this time but two years of age, was the son of the former Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, the Conqueror's youngest son. Neither claim was valid in law, in point of fact, Stephen of Blois stood one generation nearer to the English throne than young Henry. A war of partisans racked England and Normandy for years. Stephen at first was more popular in England, the Plantagenet cause more popular in Normandy, where Count Geoffrey, fighting for his son, carried all before him. In the meantime, the former empress had crossed over to England where she fought like a lioness for her baby prince. The political division of the English kingdom in this civil war is interesting. Stephen and his partisans possessed London and the eastern shires, the south and south-west of England espoused the Plantagenet cause. Central England, with Oxford as the strategic point, was in dispute.¹

The violence of the times staggers the imagination. Law, justice, civil order disappeared. The administrative system which William the Conqueror had established went to pieces. The nobles, whom the Conqueror had kept in check, now built castles with impunity and tyrannized the country. Neither principal in the struggle could restrain them. So violent were these years that the epoch has come down in English history as 'The Anarchy.' The last contributor to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* penned words which have burned into the memory of Englishmen: "The barons of both parties then cruelly oppressed the wretched people of this land with castle-work, and when the castles were built, they filled them with devils and evil men. They threw people into dungeons and inflicted on them unutterable tortures. Never was there more wretchedness in this land, nor ever did heathens worse than they, for after a time they spared neither church nor churchyard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned the church and all together."² Men said openly that Christ slept and all His saints. The bishops and learned persons cursed them continually, but the effect thereof was nothing to them, for they were all accursed and forsworn and reprobate."

For eighteen years the civil war continued, though localized for the most part in the central part of England, the eastern and western parts being more or less unscathed. Long intervals of cessation of active hostilities ensued, too, when both sides were exhausted of resources for a season. Finally, when Stephen's son Eustace died in 1153 and there was no hope of succession to his

¹ This political division is fixed in English history and recurs time and again. It is dated from the Danelaw in 779, was manifest in the rebellion of Northumberland and East Anglia in the time of the Conqueror, reappears in the Barons' War in the thirteenth century and again during the Wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century, and still again in the age of Cromwell and Charles I. An American may be reminded of the cleavage between North and South in the United States.

² The words "all together" mean the poor peasants who had fled into the church for protection and sanctuary.

family, a compromise was effected which provided for the succession of Henry Plantagenet to the throne when Stephen died—as he did the next year (1154) It was the end of a period in the history of England

The history of medieval France would require the separate history of the great principalities or provinces which together formed the realm—the succession of their ruling families, the policy of their rulers, the *Queen Eleanor* intermarriages, and not least the culture of these different territories Such extensive treatment is of course impossible in this place We must concentrate on the French monarchy As long as his father's sagacious minister Suger lived—he died in 1152—Louis VII had few cares of state The Anglo-Norman dominion had ceased to be a menace His chief worry was that he had no son, though a blooming family of girls, and that his wife Eleanor's independence, high spirits, mockery of his piety and ascetic inclinations ruffled his temper In 1147 he went off on the second crusade—that is another story—and was gone for nearly three years He and Eleanor went together, but came back separately, for they could not agree and quarreled continually and gossip related salacious and unseemly anecdotes of the queen's frivolities while in the Orient Whatever the truth or untruth of these tales, in 1152 the Church accommodately dissolved the marriage between them

The discarded Eleanor with vast relief and in a gay humor started for Bordeaux, her former home But she was too beautiful a woman and too rich a "catch" to go unmolested Seven ambitious barons lay *Eleanor* in wait along the road hoping to effect a marriage by capture She arrived in Bordeaux worn and spent and with good ground fearing lest her lands might be beset by her violent suitors A rich woman without a husband or a father or a brother to protect her was not safe in this age unless she became a nun and took the veil Eleanor needed a strong husband to protect her lands, and, perhaps with a sly jab at her ex-husband, from Bordeaux she sent a letter, offering her hand to young Henry Plantagenet, Louis VII's dangerous antagonist (1151) Three years later Eleanor's new husband became Henry II, King of England, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Duke of Guienne, and Duke of Gascony His dominions stretched from the Tees to the Pyrenees

The duel between England and France was soon renewed with the Anglo-Norman preponderance far greater than previously Fortunately for the French crown, however, within the limits of France, that is the basin of the middle Seine, order and prosperity prevailed

Anglo-French conflict

No region of Europe was more blest by nature than this one, it was at once a garden, a granary and a vineyard Paris was perhaps the most pleasant capital in Europe. The powerful Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Champagne remained loyal vassals to the French crown. Most of the bishoprics of the kingdom were controlled by the crown and the bishops

loyal to the king This was true even in the far South (Languedoc) It must be remembered, also, that most of Henry II's time had to be spent in England and that he could give only intermittent attention to his continental affairs, and, finally, it was impossible to consolidate an agglomeration of provinces which differed from one another in nature, culture, and historical development The Angevin "empire" was a merely physical combination of territories loosely held together by the circumstance that each of them had the same ruler, but there was no accord between or among them The policy of Louis VII was to foment rebellion among Henry II's vassals and to stimulate every element of disunion

It is, therefore, to Henry II as ruler of England that attention is to be given Here his achievements were constructive and substantial His reign marks an epoch in English constitutional history

When the French kings entered upon their great struggle against the feudal barons, they found their strongest weapon in the doctrine of royal sovereignty, partly inherited from traditions of the Carolingian Empire, partly derived from Roman law No such traditions were *Authority of English kingship* attached to the history of the English kingship England had never been a portion of the Frankish Empire, nor could the king lean upon the Roman law, for the strength and vitality of English institutions were too great to tolerate Roman political and legal principles to any large degree The strength of the Norman kings of England lay in the fact that they were active and authoritative heads of the whole feudal system in England, as the kings of France were not, except in a titular capacity

The genius of Henry II's government was Norman *and* English Henry II had all the ability of his ancestors on both sides and all the Angevin thoroughness His rule differed from that of his predecessors in that he had what the other foreign kings of England did not *Henry II's policy* have, certain definite principles of government which applied as nearly uniformly as he could make them, to all his lands William I had been two different men in Normandy and England Henry II was the same in England and Aquitaine, in Normandy and Anjou, in Maine and Touraine, in Brittany and Ireland He did not treat one country on one plan and another on another plan, As far as circumstances would allow his policy was identical in purpose and in application We see his one aim extending over all his lands in his unvarying practice of securing possession in his own hands of the castles of the great barons "The visitation of the castellanships was made a regular article of the commission of the judges and the governors were frequently changed so as to get the posts gradually and entirely in the hands of the king's officers"¹ This policy originated in a prerogative of the Dukes of Normandy. Henry II applied it to all his realms

The origin of the jury system is to be found in Normandy, not in England.

¹ Stubbs, *Pref* to *Bened* Petr II, li

The early dukes of Normandy had continued the Carolingian sworn inquest or procedure of proof, and Henry II introduced the practice into England. The number of witnesses became fixed by custom to twelve. Trial by battle henceforth was confined to criminal cases. The ultimate evolution which transformed the witnesses of the Frankish inquest into the jury of modern law, did not occur in Normandy. That province was united with France in 1204 and henceforth participated in French legal development where the Germanic tradition of proof by inquest disappeared little by little before a procedure derived from Roman law. The French *enquête*, initiated by Louis IX in 1260, isolated the witnesses, its distinctive character was deposition in secret. In Normandy sworn officials had visited the *vicomtés*, or local districts, making inventories of property, William the Conqueror had used them for the compilation of *Domesday*. A commission of inquiry in Normandy in 1162 into the administration of Norman episcopal sees and viscounties was a precedent of the great inquest into the conduct of the English sheriffs in 1170. The English *curia regis*, or royal court of justice, gradually superimposed Norman practice without attacking Anglo-Saxon customs.

Henry II introduced Norman *recognitions*, or inquests under writ, into England under the name of assizes. Several of Henry II's assizes were of great importance. In 1159 when the king was at war with Louis VII and the English barons showed reluctance to serve across the Channel, Henry II commuted the service for a money payment, this was called *scutage* or shield-money (from *scutum*, shield),¹ it had the advantage of providing the king with funds with which he hired mercenaries who would fight as long as they were paid, and freed the king from the inconvenience of seeing his army dissolve after the fulfilment of the forty days' military service required by feudal law. In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon was issued by which the administration of criminal law was reformed. Ten years later (1176) this was followed by the Assize of Northampton by which the shires of England were organized into six judicial districts nearly corresponding to the judges' circuits of the present day, and itinerant justices called justices in eyre (from *iter*, circuit), who were chosen from the *curia regis* appointed for each circuit to hear causes which had formerly been cognizable by the King's Court only, and to act as justices in cases appealed from the sheriff's courts.² At the same time the King's Court (*curia regis*) was separated into two courts, one the King's Bench, the other

Assize in another sense

¹ Scutage the holder of a fief compounded for his personal service by paying a fixed sum for every shield (*scutum*) that he brought to the host. The usual sum raised was 26 shillings 8 pence — two marks — which seems to have represented forty days' service at 8d a day, which was the customary pay of a knight in the twelfth century.

² Occasional appointments of itinerant justices had existed in Henry I's reign. Henry II made the practice general and permanent.

the Court of Common Pleas. These two courts sat at London. Formerly the *curia regis* could only be held in the king's presence, wherever he might be. Hence litigants often had to travel far and suffer long and expensive delays. Exchequer business had already existed as a special department of the *curia regis*, and before the end of the reign the Court of the Exchequer emerged, which had to deal with fiscal and taxation cases. In 1181 the Assize of Arms was issued to regulate the national fyrd, or militia. The Assize of Woodstock in 1184 was a code of forest laws. The Saladin Tithe in 1188 was the first tax imposed upon personal and movable property.

It needs no argument to prove the wisdom and justice of all this legislation of Henry II, for it speaks for itself, and except for the Norman Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, made England the most intelligently governed country in Europe. The Constitutions of Clarendon, however, in 1164, which aimed to regulate and reform the Church, precipitated a violent controversy between the king and Thomas Becket, the archbishop.

As on the continent in the twelfth century, so in England a practical reformation was under way in the foundation of new monasteries. Cistercian monks, Austin canons, Premonstratensians, Gilbertines, Templars, and Hospitallers built no less than one hundred and fifteen religious houses in the nineteen miserable years of Stephen's reign (1135-54). The great Yorkshire abbeys of the Cistercians, even in their ruins, are monuments to the energy of the Cistercians in recolonizing lands which had lain waste since the Conqueror's harrying of the North. While this great monastic work was restoring life to the church and to society in the rural parts of England, an intellectual and moral revival was stimulated by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Master Vacarius, an Italian legist, was brought over to lecture at Oxford.

The worldliness and secular spirit of the clergy had become a scandal. Theobald initiated the reform but his successor Archbishop Thomas Becket was the one who carried it out. This remarkable man had been educated at Paris, Bologna, and Auxerre and was Theobald's right-hand man until Henry II made him his chancellor, in which capacity he invented scutage, or the commutation of required military service for money payment, a piece of sound constitutional work in revision of medieval methods of taxation. From a man of the world and a politician Becket was transformed into an ardent churchman when he became archbishop. In 1164 he and the king came into collision over the question of Church reform. Henry II wanted to reform the Church from without, and by government, Becket wanted to reform it from within, and independently of governmental agency. Both were anxious to reform the Church but they differed in regard to ways and means.

The exact legal point at issue in the quarrel between Henry II and Becket concerning criminal clergymen is widely misunderstood. The view commonly taken is that the king required all clerks accused of secular offenses

to be tried in the King's Court, Becket contended that clerks could only be tried in the ecclesiastical court. But the evidence clearly shows that what Henry II demanded was that, while ecclesiastical crimes should continue to be tried entirely in the spiritual court, a clerk accused of secular crime should in the first instance plead in the King's Court, then should without trial be referred to the ecclesiastical court and there be tried, and if found guilty and degraded—as inevitably he would be on being convicted of serious crime—should be taken back, a layman now, to the temporal court and there suffer the penalty due to a layman for the offense. Thus the privilege of the Church was preserved and the offender suffered for his evil doing. Becket, on the other hand, contended that no further penalty should be inflicted beyond the ecclesiastical punishment of degradation. The king's demand was less of an encroachment on the Church than is usually represented.¹

Popular opinion was wrong in its estimate of Becket and absolutely ignorant of his policy. For by his action he broke up the reforming party which had been working for a revival of the Church of England on a definite spiritual basis. He threw the Church into politics. *Becket's disastrous success* “Like all short-sighted politicians he won the point he aimed at, which was not worth fighting for, staked everything upon it and the Church lost all along the line” (Creighton).

In this crisis, as formidable for Henry II as was the Emperor Henry IV's conflict with Gregory VII a century before, the king was ill served by four Norman knights, who, having heard the king give utterance to violent and angry words against Becket, secretly left the court and proceeded to Canterbury and there murdered the archbishop in front of the altar on December 29, 1170. Never was a more stupid act committed, to say nothing of the criminal nature of it. When Henry II, then at Argentan in Normandy, learned of the murder, he lay for five weeks in ashes before the altar of the local church, seeing no one, while Christian Europe overwhelmed him with execration. Not all public opinion had been hostile to his ecclesiastical policy, for there was both wisdom and justice in his contemplated reforms of the English Church. Now the moral sentiment of Christendom was shocked. Fortunately, and to his credit, Pope Alexander III was a cool-headed man. The king sent ambassadors to the pope, who was a refugee in France, denying all complicity in Becket's murder. The pope pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the murderers and appointed a commission to examine into the case, who found that the only criminals were those four knights, who nevertheless, owing to the conflict between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, escaped punishment. The Council of Avranches in 1173 formally absolved the king from all guilt of the archbishop's death. Becket was canonized and declared a saint by Alexander III.

See Maitland's article in *English Historical Review* Vol. VII, no. 26 (1892)

on March 3, 1173, and his shrine became the most popular place of pilgrimage in western Europe, as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* attest

In his ecclesiastical policy Henry II had one aim for all his possessions. He would have done in Normandy and Anjou as he did in England, if the circumstances had been alike. There was one Catholic Church in all Henry II's dominions, he wanted to unite the different branches. The Church of Ireland was made to conform in everything to the uses of the English Church. He kept the Welsh and even the Scottish Church under tutelage. He would not allow execution for heresy in his lands, yet he kept heresy out of them. He continually shifted the bishops to prevent them from localizing their power.

*Henry II's
uniform Church
policy*

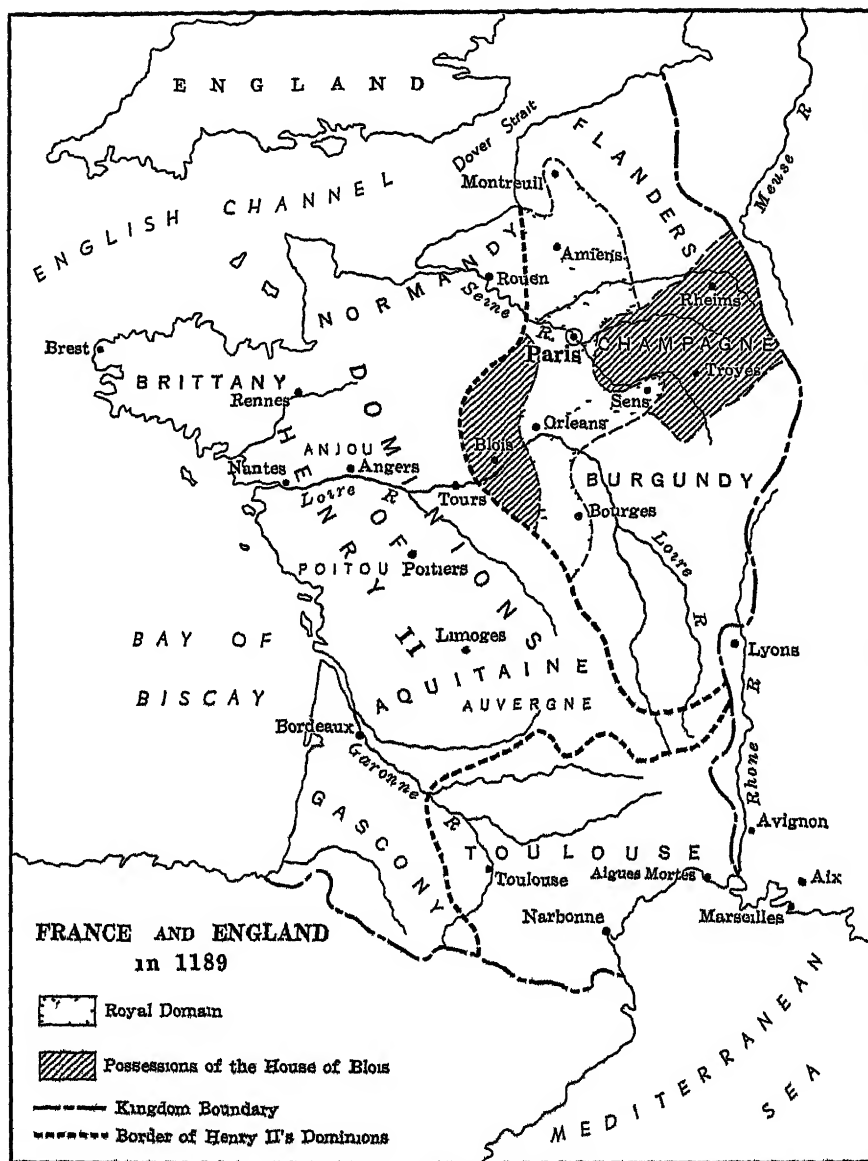
In the twelfth century Norman England and the Anglo-Norman Church influenced Ireland. The See of Dublin was brought under the sway of Canterbury. Pope Hadrian IV, an Englishman by birth, empowered Henry II, in 1155, to subdue the island and to compel the Irish Church to conform to Rome.

*Norman influence
on Ireland*

Actually the discipline and control of England and Rome for centuries did not extend beyond the English Pale, a restricted district on the east coast around Dublin and Drogheda, and a few other fortified places occupied by a military force. The native Irish Church was a rallying-point against the invading Englishry. Both communions recognized the pope as spiritual father, but otherwise were at feud. For nearly four hundred years statutes and proclamations mention three classes in the country: the king's subjects, the king's rebels, and the king's enemies. The first were the few natives who had submitted, the second were Anglo-Irish chieftains, such as the Butlers, the Fitzgeralds, the De Councys, the De Burghs who occupied the open country in almost independent sovereignty, and the last were the "wild Irish" who fiercely fought to retain possession of the remote districts to which they had been driven by the invaders. The history of Ireland for centuries was a history of warfare and bloodshed.

Henry II's last years were years of tragedy for him. His sons, Richard and John, whom he foolishly indulged, rebelled against him, being craftily urged on by Philip II of France, who had succeeded Louis VII in 1180. Henry II was driven, as Henry IV of Germany had been, driven by his son, from province to province of his continental dominions, which were in rebellion. He fled through one gate of Le Mans as Richard and Philip II together charged through the other gate. On the brow of the hill he reined his horse and saw his birthplace in flames. The sight so filled him with fury that, rising in his stirrups and shaking his gauntlet at the towers, he broke into profanity so violent that no chronicler dared to record what he said. He was then so ill that he could barely sit a horse, and his natural son Geoffrey, the only one of his children who was loyal to him, supported him in the saddle. In the middle of June he was expelled from Touraine.

*Henry II's
tragic end*



and died on July, 1189, at Chinon in the castle which Joan of Arc was afterwards to give renown by her presence there. Here he had been informed that John, too, his favorite son, had rebelled against him. In bitter agony of spirit Henry II turned his face to the wall, crying "Shame, shame, on a conquered king," and so he died. He was buried at Fontevrault and afterwards Richard and Eleanor were buried by his side.

Louis VII had been King of France for twenty-eight years before nature was kind to him and his third queen bore him a son. The birth of Philip II on August 21, 1165 — he was given the Greek name of his great-grandfather and dubbed "Augustus" because of the month in *Philip II* which he was born — was an important event in French history. The qualities of character his father had lacked, were possessed by the son. "Well-shaped and merry-faced, quick tempered, a lover of the table and of luxurious habits, Philip was nevertheless far-seeing in his plans, patient to await their accomplishment, and forceful and energetic when the moment for action had come. He was little in sympathy with the religious movements of the time, but he made the Church his assistant in his policy and profited immensely from the crusading spirit which it infused into his vassals. His military successes were brilliant but he was as ready to obtain his end by bribery or duplicity. His patience, skill and foresight surpassed that of any of the rivals of his later years."¹ He was fortunate in the length of his reign, forty-three years, although his father had reigned the same length of time and accomplished nothing of any positive nature.

Philip Augustus succeeded to a small royal domain surrounded by enemies. All down the west of France was the realm of the English Plantagenets, who had added Aquitaine by the marriage of Henry II to the Duchess Eleanor to their already great possessions of Nor- *Philip's restricted territories* mandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. To the north lay the County of Flanders, formidable not only for its riches but for the stoutness of its citizen-soldiers. To the east the vassal houses of Champagne and Burgundy were potentially hostile.

It is true that events played into Philip's hands, and that internal quarrels in the territories of his rivals and opponents in Normandy, England, Flanders, Germany, and southern France gave him favorable opportunity, his policy was aggressive and he knew how to seize *Aims of French monarchy* his chances. The aims of the French monarchy were first, to expand its territory, second, to increase the royal power and develop a strong government, third, to increase its resources and revenues. These were in a sense identical policies. For the success of each of them was dependent upon the efficiency of the others. Politics, territorial aggrandizement, and war went together.

The provinces of the English crown in France were the first object of

¹ Williston Walker, *The Increase of Royal Power under Philip Augustus*, 3.

Philip II's ambition In the last years of Henry II he had wheedled Richard and John into a French alliance against their father Now that Richard Lion-heart was King of England, he was hostile to France, an enmity which both kings concealed when the pope entreated Frederick Barbarossa, Philip, and Richard to go on the Third Crusade, after Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin in 1187 The history of the crusades is related in the next chapter Here it is only important to observe that soon after his arrival in the Holy Land, Philip II deserted Richard There was method in the French king's disloyalty Once arrived home, Philip II began covertly to corrupt Richard's vassals in France and to sow dragon's teeth in Richard's path

Richard's misfortune favored Philip beyond expectation When in the Holy Land Richard had bitterly quarrelled with Leopold of Austria, who had succeeded to the command of the German forces after Frederick I's death, and when later Richard returned westward via Venice, he had the ill luck to be shipwrecked on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic While endeavoring to travel onward in disguise through the adjacent Austrian territory he was recognized and delivered to Leopold, who clapped him into prison and notified Emperor Henry VI and King Philip II of his capture

Henry VI demanded an enormous ransom of England for Richard's release When the sum was finally raised, the French king persuaded Henry VI to increase the demand in order to protract Richard's imprisonment in defiance of the protestations of the pope The whole sum amounted to seventy thousand marks — about \$3,000,000 in modern currency When at last Richard arrived in England in March, 1194, he stayed for little more than a month He was in danger of losing Normandy Already Touraine and Maine were half-occupied by French forces By the middle of July the latter were driven out and Richard then began to erect with furious speed the great Château Gaillard on a height on the Seine above Rouen in order to protect Normandy Richard Lion-heart was no administrator, but he was a consummate soldier and a really great military engineer Until this time Europe had never seen so stupendous a castle It covered acres of ground, its walls were from eight to fourteen feet thick, it was protected by seventeen bastions and towers and triple lines of outworks between which lay deep moats It was impregnable to everything except treason or starvation The English king had learned a good deal about military architecture, some of it of Saracenic device, when in the East Leaving the Château Gaillard¹ with a garrison under Richard De Lacy, Richard I passed into Poitou where the French king's fine hand had instigated a rebellion There he was mortally wounded by a shot from a cross-

¹ When it was completed within a year, the whole plan and erection having been supervised by the king, he so admired it that he exclaimed "Is not my daughter of a year old a saucy castle?" (*"Que tu es belle, ma fille."*)

bow before the castle of Chalus-Chabrol and died of gangrene on March 28, 1199

Richard was succeeded by his youngest brother John (1199-1216), who inherited his father's licentiousness without his force of character and in a military capacity was as timid as his brother had been brave. John has the worst reputation of all the English kings, and probably deserves it, though it is to be remembered that all the historians of the time were clerics, and for much of his reign John was in bitter conflict with the Church. In addition to being licentious and timid, John was ingeniously and malevolently cruel, not merely brutal. His saving graces were pleasant manners when he wished to be mannerly and a certain fondness for books and art. His mother, Queen Eleanor, indulged him and neither Archbishop Hubert Walter, nor William the Earl Marshal, could restrain him.

King John's low character

England and Normandy at once accepted John. But the Angevin provinces, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Brittany, supported by the French king, acknowledged John's nephew Arthur of Brittany. Young Prince Arthur and above two hundred nobles and knights endeavored to get possession of the County of Poitou, which belonged to Queen Eleanor. Though she was at this time eighty years old, Eleanor took the field, and captured Arthur and his sister Eleanor and the whole body of their partisans on July 31, 1202. Arthur was sent to Rouen where King John was, and although no particulars are known, there can be no reasonable doubt that his uncle secretly murdered him, probably with his own hand.¹

Angevin revolts against John

The failure of the movement in favor of Arthur stirred Philip Augustus, who hitherto had been watchfully awaiting events, to action. It is widely believed that the French king's policy towards John was undertaken in order to avenge the murder of Arthur. This is not so. Philip II was not a sentimentalist, moreover, no legal proof that John had murdered him was available, and Philip II was not the man to proceed incautiously, without legal warrant. But King John had given him ground for legal action. In 1200 John had married Isabel of Angoulême who was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, John's vassal. In ecclesiastical law betrothal was half equivalent to marriage and could not be dissolved without the authority of the Church. Moreover, John was guilty of a grave injury to his own vassal, who appealed, as he had the right to do, to John's overlord, no less a person than the King of France. Philip Augustus saw his chance and summoned John to appear before his court in Paris to show cause why he should not be condemned for "failure of justice" (*defectus justitiæ*) towards his vassal. John was on the horns of a dilemma. He was

Philip annexes English territory in France

¹ Arthur's sister was imprisoned in England until her death in 1241. Many of the other prisoners were reputedly starved to death.

certainly guilty of a serious breach of feudal law, Philip was his suzerain, if he went to Paris he would be declared guilty and be in the hands of the French king. But John ignored the citation, and the case went by default against him. In feudal law the severest penalty an overlord could inflict upon a recalcitrant vassal was to deprive him of his fief.

Europe was astonished when in 1204 the King of France declared that the King of England had forfeited the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine,

France seizes Maine, and Poitou, and half of the Angevin "empire" in
English France was annexed to the French crown. At a single stroke,
possessions Philip II doubled the territory of the French monarchy, his

military and financial resources, and the royal power. England still held Guienne and Gascony in the southwest of the French kingdom, but they could now only be reached by sea. All the territory between the Channel and the Loire River had been lost to England. The English loss of Normandy¹ and the adjacent provinces was an event of some importance in medieval history.

In the next year (1205) the memorable conflict of King John with the English Church and the papacy, which soon also involved him with the baronage, began. When the Archbishop of Canterbury died,

John's conflict the monks of Christ Church, the electoral body for election
with the papacy of an archbishop, chose their prior. John demurred, for he

had another in mind for the office. Both nominations were set aside by Innocent III, who designated Stephen Langton, a great churchman, the monks of Canterbury accepted Stephen, for which John expelled them and seized their property. Thereupon the pope placed England under interdict, and in retaliation John seized the goods of all the clergy who obeyed it, and did not spare the Jews either. In 1212 Innocent III, as Gregory VII had done before in Germany, absolved all Englishmen from their allegiance to the king, and authorized Philip II of France to invade England. The country fell into anarchy. Highway robbery abounded. The Channel and the Irish Sea were infested with pirates. The Welsh ravaged the marches, and King John prepared to invade Wales but desisted when warned by his daughter Joan, who afterwards married Alexander II of Scotland, that his barons were plotting to betray him into the hands of the French.

By 1213 the issue acquired European dimension and became telescoped with international problems. Innocent III, as has been pointed out in chapter xix,

Anglo German had repudiated the Emperor Otto IV and elevated young
league against Frederick II against him. At the same time the pope was in
Rome conflict with John of England, who was Otto IV's uncle.

This drew Innocent III and Philip Augustus together, while John and Otto

¹ The French conquest was consummated when Château Gaillard surrendered after ten months of siege, the most heroic example of the siege of a castle in the Middle Ages when the garrison was reduced to starvation.

IV formed an alliance, which was joined by the Count of Flanders, who dreaded French invasion. For Philip II coveted Walloon Flanders, and had already seized Bruges. Although John could not take the field abroad because of his troubles at home, he was the brains of the Anglo-German-Flemish league. He saw that without French support Innocent III was powerless. The defeat of France would not only weaken the pope, but might also compel Philip II to restore some, or all, of the former provinces of England in France, which John had lost in 1204.

The great battle, which like Alexander's sword cut many Gordian knots, was fought on July 27, 1214, at Bouvines, not many leagues from another great international combat — Waterloo, with this difference, that Bouvines was a French victory. French historians have *Battle of Bouvines* unanimously regarded Bouvines as a milestone on the road to the formation of modern France, the first truly national achievement. Philip Augustus ventured on a stroke of great boldness, seeing that his adversaries outnumbered him by two or three to one. The Allies — the English in their ranks represented by a contingent under John's half-brother, Salisbury — lay like a boar in a swampy thicket, protected by the marshy valley of the Scheldt River and the great forests between Valenciennes and Tournai. In an effort to surprise them or rout them out of their lair, the French marched swiftly from Péronne, *via* Douai, across the bridge over the Marcq at Bouvines to Tournai. The route, like the battle itself, was dictated entirely by the terrain. It followed high plateaus between marsh and forest, and was in fact marked by Roman roads. It was the sole passage into Flanders hereabouts at this epoch — and indeed until the canalization of the rivers and shrinkage of the marshy area in modern times. The enemy was in fact not surprised and did not move except to shift to his right to bar the passage. One of his knights advised Philip to withdraw as if in panic, in the hope of drawing the enemy after him on to the plateau east of Bouvines, which favored the French cavalry. Philip doubted if the enemy would follow, but thought it best to retreat in any case. The emperor decided to pursue, and the head of the French army was actually over the bridge at Bouvines when word came to Philip that his rear-guard was heavily engaged. The battle was therefore fought as the king's adviser had hoped, on the plateau. Philip II owed the victory less to his feudal cavalry than to the militia of the French towns. It was the second instance — the battle of Legnano in 1176 was the first — when burgher infantry had prevailed over feudal cavalry.

With what anxiety John awaited news from Flanders may be imagined. John was near Rochelle in Poitou whither he had come in the spring, for it was part of the strategy of the coalition to attack the French provinces from the west while the king was far away along *John bows to pope* the northeast border of his dominions. In October King John was back in London, a sadder but not a wiser man. Perhaps John would not

have ventured to go abroad if it had not been for the fact that the minatory policy of Innocent III had had some effect upon him. In face of threatened French invasion and the opposition of the English baronage in May, 1213, John had reconciled himself with the Church. On May 13 he did homage to Pandulph, the papal legate, for his dominions to the pope. Innocent III was enforcing the doctrine which Gregory VII had declared, that the kings of Europe were papal vassals and their realms vassal kingdoms of the papacy.

The barons of England, led by Archbishop Langton, who although the highest churchman in the kingdom, would not follow the political philosophy of the pope, took courage from John's defeat at Bouvines, and on November 20, 1214, presented a formal demand for redress of certain specified grievances. Though the document was couched in the language of petition, practically it amounted to a demand. The king fenced for time in hope of dividing his opponents. Late in the spring, as John continued to temporize, the barons in assembled array and under arms entered London. On June 15, 1215, at Runnymede near Windsor, John was brought to bay and compelled to concede the Great Charter (Magna Carta). He had no intention of keeping his oath. He expected mercenaries from Flanders and withdrew to the Kentish coast to meet them. They arrived in September and the king with the new forces began to ravage the estates of the barons. At the same time Innocent III, John's ally, annulled Magna Carta and excommunicated the barons. Once again England was in a condition of civil war. King John was far from being at the end of his resources. He had many partisans, besides the mercenaries, the moral approbation of the pope, and kept himself in resources plundering the properties of the barons, stripping the countryside and holding up towns for ransom. Not even Church property was spared. So desperate was the barons' cause that they sent a hurried appeal for help to Philip II, who in the summer of 1216 sent over the Crown Prince Louis.

A map of King John's itinerary in this year would be interesting. In January, 1216, he was on the Scottish border, in the spring he was on the Kentish coast prepared to resist Louis's landing, on September 22 he captured Lincoln, on October 9 Lynn was taken, he lost much of his baggage and treasure while skirting the shore of the Wash two days later, was seized with illness from over-eating ripe peaches and drinking new cider soon afterwards, and died at Newark on October 19.

There has been much misunderstanding with regard to the nature of Magna Carta. The student must be warned against the injection of the idea of "democracy" into the document. Democracy was not a medieval ideal, or even a working factor in medieval life. Medieval men — clergy, baronage, and burghers alike — struggled for "rights" and "privileges," for something better than and superior to the lot of the masses of the people. Certainly to endeavor to exclude one's

*Magna Carta
wrested from
John*

*Nature of
Magna Carta*

neighbor from equality with one's self is not a democratic ideal or a democratic practice. It is true that modern democracy has imbibed some medieval ideas, such as the principle of no taxation without representation and the jury system, i.e., that a man may not be deprived of life, liberty, or property, or suffer imprisonment without due process of law and the judgment of his peers, but these principles antedated by centuries the birth of modern democracy. Furthermore, even these ideas are not expressed in the Great Charter and were of later development. "It did not assure trial by jury nor taxation by parliament. A regular scheme of taxation to meet ordinary expenses of government was as yet unknown. As for the representative idea of parliament, even had the king been willing, the barons almost certainly would have opposed it."¹

Magna Carta was a feudal document; it was an enlargement of the coronation oaths, it demanded adherence on the king's part to recognized feudal principles and practices which the barons asserted to be their historic rights and privileges. "It was a statement of custom, or of what was regarded as a legitimate restatement of custom. Much of it had long been needed, some of it restates earlier legislation, all of it was consistent with tradition."² Even the "security clause," by which John was compelled to recognize the right of the barons to rebel in event of misgovernment by him, contained nothing new. For the right of a vassal to rebel against his lord in case of failure to do justice was inherent in the political theory and the practice of feudalism. In a crude form Magna Carta expressed the idea of limited monarchy, of feudal nature. For feudalism was a combination of rights and duties, it was a contractual form of government in which king and barons were mutually bound to perform certain specified services and to fulfill certain specified responsibilities. Magna Carta aimed far more to correct abuses, such as the selling of justice, unlawful seizure of property, illegal arrest, unjust taxation, tyranny, cruel forest laws, and to restore old historic "liberties" (the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* were a symbol of these) than to assert new principles of law and government. In sum, Magna Carta was an aristocratic document. The towns, notably London, sustained the barons' demands because their trade was injured by John's rapacity and the civil war. The masses of the common people of England were inarticulate and no one gave them a thought.

One last remark. Langton, after the pope's intervention to protect John, had to steer his way with caution and to be formally neutral, though he sympathized with the barons, and to him in particular the clause concerning "due process of law" may be ascribed. But the real credit for the achievement of Magna Carta must be given to the barons, and most of all to the northern barons who were the originators of the movement. Once more we see the

¹ W. A. Morris, *Constitutional History of England to 1216*, p. 399.

² F. W. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 122.

sectionalism which divided England in the reign of William the Conqueror and of Stephen, it is to recur again in ensuing years

This chapter may be terminated with some reflections on the last years of the reign of King Philip Augustus of France. The first half of his reign (1180-1204) was, as we have seen, one of political and territorial expansion which reached its climax in the acquisition of the English provinces in the north of France — Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou. The second part of his reign (1204-1224) was spent in consolidation of these territories with the royal domain and the development of administrative institutions of the crown. The two processes were inseparably related.

Philip's first important administrative innovation was made in 1190, in anticipation of his departure for the Holy Land. This was the creation of the bailiffs. When he came to the throne, the local officials of the monarchy were the provosts (*prévôts*) and their subordinates, vicars and bealds in the towns. These officers collected the royal incomes and administered local justice. Experience showed that the provosts abused their authority and further needed to be checked because of the tendency of all feudal offices to become hereditary, and thereby independent of the royal authority. Offices were bought and sold, willed and devised by testament, and passed into the hands of new possessors by marriage. A certain degree of control of the tyranny and exactions of the provosts was exercised by the king's seneschal, one of the high officials of the court. But this supervision by a single person whose office was a fief of honor and not a mere occupancy at the king's pleasure, and who himself was a noble with rich estates which diverted him from the king's interest, was not effective. Accordingly, in 1190, Philip II combined a number of adjacent *prévôtes* into a larger circuit called a bailiwick (*baillie*), the official over which was called a bailiff (*bailli*). He was a royal appointee and was paid a fixed salary instead of the ancient custom of collecting fees, which was always a temptation for tyranny and petty graft. The bailiff was at once the local political, judicial, fiscal, and military agent of the monarchy in the royal domain only. The French king had no power to extend the royal authority into the great fiefs of the realm. France was not a united country like Norman England, where the king's authority was all-prevalent; yet in a smaller sphere the institution of the bailiffs was not unlike the English sheriffs.

The most important administrative change effected by Philip II, however, was in the working of the central government. The chief organ was the *curia regis*, the royal court, as has been said in a previous chapter. This was a loose body composed of such bishops and great nobles as happened to be in Paris, a number of the king's vassals (small barons whom the king could easily control), the princes of the blood, and the chief officials of the court — seneschal, butler, chamberlain,

*Philip II's
administrative
reforms*

and above all, the chancellor, who was always a churchman. This *curia* was at once an advisory council, a legislative body, and a court of justice. Its functions were varied, it had no fixed seat, though the preference of the king for Paris made that city the usual place of its sessions. The increase of the authority and power of the crown reduce the importance of the feudal and clerical element in the *curia regis*. Two factors were responsible for this feudal decline. One of these was the formation of a lawyer class imbued with the ideas of royal prerogative arising from the revived study of the Roman law, the other was a development of a distinction in the membership of the court itself—the peers. The one was the natural result of the right of the king to summon to the assembly such of his subjects as he chose, the other a corollary of the principle of trial by equals. The first led to the growth of a corps of technically trained judges, the second to the formation of a group of preferred high nobles whose rank, wealth, political influence were utilized by the king for the coercion of a restless and reckless feudality, impatient of being controlled.

The enormous increase in the military resources of the French crown by the annexation of the former English fiefs, the nobles in which became French vassals after 1204, is self-evident. But the financial resources thus acquired must also be considered. As William the Conqueror had made the *Domesday* survey and Henry Plantagenet had utilized the sworn inquisition in order to acquire information with regard to the value of the lands and property of his subjects, so Philip Augustus instituted a series of inquests in his new possessions in order to find out the nature and extent of his resources. Some of these records have survived, but unfortunately nothing so full as the *Domesday Book*. It is not possible to make a map of the royal domain or to determine the annual receipts in Philip II's reign. But one figure which has come down is in itself significant. An old manuscript found in 1879 reveals that Louis VII in his last years hardly disposed of 19,000 *livres* per month, whereas in 1223 Philip II had a daily income of 1,200 *livres*, or nearly double his father's revenue.

Paris became the most splendid city in Christian Europe in the reign of Philip II. He built the oldest unit of the palace of the Louvre, he laid down the first pavement in Paris, he founded the University of Paris in 1200. The magnificent cathedral of Notre Dame was begun in 1182 and completed in the first quarter of the next century.¹ Another reflection of the grandeur of the reign is found in literature. It was the delight of the literary men, who formed part of the court of Philip Augustus, to compare him with Charlemagne. The lost poem *Karolid* was an elaborate comparison of Charles the Great to Philip II, and the *Philippid*, a long poetical work by William the Breton, abounds with allusions to the

¹ For a full and vivid description of Paris, see F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 23-25,

romantic connection of the French monarchy with the past history of Charlemagne and even of Rome and Greece. The Roman law legists, too, attributed to the French kings the powers of the Roman emperors.

In the last years of Philip II's reign (1207-1215) the south of France was rent by the Albigensian Crusade, an armed expedition instigated by Pope Innocent III to suppress the Catharist heresy in the County of Toulouse. It only indirectly concerned King Philip, though its ultimate influence upon the French monarchy in the reign of his grandson was immense. That history, however, is better considered in the chapter upon the Church and the papal monarchy in the thirteenth century.

*Albigensian
Crusade*

BYZANTINE EMPERORS DURING CRUSADES

| | | |
|------|--|------|
| 1059 | Constantine X | 1067 |
| 1067 | { Michael VII | 1078 |
| | { Romanus IV (co ruler with Michael VII) | 1071 |
| 1078 | Nicephorus III | 1081 |
| 1081 | Alexius I, Comnenus | 1118 |
| 1118 | John II | 1143 |
| 1143 | Manuel I | 1180 |
| 1180 | Alexius II | 1183 |
| 1183 | Andronicus I | 1185 |
| 1185 | Isaac II | 1195 |
| 1195 | Alexius III | 1203 |
| 1203 | Isaac II (restored) and Alexius IV | 1204 |

THE LATIN EMPERORS

| | | |
|------|------------|------|
| 1204 | Baldwin I | 1205 |
| 1205 | Henry | 1216 |
| 1217 | Peter | 1219 |
| 1221 | Robert | 1228 |
| 1228 | Baldwin II | 1261 |

CHAPTER XXII

THE CRUSADES THE LATIN ORIENT AND ISLAM

The word "crusades" is applied to the military expeditions made from the end of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth by armed forces of the European nations, under the instigation of the popes, for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Mohammedan possession. There were eight great expeditions, and many lesser enterprises. Not all of them, however, were directed towards Palestine. Two were against Egypt, one against Constantinople, and one attacked Tunis in North Africa.

*Meaning of
"Crusades"*

Like all great and protracted historical events the roots of the movement are to be traced deep down into the past, and the sources or origins are of various nature. As early as the fourth century we find Christian pilgrims in great numbers going to the Holy Land to visit Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other sacred places. The short occupation of Palestine by the Persians in 614, and the permanent conquest of the country by the Mohammedans after 638 did not arrest the pilgrimages. In the seventh century Arculf, and in the eighth century Willibald, both Englishmen—to mention only the most eminent pilgrims—travelled through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (where the principal sights were the ancient monasteries in the desert) without molestation. Charlemagne made a treaty with Harun-al-Rashid, the great Khalif of Baghdad, which assured free access to the Holy City to western Christians, and built a hospital at Jerusalem. This peaceful condition continued through the ninth and tenth centuries.

*Origins of
Crusades*

The change came in the eleventh century, both in the status of Christians going to Mohammedan lands, and in the spirit of western Europe. In 1010 the mad Khalif Hakem of Egypt, who ruled Palestine, destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The act shocked Christendom. In the eleventh century the whole Moslem world, whose advance had been held in check since the Frankish repulse of Spanish Mohammedanism between 732 and 759 by Charles Martel and Pepin, began a new aggression. Furthermore, a new complication ensued when a formidable people appeared in western Asia—the Turcomans or Seljuk Turks.

Renewal of Moslem aggression

The Seljuk Turks were originally a subject tribe of the Khan of Turkestan whose chief was named Seljuq ibn Yakak. They migrated to Transoxiana

and gradually drifted down upon the frontier of the Baghdad Khalifate. They embraced Mohammedanism, and, being redoubtable warriors, they entered into military service under the khalifs, as the Germans had once done in the Roman Empire. These Turks attained the mastery of the khalif's army, when Togrul Beg, their chief, was made generalissimo in 1058. At this time Islam was no longer homogeneous. The Mohammedan world was broken up into separate and warring principalities all the way from India to Spain. The religion of Islam, too, had deteriorated. Now with the coming of the Seljuk Turks Mohammedanism in the eleventh century experienced a great political and religious revival which infused it with the spirit and the energy of the century of its first conquests. Contemporary historians of Europe naturally disparaged the Seljuk Turks and gave them the bad name which is still undeservedly attached to them and their successors, the Ottoman Turks. Actually, they revived Islam and achieved great success in art and learning by fostering culture and founding universities.

The Christian kingdom of Armenia, which was a buffer state between the Baghdad Khalifate and the Byzantine Empire, was threatened by the Seljuks. If it were taken, then all Asia Minor would be open to Turkish invasion. In 1071 the Byzantine Emperor Romanus was disastrously beaten by the Turks under Alp Arslan at Manzikert near Lake Van. The effect was tremendous. Armenia was conquered and extinguished, all Asia Minor was over-run and a Seljuk state established with its capital at Iconium¹. Asia Minor was reduced to a waste. When the crusaders came along in 1097 the land was still so devastated that the armies almost perished of famine. The Turkish capture of Damascus and all Syria followed in 1075, and that of Antioch in 1085. Almost simultaneously Mohammedan Spain was invaded from Africa by a fanatical and military Moslem host, the Almoravides (1087-92), whose chieftain usurped the office and power of the Cordovan Khalifate. From Egypt, Tunis, and Algiers Mohammedan fleets began a new aggression in the Mediterranean, endangered shipping and harried the coast of Europe. This tremendous religious and military surge forward of the whole Mohammedan world against Christendom was of the nature of an Islamic crusade before the Christian crusades began.

Under these tense conditions the temper of western Europe grew sharper. The eleventh century was an age of profound religious emotionalism, of which there are many evidences — revivalism, new orders of monks, church building, increased veneration of saints and sacred relics, etc. There was an increase in the number of pilgrimages. There were twelve pilgrimages in the ninth century, sixteen

¹ Sometimes called the Sultanate of Roum, from "Ro(u)mania," a term by which Asia Minor was commonly designated, and regularly so called by Innocent III.

in the tenth — and 117 in the eleventh! Moreover, instead of small groups of knights and nobles, these pilgrim bands of the eleventh century were composed of thousands. In 1065 Bishop Gunther of Bamberg led a host of 11,000

With these gigantic pilgrimages must also be associated the frequency of expeditions by military adventurers in western Europe. The Norman seizure of southern Italy and Sicily and the other Norman Conquest by William the Conqueror were great and success-

Other crusades

ful armed expeditions. What had been done in Italy and England might be done in Syria and the Holy Land, with the added advantage of doing God's service against the Infidel. Actual crusades on a small scale already were customary in Spain, whither thousands of French knights, most of them Normans, it is to be noticed, flocked to the aid of the Kings of Castile and Aragon and where the shrine of St. James at Compostella was second only to Jerusalem and Rome in popularity. Thus was Toledo recovered in 1085 and Valencia in 1094. A papal legate was with the army of the Christians in Spain in the campaign of 1064. The bulk of the volunteers from abroad in Spain were Frenchmen. William of Aquitaine and Raymond of St. Gilles, who afterwards went on the First Crusade, were conspicuous. The use of parish militia in the Peace of God and the Truce of God had long familiarized the common people of Europe with the use of arms for a righteous cause, and what cause could be juster than the attempt to recover the Holy Sepulchre? Gregory VII had slight interest in the "crusades" in Spain, but he was the first to suggest the idea of an armed expedition under papal auspices for the recapture of the Holy Land, and incidentally, to reunite the Greek and the Latin Churches. The pope had the nucleus of an army for this enterprise in his own military force in Rome, which was recruited not only from the papal vassals but from mercenaries and volunteers.

The crusading idea was further stimulated by the increasing popularity of the military saints, notably St. George. The *Chanson de Roland*, the earliest French epic poem, based on Charlemagne's Spanish campaign in 778 and the heroic death of Roland, the memory of which had never died in France, and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, which is even earlier, identified Charlemagne with wars against the Saracens.

Military saints

Thus western Europe was familiar with the idea and, in some degree, with the practice of the crusades and its mood in perfect accord with the drift of events. It required only the word of a consummate leader to fire Europe. In 1095 Pope Urban II appealed to the French, the most religious and the most militant nation, in probably the most influential speech ever made, at Clermont, to rescue the Holy Land and recover it for Christendom. He appealed to every motive imaginable in the vast audience: to religion, love of adventure among the feudality, commercial opportunity for townsmen, liberation for the serf. The response was instantaneous. Authorized preachers were commissioned

Urban II appeals for a crusade

to spread the news and many self-appointed speakers, the most notorious of whom was Peter the Hermit, a Fleming from Amiens, harangued crowds in every market-place and cross-roads

The upheaval brought such violent and sudden economic and social changes that it was of the nature of a revolution. It was not long before the Rhine and the Danube valleys were glutted with wild, fanatical, lawless bands of peasants streaming eastward, without preparation, without means of sustenance, without knowledge of the roads, without arms except for home-made weapons. Southern Germany, Hungary, the Christian Slav peoples of the Balkans, and the Jews in every city who were singled out by the fury of these beggarly bands, were all in consternation. Wasted by hunger and disease and the hardships of the way, many of them destroyed by the outraged peoples through whose territories they passed like a desolating host, the survivors of this forlorn expedition under Peter the Hermit and Walter, a penniless German knight, finally reached Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius speedily transported them across the Bosphorus, where shortly afterwards almost all of them were destroyed by the Turks (July–October, 1096). But the mobster Peter escaped.

Two years elapsed before the mailed chivalry could be organized. Each of the armies was separate, there was neither unity of command nor homogeneity of organization among them. The first army was led by Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brothers Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne. The second army was under Count Robert of Flanders, the third was led by Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and Count Stephen of Blois. All these hosts advanced down the Danube. From the south of France went Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence. The crusade also attracted Bohemond and Tancred, the former the son, the latter the nephew of the redoubtable Robert Guiscard, who had once planned to conquer Constantinople. Bohemond was the most sagacious warrior and the only diplomat in the whole motley array.

The Byzantine Emperor had looked upon the "Peasant Crusaders" with contempt. But these feudal hosts from the West he regarded with alarm.

They in turn looked upon Greek Christians as schismatics and little better than heretics, they despised the delicacy and refinement of Byzantine culture as frivolous and effeminate.

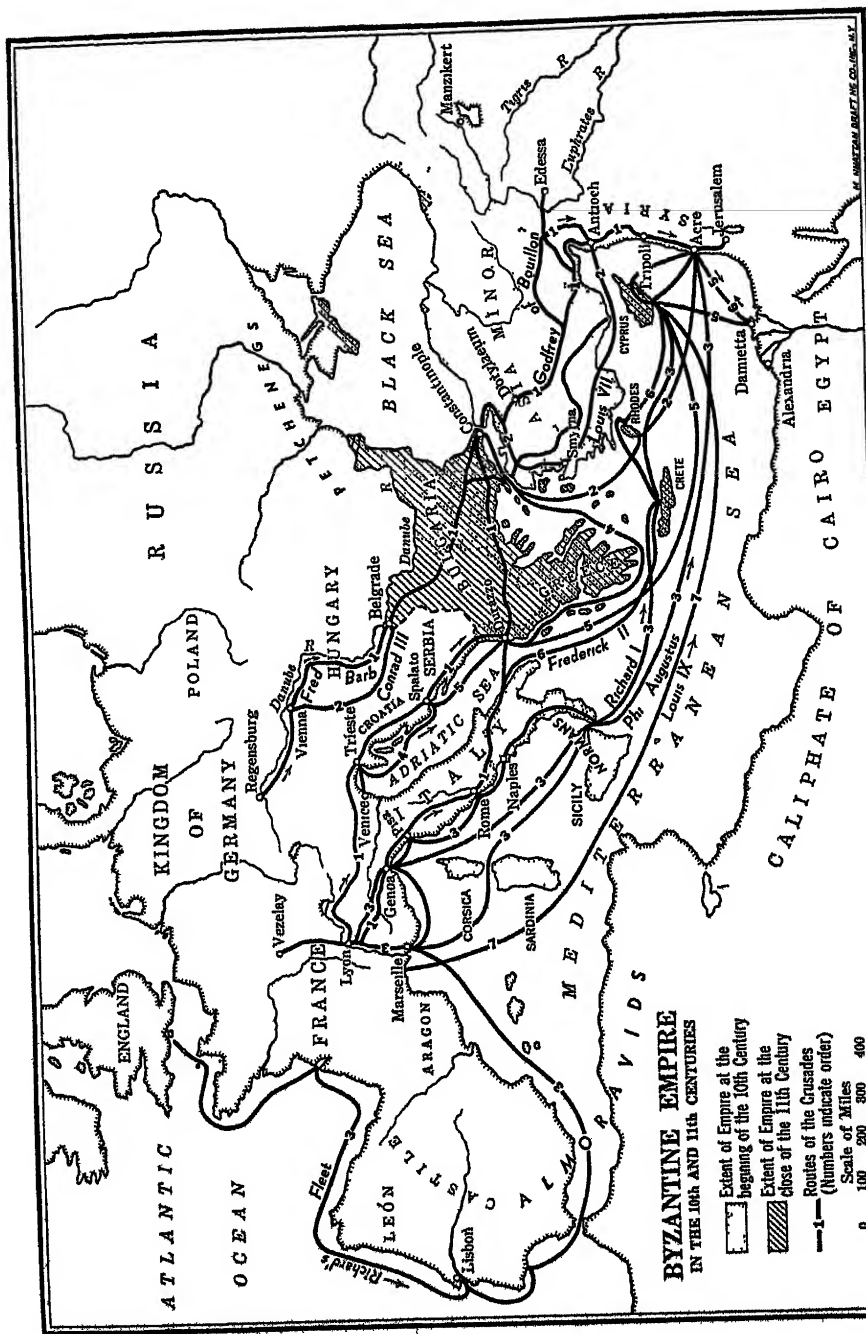
They envied the rich imperial territories and lucrative commerce of Constantinople and gazed with wonder on the miles of palaces, the great squares in the city, the number and wealth of the churches, the vast water-front crowded with shipping. Fortunately for Constantinople, the Western armies did not arrive together, and as fast as they arrived, Emperor Alexius despatched them across the strait into the Mohammedan territory,

having first exacted a pledge from the leaders that whatever conquests they made should be held of him as vassal fiefs of the Byzantine Empire

The first capture was Nicaea, once the place of the formation of the Nicene Creed, then capital of the Sultan Kılıdj-Arslan Three days afterwards, in July, 1096, the first battle of the crusading epoch was fought and won by the prudence and prowess of Bohemond Then, *Inland march to Alexandretta* instead of following the road along the coast of Asia Minor, where supplies and munitions could be carried by ships, the crusaders advanced straight across the high inland plateau of Asia Minor, a region of few towns, little pasturage and less water, and peopled by half-nomadic and warlike inhabitants The suffering and loss of men and animals were appalling Finally the crusaders reached the Kingdom of Little Armenia, which was founded by the remnant of Armenians who had survived after Manzikert, tucked in the corner of the Mediterranean around the Gulf of Alexandretta and commanding the famous Cilician Gates, the only defile through the Taurus Mountains, which since the wars of the Persians and the Greeks and Alexander the Great's day had been a road of immense strategic importance¹

After a long rest in Little Armenia the crusaders resumed their march At Antioch for more than a year they were stopped and again suffered great privations Mutiny broke out, the leaders quarrelled, the papal legate Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, died of the plague, *Sack of Antioch and Jerusalem* Emperor Alexius deliberately neglected to send supplies, Baldwin deserted and stormed and took Edessa, an Aramaic and Christian city on the upper Euphrates, which had never succumbed to Islam Then they besieged Antioch, and when (June 2, 1098) the garrison could no longer hold out, the great city was surrendered to Bohemond, who had secretly negotiated with the Turkish commander to that end behind the backs of his fellow-crusaders The massacre of Antioch on the part of the crusaders was ferocious Three days later the Emir Kerbogha arrived having spent weeks in endeavor to recover Edessa first Again the ability of Bohemond saved the Christians What Baldwin and Bohemond had done, that Raymond of Toulouse also did He seized Tripoli below Antioch and rounded the territory about it into a third French principality in the East

¹ It is remarkable that of the two Transcaucasian Christian peoples whose long histories and cultures have been for many centuries so closely interwoven, the Armenians and the Georgians, only the former are known to western Europe except to scholars, although Georgia is the longest-lived kingdom in modern history The reason is partly because since their dispersal after the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Armenia, the Armenians had more contacts with the West, and partly because the Georgians, a proud, reserved and self-contained people, led an isolated national life The Armenians are a people oriental in feature and complexion, while the Georgians are more European in appearance Georgia is now a part of the U S S R The country contains some of the loveliest and most majestic scenery in the world



The residue of the enraged crusaders continued on towards Jerusalem, Godfrey being the only eminent leader left. Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Hugh of Vermandois and Stephen of Blois had long since gone home. From Jaffa (the port of Joppa of the New Testament) as a base the crusaders attacked Jerusalem. Again there was a long siege which the decrepit Baghdad government did nothing to relieve. Siegecraft, battering rams, and mangonels were sent out from Italy, chiefly from Venice, and finally Jerusalem was captured on July 15, 1099. Again the crusaders plunged into slaughter. The butchery and pillage of the Holy City beggars language to describe. Godfrey's horse, according to an eye-witness, was fetlock deep in blood in the Porch of Solomon's Temple. In this baptism of blood the Kingdom of Jerusalem was established under rule of Godfrey who piously refused to take the title of king and dubbed himself Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Years elapsed, however, before all the strong places in Syria and Palestine were taken. Tyre was not captured until 1124, and then only with the aid of the Venetian fleet. *Further sieges*

In this initial stage of the crusades the leaders made a fatal blunder in failing to attack Damascus first, which if captured might have assured their ultimate retention of Jerusalem. A Latin king ruling from so central a location as Damascus could have enforced his authority throughout the kingdom far more easily than from Jerusalem, which was isolated in Palestine in the far south of the kingdom and away from the main trade routes. Moreover, from Damascus one could have thrown up a barrier of Christian power across the transit between the sea and the desert along the line of which the Moslems had to maintain their communications between the eastern and the western halves of Islam. *Failure to take Damascus*

Under these conditions western Europe set up a kingdom formed of a string of feudal principalities in the Levant. It was a strange phenomenon — a French feudal state implanted in lands two thousand miles away from the mother-country which had nothing in common with the Orient. As a government the Kingdom of Jerusalem had all the weaknesses and vices, and none of the elements of strength and moral force inherent in the feudal system. The cardinal political weakness of feudal government, elective monarchy, was instituted. The crown was weaker than that of the Capetians kings of France when they were at the lowest ebb. The great princes of the realm were stronger and more defiant than the greatest nobles of France of the French king. *Christian kingdom of Jerusalem*

Godfrey and his successors could not exact military service from their vassals and the defense of the Holy Land fell chiefly on the Knights of the Temple, a half-monastic, half-feudal order. In the space of two hundred years the Templars had commanderies in every country of Christendom. They numbered 15,000 knights. The *Knights of the temple*

grandmaster took the title " by grace of God," he reigned in, if not over, many kingdoms, his court was princely, his income regal, the pomp and circumstance of the grand priors was of similar magnificence. Another military order was the Knights of the Hospital, which was a sworn body of nobles pledged to constant war against Islam. The erection of those huge castles, remains of which are still visible at key-points in the country and along the eastern frontier, was chiefly due to these two orders. No château in western Europe until Richard I built the Château Gaillard could compare in massiveness with the structures.

As soon as the conquest was achieved the Italian maritime cities, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and later (French) Marseille, made a rush upon the port towns of Syria and Palestine, each eager to acquire commercial privileges — monopolies if possible — water frontage, and quarters in them. Hitherto Venice had enjoyed almost the whole of this lucrative Levantine trade. Now the commercial competition among the Mediterranean port cities, especially between Venice and Genoa, created a new factor in medieval history. Sea-power, both mercantile and naval, was necessary to sustain and promote this new condition. The fatalities of the First Crusade showed that the effective way to preserve contact between West and East was by the sea, although it was not until Frederick Barbarossa lost his life on the Third Crusade that all Europe became convinced of it.

Life gradually was stabilized in the Christian Orient. The Baghdad government was quiescent and verging upon collapse, Egypt was in much the same condition until the energy of both was restored in the second half of the twelfth century — we shall soon see how. There were Moslems and oriental Christians whose religion was not recognized by either the Greek or the Roman Church, and Jews also, all these groups were regarded with dislike and suspicion by the French invaders, yet tolerated, for their labor and other services were necessary to the administration of the land and the conduct of business. Real crusaders soon almost ceased to arrive, but pilgrims so increased in number that the tourist trade was one of importance. Commerce increased by leaps and bounds and the Italian cities which controlled the trade, waxed fat.

The effect of the Syrian climate and of oriental Christians upon the western stock — the dwindling or extinction of families and the deterioration of the survivors both in physique and morale — is interesting to observe. So rapid was the decline of the Latin stock in the East that the fiefs of the kingdom constantly passed through heiresses to newcomers from the West. The kingship was afflicted by minorities and regencies, owing to the deterioration of the dynasty under the hot rays of the Syrian sun. In spite of ecclesiastical prohibition, inter-marriage between the European and the native took place and in the next

*Competition for
Levantine trade*

*Settled life in
Christian Orient*

*Decline of
European stock*

generation a hybrid type of population, like the Eurasian in India, began to appear. The westerners permanently established in Syria and Palestine adopted oriental costumes, habits, food, furniture, and the most intelligent among them became polyglot, speaking Arabic and Syrian as readily as French. Indeed, there are instances of ignorance of the French language in the third generation of the crusaders. Some Christians went over to Islam, but the reverse of this was not known. Islamites are hardly ever converted to another religion.

After the tremendous upheaval of the First Crusade, Western Europe seems to have felt a certain sense of lassitude and became engrossed in its own immediate affairs once more. Even the Christian princes in the East were so interested in consolidating their principalities that they left the fighting along the border to the Templars and Hospitallers and were indifferent to an ominous change which transpired in the Islamic world. This was the secession of the Emir of Mosul from the Baghdad Khalifate and the formation of a strong, new, and independent Mohammedan principality, whose capital was Damascus, which extended along the whole frontier of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Hitherto the success of the crusaders had been not a little due to the divided political condition in the Khalifate in which the provincial governors or emirs usurped local authority much as the dukes and counts had done in the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century. Indeed, there is a parallel between the dissolution of the Frankish Empire and that of the Baghdad Khalifate.

*New Moslem
principality*

Thus it happened in 1144 that the kingdom of the crusaders was caught off its guard when Noor-ed-Deen made a sudden onslaught and captured Edessa. The news of this disaster threw the West into consternation. St Bernard, a French Cistercian monk and a great preacher, preached a new crusade, and fired Europe again as Urban II had fired it before. He stampeded — for that is the word — Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany into the expedition. Both armies, though separately, passed down the Danube, across Hungary and the Balkan peninsula to Constantinople. The German army was nearly annihilated by the Sultan of Iconium and the residue of it which got back to Nicaea continued by sea. Meanwhile, Louis VII prudently followed the coast road of Asia Minor. The two sovereigns made an unsuccessful attack upon Damascus and saw the most of their armies perish of hunger and disease. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a feudal state, the disaster of Hattin, the ultimate loss of the Levant, may all be attributed to the failure of the Second Crusade to take Damascus in 1148. The Second Crusade was a complete failure and both kings returned filled with shame.

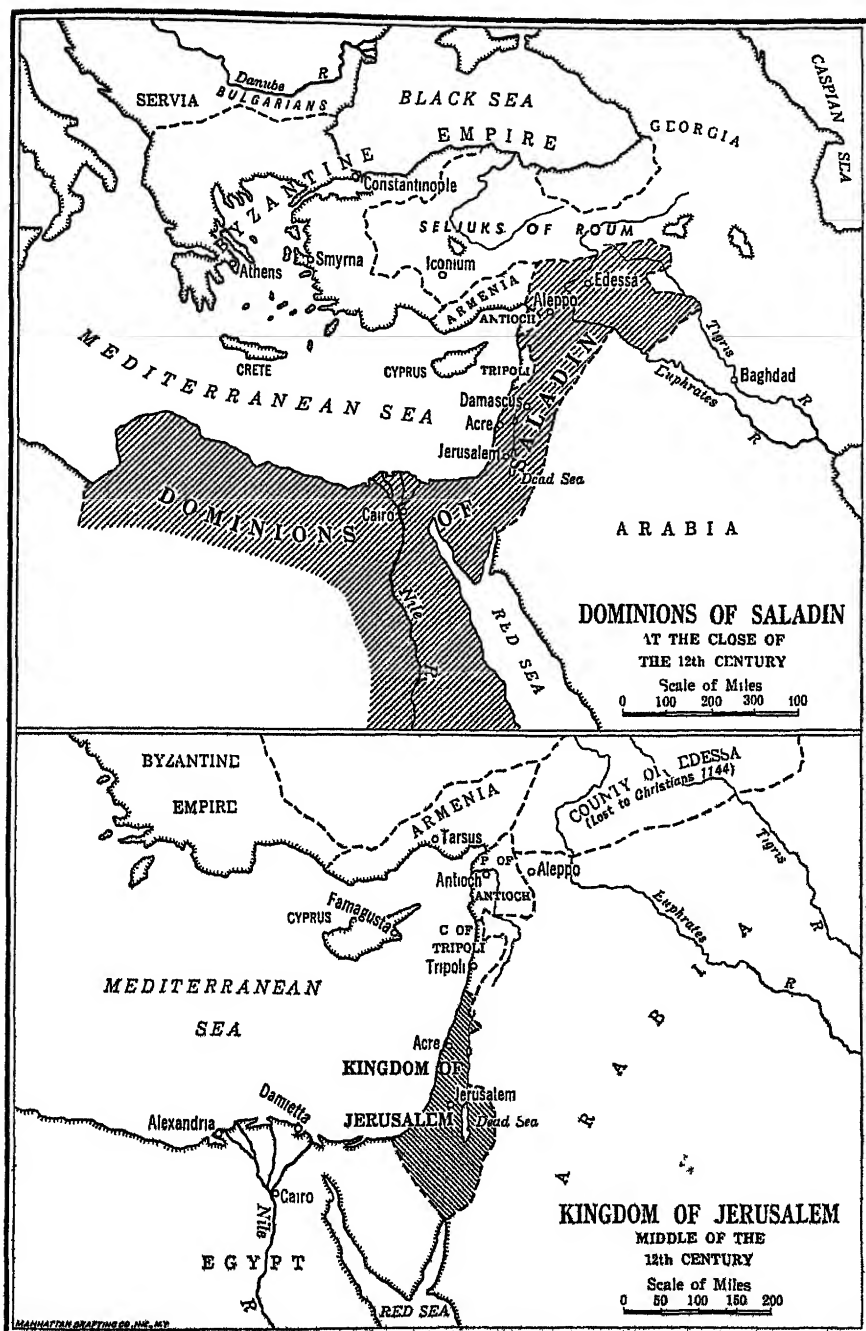
*St Bernard
preaches Second
Crusade*

The solitary success in the tragic fiasco of the Second Crusade was the siege and sack of Lisbon in Portugal by a mixed company of Flemings, Lorrainers, and Englishmen who set out in the spring of 1147 in nearly two hundred

vessels for the Holy Land, intending to bear assistance to the Germans and the French. The episode was important for the history of the Spanish peninsula, but had nothing to do with the Holy Land. At this time the first King of Portugal, Alfonso, son of Duke Henry of Burgundy, was carving out his kingdom, still mostly in the hands of the Moors, and the capture of Lisbon was all-important to him. Alfonso had some difficulty in persuading these "crusaders" to postpone their original project and give him aid. In a characteristically mixed mood of piety and plunder they declared that "it would be more profitable if they should sail past the coast of Spain and then extort much easy money from the merchant vessels of Africa and (Moslem) Spain, and that, besides, the wind at that season was very favorable for voyagers to Jerusalem." It was only after the king had solemnly sworn to yield all the spoils to the crusaders that they consented to lay siege to Lisbon. The total force of the besiegers does not seem to have been more than 13,000. On the other hand, the population of Lisbon is said to have numbered 150,000, without counting women and children, but including refugees from Santarem, Cintra, Almada and Palmela, and merchants from all parts of Spain and Africa. The men of Cologne and the Flemings began the plunder of the city, but the Normans and the English soon got their full share of the loot, too. After a siege of seventeen weeks the town was taken on October 24, 1147. The real victory was that of the English. The first Bishop of Lisbon was an Englishman, Gilbert of Hastings, and an alliance was made between Portugal and England which has lasted for nearly eight hundred years.

Again, a generation elapsed before there was another crusade. The commerce of Venice, Genoa and Pisa, the Lombard cities, Marseille and a host of lesser towns with the Levant enormously increased and western Europe indulged in luxuries of which it had never before dreamed. But for the rest, the West was interested in its own high politics. The rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem seemed to have learned nothing from experience. The Mohammedan principality of Damascus grew in strength and extent of sway under the great Salah-ed-Deen or Saladin who conquered and annexed Egypt, so that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was threatened on both its East and its South. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was shaped somewhat like an hour-glass and Damascus lay like a spearhead opposite to its narrowest part. In 1187 Saladin drove through at this fragile point, cut the realm in two, recaptured Jerusalem and Acre, and recovered much of the territory of the northern principalities. All that remained of Christian domination in the Orient was limited to the coast region of Antioch and Tripoli. The realm of the crusaders was almost obliterated.

The papacy bent every effort towards a new crusade. Its propaganda was elaborately organized, its preachers were practiced orators. The pressure



brought to bear upon the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted of England to lead the expedition was enormous, though it should be said that Frederick and Richard needed

Papal propaganda for another crusade no persuasion, for the glamour of the enterprise appealed to them. As for the French king, as has been pointed out, he went because he wanted to get Richard out of the way in order that he might seize Normandy, and Richard, for all his impulsiveness, would not go unless Philip II would go also.

The influence of sea-power is clearly manifested in the Third Crusade. Philip Augustus and Richard both went by sea. Only Frederick followed the old route via Constantinople and Asia Minor. The Germans started first, but the emperor was drowned in the crossing of a river in Cilicia and the command devolved upon Leopold of Austria. After the German army reached the Holy Land, they organized a military order, the Teutonic Knights.

Richard stopped at Cyprus. His wife, Berengaria, had been rudely treated by Isaac Comnenus, who had usurped the government of the island.

Cyprus In revenge, Richard invaded and conquered Cyprus in May, 1191. Having made Isaac Comnenus prisoner and reduced all the fortresses, Richard continued his journey to the Holy Land, leaving garrisons at Nicosia, the capital, and other important points. However, he found that English retention of Cyprus required more troops than he could spare, and so he sold the island to the Templars for 100,000 byzants. But the Templars renounced their title, having discovered that it diminished their forces in Palestine. Richard then handed Cyprus over to Guy de Lusignan, a former King of Jerusalem who had lost his kingdom in the fatal Battle of Hattin in 1187. Guy took possession of his new acquisition in 1193, and contented himself with the title of "Seigneur." The more august title of "King" was first assumed by his brother and successor Amaury (1194-1205), who took oath of allegiance to the Emperor Henry VI. Cyprus thus became an imitation French feudal society and miniature French court. In 1489 Caterina de Cornaro, widow of the last king, abdicated and made over the kingdom to Venice. It was lost to the Turks in 1570. The papacy had established four dioceses in Cyprus, the sees of which were at Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. The last became an immensely rich commercial port. The clergy of the Greek Church in the island were not permitted to reside in the cathedral cities, but were confined to small towns and villages.

To return to the Third Crusade. In due time the French and English fleets arrived before Acre, which was at once besieged. After Richard and Leopold quarrelled in the trenches around the beleaguered city, the Germans left for home. Then Philip II deserted and left Richard in the lurch to fight against Saladin. The Lion-hearted performed

Capture of Acre

prodigies of futile valor and committed great atrocities — at one time he slaughtered 2,700 prisoners in cold blood — but it was all in vain. Saladin was too formidable a foe, and far more generous and humane than the English “hero.” He had spared the population when he captured Jerusalem in 1187, he was never guilty of the atrocities which Richard committed. As a soldier he outgeneralled his antagonist in every engagement, for Saladin was both a tactician and a strategist, whereas Richard was a mere swash-buckler in the field, though a good military engineer and an adept in siegecraft. Twice Richard was compelled to turn back from Jerusalem. The only achievement of the Third Crusade was the recapture of Acre and possession of a narrow strip of coast between it and Jaffa, all that remained of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which survived as a Christian principality until 1291.

Christian Europe, especially the papacy, felt the humiliation of the failure of the Third Crusade. There were many loud protests and accusations. The professional preachers of the crusades were too prejudiced to admit that Saladin was a greater soldier than his antagonists. *Failure of Third Crusade* had been. Christian Europe searched for a scapegoat to blame for the disaster and pitched upon the Byzantine government and its emperor as the author of the calamity. Ever since the founding of Constantinople and the separation of the East from the West, political, religious, and cultural antagonism had existed between the West and the East. From the inception of the crusades, Byzantium had looked upon them with suspicion and had sometimes connived with Moslem princes against the crusaders. All this accumulated heritage of jealousy, suspicion, and resentment bore fruit in the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Innocent III soon after he took office renewed the movement for another crusade to wipe out the humiliation of western Christendom. It was evident that only a naval expedition could succeed, if the Holy Land were to be recovered. Venice was the foremost sea-power of the age, and to Venice the pope appealed for assistance, while his great preacher, Fulk de Neuilly, undertook to fire Europe with new enthusiasm. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, were the leaders. The baronage who participated was almost entirely French. This was generally true of all crusades; they were almost wholly French enterprises. In 1203 the crusaders began to assemble at Venice. But Venice had her own designs in promoting the Fourth Crusade, and they were not those of the pope. The papal plan was to capture Egypt and from that country as a base to attack the Holy Land and wrest it from Mohammedan domination. But for centuries Venice had enjoyed a lucrative trade monopoly with Egypt, which she had no mind to lose or to share with other competitors. On the other hand, Venice had long coveted possession of the enormous commerce of Constantinople, and so was determined to divert the crusade. It was a ticklish undertaking, for it meant flying in the face of the pope, *Fourth Crusade deflected against Constantinople*

and at the time time required smooth diplomacy to persuade the crusaders themselves to such an enterprise. But Venetian adroitness and duplicity at last prevailed. The colossal wealth of Constantinople was the final argument. The Fourth Crusade thus degenerated into a buccaneering expedition, without even the semblance of religious purpose or justification.

The great fleet of 480 vessels sailed for the Golden Horn. The gigantic chain which guarded the port was broken by a flotilla of galleys timbered together in the form of a flying wedge, with a huge steel prow at the fore-edge. The sight of the splendid capital which Constantine had established filled the whole host with astonishment. For size and magnificence, all Christendom had no such city. Its vast extent, its mighty walls and towers, its domes and spires, its palaces and public buildings, its enormous commerce, its wealth of which all had heard, filled the hearts of the crusaders with elation. "The galleys burned on the waters, and the water itself was aflame," records Villehardouin, the historian of the expedition and one of its chief leaders, "with the great joy of war which all had." With its decks crowded with sailors and soldiers, priests and clerks, lustily singing the famous medieval hymn *Veni, Creator, Spiritus*, the fleet approached the city. The first assault on July 17, 1203 failed, the walls and towers were too strong and the invaders were insufficiently supplied with engines of siege. Not until the next spring was the attack renewed. In this important interim the Byzantine government was criminally negligent in not taking the offensive. It supinely expected that the fleet could not be maintained across the winter and that the bulwarks of the city could resist all attack. Had not Constantinople time and again successfully resisted all efforts to capture it?

On April 14, 1204, Constantinople was captured and so wantonly pillaged that the sack remains as one of the blackest events in medieval history.

Murder, lust, and carnage ran riot. The great capital was gutted by fire and drenched with blood. The loot and plunder staggered the imagination of the perpetrators of this orgy of violence. "Never was there a city which possessed so much wealth," related Villehardouin. "Never since the world was created was so much booty taken in any city." In addition to the material wealth which was destroyed or taken away, the loss to art and literature was calamitous and irretrievable. The treasures of ancient Greek art and literature, to say nothing of medieval Greek art and literature, which were destroyed in this sack, fill one with sadness. The great body of ancient Greek drama, the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander had survived until then, only to be destroyed by the "Christian" crusading horde. Even the churches were pitilessly looted, since in the eyes of westerners the Greeks were schismatics, if not heretics. The contemporary Byzantine historian Nicetas relates that "the sacred images . . . were trodden under foot . . . the divine body and blood

of Christ (the host) were spilled upon the ground" Mules and pack horses were led into Sancta Sophia, the magnificent architectural glory of Justinian's reign, to carry away the booty, and when some of these slipped on the marble floors, they were stabbed. A harlot sat in the patriarch's seat singing obscene songs and then danced upon the high altar. The whole atrocious event undermined a great state, a great civilization, a great culture — doomed it to slow expiration. The Byzantine Empire never recovered from this blow and was easy prey to the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century.

On the ruins of the European portion of the Byzantine Empire — for Asia Minor was beyond the reach of the crusaders — the conquerors established the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople modelled after the western feudal fashion, just as the crusaders had done *Latin empire of Constantinople* in Syria and Palestine in 1099, with Baldwin of Flanders as emperor. The language of administration was French, the fashion of the court was French, the institutions were French. The territory was partitioned into principalities, each in turn subdivided into a greater or lesser number of knights' fees, sixty, fifty, forty, etc., down to ten, and the world saw such astonishing titles as Duke of Athens, Duke of Philipolis, Duke of Didymoteichon. Even some of the islands of the archipelago became feudal principalities. As its reward, Venice took three-eighths of Constantinople together with the Gallipoli peninsula, the Morea, famous for its silk manufacture, Adrianople, the richest city of the plain back of Constantinople, Rodostro in Thrace, and the biggest of the islands — Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Naxos, Corfu. In a word, the great republic on the Adriatic became the earliest state in Europe with a colonial empire.

But if destroyed in Europe, the Byzantine Empire continued to survive in Asia in two of its fragments. At Nicaea the Paleologi family carried on the imperial tradition in the "Nicaean Empire," and at Trebizond where the gigantic promontory of that name, a projection of the Caucasus, puts its foot into the Black Sea, the Lascarids, another Greek dynasty, also perpetuated Byzantine rule.

Elated with victory, bloated with booty, crammed with riches and in monopolistic control of the commerce of Egypt and the former Byzantine Empire, which included the whole Black Sea area, the Venetian Republic was a unique state in medieval Europe. *Trade wars in Mediterranean* The ferocity of trade competition in the Mediterranean, was so great that the merchant galleys of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Palermo, Marseille and all other important port towns not only plied the waters with armed crews, but had also to sail in squadrons or under convoy for self-protection. It is widely believed that trade wars are of modern origin, such as the Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch trade wars of the seventeenth century. This is not so. Commercial wars were a chronic phenomenon in Europe from the thirteenth century forward.

The fiercest strife existed between Venice and Genoa, a struggle in which Pisa, as the rival of Genoa on the Ligurian coast, sided with Venice, in return for which support Pisa was permitted to share in the Black Sea trade. In 1258 the Venetian fleet destroyed that of Genoa in the roadstead at Acre. While Venice and Genoa were at war, any crusade was impossible, for these two were masters of the Mediterranean. The Templars sided with Venice, the Hospitallers with Genoa. Situated at the head of the Adriatic and controlling the narrows of that gulf, Venice herself was beyond the reach of Genoa. But the Venetian Republic was vulnerable in her vast and widely spread "empire" in the East.

In 1261, with the aid of Genoese money and military and naval assistance, the Paleologi of Nicaea overthrew the Venetian domination in Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire was restored, although in a maimed form. The expulsion of the Franks from the Peloponnesus and Morea was not possible. Genoa succeeded to Venice's former monopoly of the Black Sea trade and herself became another colonial "empire." In the Russian Crimea to this day, in or around Sebastopol, Balaklava, Inkermann, and other places which were the sites of battles during the Crimean War (1854-56), the ruins of Genoese commercial emporia are still observable. Twenty-three years after the re-conquest of Constantinople, Genoa fell on Pisa, Venice's ally. In 1284, having destroyed the Pisan fleet, Genoa built a huge mole diagonally across the harbor of Pisa, which soon was filled with the detritus of the Arno River. Pisa's power as a maritime and commercial place was destroyed forever and grass grew in its streets.

For all practical purposes the crusades may be said to have terminated in 1204 with the Fourth Crusade,—and that was a cruel mockery. But the *idea* and the *enterprise* still continued to haunt men's minds. All of the later crusades were either fantastic or tragic and all of them proved ineffective. Innocent III, though deploring the "diversion" of the original intention of the Fourth Crusade as a prostitution of the crusading ideal, was not loath to make the event of profit to the Church of Rome. The faith and the fabric of Roman Catholicism had been speedily established in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. But if ecclesiastical opinion placidly argued that "God moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform," Europe was deeply shocked by the event. This explains that pathetic episode known as the Children's Crusade. In 1212 thousands of German and French boys, induced by fanatical enthusiasts, marched with wands in their hands to Marseille and Genoa. Here they were put on ships, in the preposterous belief that their very innocence would prevail against the ~~arms~~ of Islam. Many died on the way, many more fell into the clutches of ~~slave-dealers~~ and were sold into captivity in Mohammedan lands. Venice, Genoa, Marseille for centuries had plied a profitable trade in slaves with

*Venice Genoa
Pisa struggle*

*Restoration of
Byzantine empire*

*Ineffective later
crusades*

Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, and Moslem Spain. Most of these were captives taken in the wars, some were masterless serfs who were without protection of a lord — an argument favorable to serfdom in spite of its abuses — and some were victims of kidnapping.

Of subsequent crusades little needs to be said. In 1228–1229 the Emperor Frederick II, driven by the pope, went against his better judgment to Acre without an army. He negotiated a treaty with the sultan by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, together with Sidon and a strip of land, a “corridor” connecting the Holy City with the coast, were ceded to the emperor as the highest sovereign in western Christendom. The grant was more than the West deserved. But the pope was furious because the title to Jerusalem was vested in the empire and not in the papacy, and excommunicated Frederick because he had crowned himself King of Jerusalem when no priest would crown him. In 1244, after waiting for fifteen years for the West to execute the terms of the settlement, the sultan revoked the treaty and Jerusalem again passed to Islamic possession, not to be recovered by Christian authority until December 10, 1917, when the British troops under Lord Allenby occupied the city. To-day the country of Palestine is a British mandated territory.

In 1248–1254 the French King Louis IX, on the so-called Sixth Crusade, revived the original purpose of the Fourth Crusade to take Egypt and, using it as a military and naval base, to capture the Holy Land.

The French occupied Damietta in the delta but when they endeavored to advance inland they were disastrously defeated in April, 1250. The king and many of his nobles were taken prisoner, the ransom of whom required a colossal sum of money. In 1270 the pious and exalted Saint Louis again took the cross on Europe’s “last crusade.” This time the expedition was against Tunis, although exactly how, even if successful, it would have availed to recover the Holy Land only the visionary king could say. But Louis IX died in his tent on the sands around Tunis, the French army returned with diminished numbers.

From this time forward the storm clouds hovering over the remnant of the Latin Orient gathered fast. Finally in 1291 Bibars, the ferocious Mameluke Sultan of Egypt who had destroyed Baghdad in 1258, occupied Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem and stormed Acre. The last remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were obliterated, “and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world’s debate.”¹

Historians are of divided opinion with reference to the results of the crusades. Some are inclined to ascribe the important changes in European civilization and culture during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to immediate influence of the crusades. Others minimize the directness of this

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chapter lix, the last sentence.

influence and contend that most of these changes would have happened even if the crusades had never taken place, that a distinction must be made between transitions which occurred *during* the crusades, and changes which may be definitely ascribed to the crusades. The crusades greatly stimulated and accelerated processes already under way before, medieval Europe would probably have evolved in the same way it did, though perhaps a century later, without the crusades.

There is no clear and positive answer to this question, and it is not essential that there be one. What is important is to understand the nature and extent of the profound transformation which Europe experienced during the epoch of the crusades. These changes were political, social, economic, intellectual, and cultural. Stronger and more national monarchies grew in France, England, and Spain, but, *per contra*, in Germany and Italy political development was away from national sense and monarchical form of government, thus the political process was not everywhere either uniform or consistent. Another notable political change was the rise of the towns and the development of a middle class, the bourgeoisie, almost everywhere in Europe. But it is certain that the rise of the towns began before the crusades, and that the enormous expansion of commerce and trade during the crusades merely stimulated this movement. One cannot clearly separate economic and social changes. The emergence of town life in the Middle Ages was at once a political, economic, and social revolution. The decline of serfdom, in like manner, was also a political, an economic, and a social change of profound importance. Undeniably all these great processes of change happened *during* the crusades. But how far were they originated by the crusades and how far were they just accelerated by the crusades?

The same perplexity is attached to the intellectual and esthetic transformation of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Scholastic philosophy probably owed little to the Orient, and yet it was the great system of thought of the age. The educational revolution which culminated in the rise of the universities began before the crusades and its process and results were entirely independent of oriental influences, except in the realm of science, which admittedly owed much to Arabic influence. Even so, the scientific mind of the Middle Ages showed some novelty and quickening as far back as the year 1000, that is to say, a full hundred years before the inception of the crusades. Medieval vernacular literature acquired some new motifs and themes from the Orient, but the spirit and content were probably on the whole western. Examples are the French *chansons de geste*, the whole cycle of Arthurian romance, and the Grail Legend. In architecture Romanesque and Gothic architecture owed something to the Orient and the same may be said with less stress of western painting, sculpture, ivory carving, and illumination of manuscripts. In these

What were the
results of
the crusades?

Intellectual
transformation
of Europe

fields, the most important external influence emanated from Byzantium. Certain of the expectations of the crusades were failures, as for example the permanent Christian conquest of the Holy Land. The Fourth Crusade, which, as has been pointed out, was an infamous prostitution of the purpose of the crusades, morally ruined the whole movement. *Certain failures of crusades* Some effects of the crusades were unexpected and defeated the calculation of the promoters. "Increasing at first the power of the popes and the Roman hierarchy, the crusades tended at last to impair and diminish it. Expected to knit together the Latin and Greek churches, they made their divisions wider and added a feeling of exacerbation to their mutual relations. Intended to destroy forever Mohammedan power in the East, they really contributed to strengthen it. Undertaken as a religious war to propagate the faith of Christ with the sword, and to vindicate Christian dogma against unbelievers, they really subverted the interests of free thought."¹ Heresy grew so fast in the twelfth century that finally Pope Innocent III instigated a crusade against the Catharist heretics, of whom there were thousands in southern France, and St. Bernard, as we have seen, had earlier preached a crusade against the heathen Slavonic peoples along the eastern frontier lands of the German kingdom. Perhaps the most positive and concrete results of the crusades were the enlarged knowledge of geography and ethnology, and the importation into the West of certain commodities which increased the physical comfort or enjoyment of the upper classes, such as silk, sugar, spices and other condiments, dyes, rugs and carpets, perfumes and cosmetics. But no one of these importations was for the common people. They were articles of luxury.

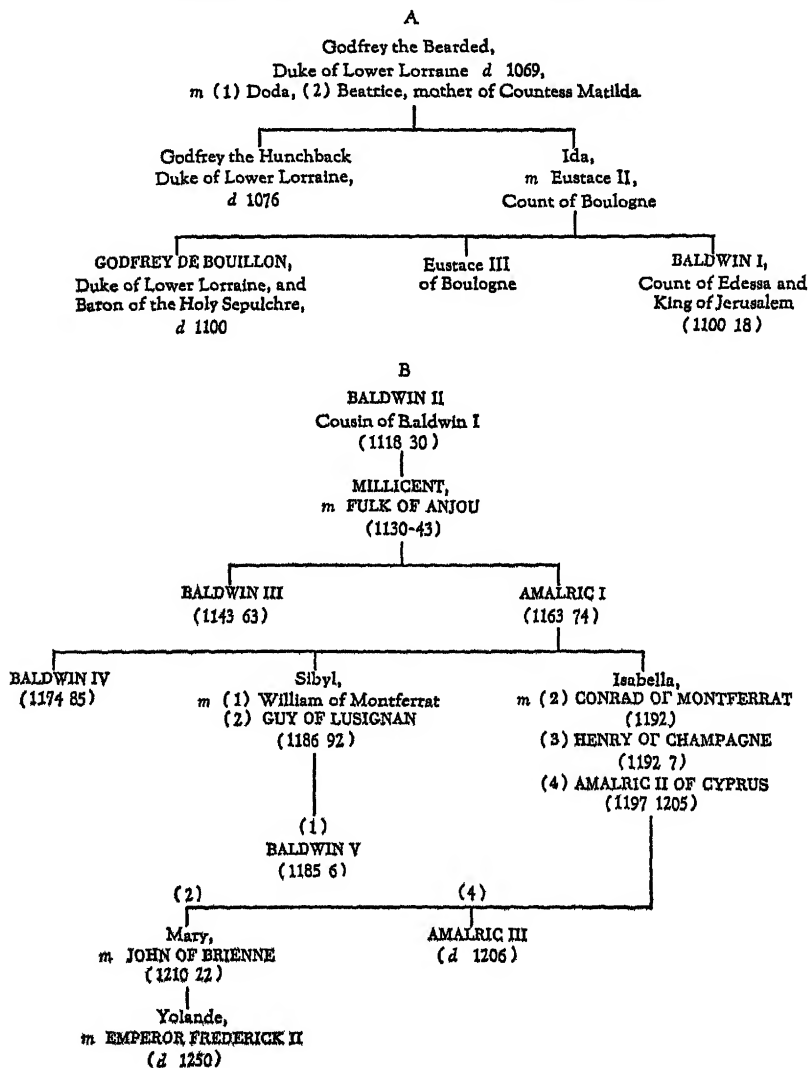
Before the crusades Jews were regarded with hostility, but they were not persecuted. Then a Europe fired with fanatical hatred of the Infidel also began to visit its fury upon the "unbelievers" in its midst, and the Jews came to be regarded as no better than Mohammedans. *Persecution of Jews* This animosity was accentuated by the fact that the Jews, having long been forbidden to practice trades and crafts, even farming, were driven to money-lending as the means of support. Religious prejudice and economic resentment worked hand in hand. "The effects of the Crusades upon the Jew are discernible even today. They influenced his political position, his geographical distribution, his economic activity, his forms of literary expression, even his spiritual life. It may be added that, in almost every direction, the influence was for the bad."² There was thus begun a process of persecution which culminated late in the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth century in expulsion of the Jews in almost every country of western Europe. This exile drove a majority of them eastward into Poland, and the territories of the Byzantine Empire or into Mohammedan

¹ Owen, *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance*, 24.

² Roth, *The Jews in the Middle Ages*.

lands Many, however, remained The word Ghetto originated in Venice, where the Jewish quarter was situated near the *Geto* or iron foundry The first confinement of Jews to the Ghetto was in 1516 It was not a medieval institution

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM



CHAPTER XXIII

THE CHURCH AND THE PAPAL MONARCHY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A great modern historian has written "The history of the Middle Ages is the history of the Latin Church"¹

From the beginning of this book the history of the Roman Church and of the papacy has entered very largely into its structure and been an almost constant theme. In the thirteenth century the Church and the papacy reached the height of power and authority. The papal monarchy was the most imposing institution of the Middle Ages. Even if the attribution of divine foundation were to be left out of consideration, the Roman Church and the papacy, which are inseparable, would yet constitute one of the great institutions known to history.

*Importance of
the Church*

In form the Roman Catholic Church was and is, as it were, a pyramid, whose priesthood rises in dignity and authority through graduated stages of rank from priest to pope, who is the apex of the ecclesiastical structure. The whole body of the clergy together constitute the hierarchy, in which those of each rank direct or control and have authority over the members of the rank immediately below them. Naturally the number of clergy in each grade of the hierarchy is diminished with the increase of authority. The pope alone possesses the plenitude of power (*plenitudo potestatis*). In ascending order the hierarchy is composed of priests, deacons, archdeacons, bishops, archbishops, above whom is the pope.²

*Hierarchy of
the Church*

The whole wide area of Roman-and-Latin Christendom was divided into dioceses, each governed by a bishop. The origin of the system, therefore, though of course *not* the spiritual nature of the episcopal office, goes back to the Roman imperial form of administration. The bishop's diocese usually was the territory of the *civitas*. As need of greater centralization of the Church was felt, in the seventh century the metropolitan bishop or archbishop appeared, whose *archdiocese* corresponded to some former province.

¹ R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, p. 2.

² The cardinals are not exceptions, for they are distinctly administrative officials of the papacy, and not necessarily — at least in the Middle Ages — having taken holy orders for qualification. Innocent III was a cardinal when elected pope in 1198, but had to be made a priest before he could become pope. Moreover, the cardinals themselves are titularly of three ranks: cardinal-priests, cardinal-deacons, cardinal-bishops.

of the Roman Empire, and comprehended several contiguous dioceses. Every cathedral, i.e., the official seat or see of the bishop,¹ had its staff of officiating clergy of different degrees — archdeacons, deacons, prebendaries, canons, collectively denominated the “chapter.” The lowest members of the hierarchy were the thousands of parish priests whose parishes, in country and town, were the smallest administrative units of ecclesiastical administration. In the countryside in the Middle Ages rural parishes often were identical with the manors of the proprietary nobles, or, we may say, village-manor-parish.

The duties of a bishop were of a spiritual and temporal nature. The appointed services of the church and the whole body of the clergy in his diocese were under his jurisdiction, it was his duty to see that worship was regularly and decently celebrated, that the sacraments were reverently administered, that canon law was sustained, that discipline was imposed when necessary upon both clergy and laity, that the morals of his community were protected and evil conditions suppressed or abolished. The cathedral schools were generally better than those found in the monasteries within the diocese, and the parochial schools were the only grade ones which the Middle Ages enjoyed. For after the tenth century the monasteries abandoned their former “outer” schools for children of the neighborhood, and only children who were oblates, that is those given by their parents to the monastery to be brought up as monks, were accepted for instruction.

The temporal responsibilities of the bishop were of two kinds. The first entailed management of the property and revenues of the church in his diocese. The second arose from the feudal obligations of the bishop, whether as suzerain or vassal, and often both together. In this latter capacity a bishop administered justice, collected taxes, waged war in fulfillment of his military service to his overlord, and was sent on diplomatic missions. In the feudal age the art of war was an important episcopal accomplishment and, especially after the crusades, an almost consecrated form of service. The prowess of the French bishops and of the papal legates on these adventurous campaigns became proverbial. Among other duties of every bishop were visitation of his diocese from time to time, an onerous duty, for it entailed much hard travel and exposure to the weather, tedious inspection, and examination of ignorant or negligent or wayward priests. At certain seasons the bishop convened the higher clergy of his diocese for a synod. When the clergy of several dioceses met, usually at the call of an archbishop, such a body was known as a provincial

¹ From the Greek word *cathedra*, seat. The word “cathedral” to denominate the church building so called, is a derived meaning. There is never but one cathedral in a diocese. Contrary to widespread opinion the cathedral is not always the greatest or most magnificent church in the diocese. In Rome St. John Lateran is the cathedral, although St. Peter’s far surpasses it in size and grandeur. So in London Westminster Abbey is more venerable in the popular mind than St. Paul’s.

council.¹ In the early Middle Ages preaching rested lightly upon the bishops and the little that was done outside of the parishes was performed by members of the chapter. But when what social psychologists call the "group mind" or "community mind" developed in the eleventh century, examples of which are associations for the Peace of God, gild formation, and above all, the crusades, the bishops took to preaching more and more, and though they always wrote in Latin, they preached in the popular tongue. Sermons in the Middle Ages performed the function of the newspaper and the radio today. They were copied and circulated as pamphlets, read by the literate and read to the illiterate masses in market-places and fairs. The great issues of church reform, of the strife between the emperors and the popes, the events and issues born of the crusades were thus promulgated.

Each and all of these multifarious duties and activities of the medieval priest-class from highest to lowest was subordinate in importance to the supreme office of the Roman Church, indeed that for which it was founded and to which it has unalterably and inalienably adhered, namely the administration and enforcement of the sacraments. *The sacraments* The sacramental system is the very core and marrow of the Church, by which and for which it lives and has its being. The seven sacraments are (1) baptism, (2) confirmation, (3) eucharist, the celebration of the Last Supper, in the administration of which the bread and wine are not regarded as sacred symbols, as among the Protestants, but by the miracle of transubstantiation the substance of these two elements is transmuted into the very Body and Blood of Christ, nothing of the bread and wine remaining except the appearance, (4) penance, involving "contrition, confession, satisfaction, absolution",² (5) extreme unction, or the sacrament given to the dying, the blessed oil being applied by the priest to the head, hands, feet, and chest of the recipient. These five sacraments are of universal application and common to every Christian person. The other two sacraments are (6) marriage, and (7) holy orders, by which is meant the assumption of priestly office and authority, which is always conferred by a bishop by the imposition of his hands upon the head of the recipient in ordination or consecration. Part of this ceremony was the tonsure, although the tonsure was worn by all clerics and not limited to those who had taken holy orders.

So far we have considered the secular clergy only. It is to be remembered, however, that the monks of many different orders constituted the regular clergy so called because they lived under *regulae* or rules, of which the Benedictine Rule in the Roman Church and *Monasticism* the Basilian Rule in the Greek Church are the two outstanding examples. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already previously been written.

¹ An oecumenical general council could be summoned only by papal authority.

² Thus auricular confession is not a sacrament, as many suppose, but a function of penance.

with regard to the history and nature of Benedictine and Cluniac monasticism. But it is very important to observe that monasticism as a religious ideal and an ecclesiastical form of living rapidly increased in the twelfth and thirteenth century, so much so that these centuries have been described as the Monastic Age as well as the Age of Scholasticism. It requires a distinct effort of thought on the part of most people today to understand the widespread and intense appeal which monasticism made to the medieval mind. The growth of monasticism was portentous. In France alone at the end of the tenth century there were 543 monasteries, and doubtless the same proportion might be found in other countries. Most of these, it is true, were not large and some were very small, but on the other hand many of them were very great and imposing. The growth of monastic institutions in the succeeding centuries was tremendous. In France alone there were 702 monasteries in the twelfth century. Order after order was founded, either as a reproach to the corruption of the old orders, or with the purpose of establishing higher ideals. All exemplified a constant reform of Benedictinism.

The most austere of these was the Carthusians, founded by Bruno of Cologne (died 1101), the mother house of which was situated in the wildest region of the French Alps near Grenoble, "built almost above the clouds and very near to God." Pious legend relates that in the spring of 1084 the Bishop of Grenoble dreamed a dream in which he saw the seven stars fall from heaven, and come to rest at his feet. Afterwards the seven stars rose and crossed a range of bare mountains to settle again in the Desert of the Grande Chartreuse. At the very moment when the bishop was pondering the meaning of this vision seven travellers appeared. These were the seven co-founders of the Carthusian Order—St. Bruno and six companions. St. Bruno explained to the bishop that he and his companions were in search of a retired spot where they might worship God in solitude. "I know," replied the bishop, "God has just shown me the place." Soon the little company were toiling up the narrow footpath. Thus was founded the Carthusian Order and its mother house. The Carthusian "life of solitude is not, however, a life of isolation." Its chief aim is contemplation. Hence its insistence upon austerity, abstinence from all flesh foods, frequent and long fasts, sudden rousing from deep sleep. Only such manual work is undertaken as is "necessary for health or merely useful, but always in keeping with the religious life." Thus the Carthusian did not labor in the fields. He worked alone in his cell.

Almost as strict were the Camaldolese in Tuscany founded earlier in 1072. The most widespread and influential was that of the Cistercians founded in 1098, the first seat of which was at Cîteaux in French Burgundy. In western France in the first half of the twelfth century the Order of Fontevrault spread over the Angevin provinces and Poitou, and its abbey church at Fontevrault was the burial

place of the Plantagenets Henry II and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Richard I lie there

Inevitably the growth of monastic ideals and practices reacted upon the life of the secular branch of the clergy Cathedral chapters were caught in the coils of monasticism, and the canons, who previously might have lived around the cathedral in their own houses, were *The canons* compelled to dwell together in common, like the monks, under rules of behavior, from which circumstance they were known as regular canons In addition, semi-monastic associations were formed of so-called collegiate canons, chief of which were the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians,¹ the latter founded by the German Norbert of Xanten in 1119 in a marshy tract near Laon in France A strictly English order of Augustinian canons was the Order of Sempringham, established in 1131 by Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, and as localized as that of Fontevault in France

Most of these new communities, whether of monks or canons, devoted themselves to constant and formal worship and gave little attention to anything else But the Cistercians were socially-minded to a *The Cistercians* remarkable degree, as well as zealous in religion In organization and spirit they were a reflection of the age Unlike Cluny, which was a centralized, monarchically ruled order, the Cistercians were modelled after feudal form The mother house was "overlord" of those houses which it established, which were its "vassals," and similarly every house had supervision over such other houses as it established The relation was like that of suzerain and vassal in the feudal world Another difference between Cluny and Citeaux was that the former was an aristocratic order, to which only sons of nobles were admitted This is the secret of its popularity with the noblesse The Cistercians, on the other hand, were largely recruited from the lower classes, the peasantry and bourgeoisie, in consonance with the period when serfdom was breaking down, towns and town-life emerging, and social consciousness of the masses increasing The Cistercians were great agriculturalists and the work which they performed in redeeming swamp lands, in clearing forests, in improving farming methods and breeds of cattle and sheep, was of immense social and economic benefit The actual labor of such enterprises was not, however, done by the monks but by the "lay brothers," peasants from farm and byre "who followed a simplified religious routine," but were wholly illiterate and were never permitted to sing in the choir or take part in the services These lay brothers did not dwell in the monastery itself but in community form in the granges of the abbey *

While the Cistercians did much for economic improvement and social relief, they were indifferent to education or any kind of intellectual life, and actually hostile to art They reproached Cluny for promoting architecture and

¹ St. Norbert claimed that the spot chosen was pointed out (*praemonstratum*) to him by an angel which he saw in a vision. Hence the name

painting and sculpture, for its magnificent ritual, its beautiful and impressive music, its rich library. The Cistercians, like the later Puritans, abhorred pictures and statuary and stained glass windows. Their churches had white-washed walls and no decoration whatsoever. Cistercian service-books were without illumination, or any colored inks or pigments. No jewels, no silk curtains, no cushions, were visible. Crosses were made of wood, painted white, candlesticks were made of iron. The ornamentation and elaborateness of Romanesque and of Gothic architecture drove St. Bernard to fury. To him such things were profane.

It would be far from the truth to assume that all these different kinds of clergy dwelt together or side by side in amity. There was intense rivalry, jealousy, and bickering among them. The seculars as a whole abominated the monks who reciprocated the sentiment. Every order was a rival of every other order for endowments of land, for influence and authority. Monks aspired to become bishops, which the secular clergy regarded as an invasion. When a secular was elected to be pope, the seculars everywhere rejoiced, when a monk became pope, the monks rejoiced. Eugenius III's election, which he owed to the influence of his friend St. Bernard, filled the Cistercians with joy. Similarly the Benedictines were jubilant when Hadrian IV became pope.

It remains now to consider the nature and extent of power of the papal office, the supreme governing authority over this vast and complex ecclesiastical system, of which the pope was chief executive. Earlier phases of development of the papacy have been considered in previous pages. We may here view the papal monarchy as it was in the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216) and his successors in the thirteenth century, when the papal power reached its height, in both a spiritual and a temporal capacity. The Church as an organic institution was constituted in the bishops, each one of whom was its chief representative within his diocese. All bishops were immediately and directly responsible to the pope, who alone had authority to summon a general council, as Alexander III summoned the Third Lateran Council in 1179, and Innocent summoned the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which was attended by 412 bishops and over 800 other clergy, secular and regular. Theoretically the formulation and determination of ecclesiastical dogma reposed in the council, but practically all important decisions were in the hands of the pope. The pope had his cabinet and his secretaries like a secular ruler for the execution and expedition of ecclesiastical administration.

This cabinet was the College of Cardinals, the ablest or most favored of whom also were papal secretaries in the *curia*, the collective term applied to all governments of the Lateran, which latter palace and not the Vatican, was the seat of papal administration.¹ In the

¹ The Vatican became the papal capitol during the Italian Renaissance.

thirteenth century there were three fully developed departments or secretarial bureaux the chancery (or chancellery), the penitentiary, and the camera. Every official document or bull emanating from the papacy was formulated in and issued from the chancery, whose cardinal-secretary was the most important of all the papal officials. The penitentiary was the central office in Rome which dealt with the punishment imposed on those guilty of grave sins, the grand penitentiary was the cardinal presiding over this bureau. The camera (Latin for chamber or large and lofty vaulted room) was the papal chamber of accounts, answering to the English exchequer court.

The pope kept in contact with the Church at large not only by continual correspondence with every bishop,¹ but also by requiring every bishop at stipulated seasons or under immediate summons to come to

Papal contacts

Rome, always a long and expensive journey often accompanied by hardship, especially in the case of an old or feeble bishop. Further still, from the time of Gregory VII (1073-85) special ambassadors of the pope known as legates were sent abroad and sometimes resident for years in a country, the legates were endowed with ambassadorial powers, and acted as if the pope himself were present. These legates almost invariably were cardinals detached from the College for the purpose.

When we analyze the administrative system of the medieval Church we find that it was largely a system of checks and balances. The popes played the secular clergy against the regular clergy, and *vice versa*, archbishops against bishops and deacons against bishops or the reverse, and every monastic order against other monastic order, and finally the papal legates were as it were the pope's own hands in every country. Even factions within the College of Cardinals were so neutralized. An astute pontiff exercised his supreme authority rarely and sparingly, unless there was a crisis or the pope was over-headstrong like Boniface VIII, who would take no advice and brook no opposition.

Church's checks and balances

The revenues of the papacy from the twelfth century onward grew enormously. Even as early as the pontificate of Leo IX (1049-53) the papacy had an official banker. The oldest of these revenues was Peter's Pence, a voluntary contribution of the faithful paid annually

Papal revenues

to the papal treasury for religious and charitable purposes. Gregory VII invented the census, an annual payment for papal protection against violence in the hardest age of feudalism. In 1192 the cardinal camerarius Cencius, later

¹ Since the pontificate of Innocent III the papal registers of correspondence have been preserved almost intact. The Vatican archives contain over 2000 of these volumes for the years between 1198 and 1590 and probably as many more for the modern period. The number of separate documents in the registers runs into thousands. Boniface VIII issued 63,470 bulls in the single year 1299 and 11,455 in 1302. The Register of John XXII for the first year of his pontificate fills twelve huge volumes. None of the papal registers since 1389 have been published, and few of them even studied as yet.

Pope Honorius III, compiled the *Liber censuum* or *Book of the Census*, from which we know how great the sum of this revenue amounted to at the end of the twelfth century. The papacy exacted a fee — usually a very large one — from every bishop upon his appointment. Theoretically this was the entire revenue of the diocese of the new incumbent during the first year of his administration. Actually it was not so much as that, but was always heavy. In the case of very rich sees like Cologne, for example, it was a fortune. Many a bishop was compelled to sell or to mortgage his private property or that of his family, or to seek loans from his friends in order to pay the annates (first fruits of his office). The revenues arising from the penitential system accrued immediately to the local church, but a proportion of all diocesan revenues flowed into the papal coffers. Appeals of ecclesiastical causes from the bishops' courts to Rome were lucrative sources of income, for the fees exacted at every turn were staggering. Dispensations or relaxations or suspensions of ecclesiastical law in favor of a particular person, e.g., to marry within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, were costly exemptions which only the very rich could afford. It was against the canon law for a churchman to hold more than one church office, but the popes often waived the prohibition — for cash. Such practice was known as pluralism. The traffic in pluralities was a material revenue. John Mansell, chancellor of Henry III of England, held nineteen church offices at the same time. How much the pope received for his dispensation is difficult to say. Indulgences became a prolific source of the papal income after the crusades.¹

It is an interesting fact that the clearer and closer formulation of theology in the period of the papal monarchy, which was first expressed in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, a professor in Paris in the second half of the twelfth century, coincided with the first intense manifestations of heresy since the Apostolic Age. But this coincidence was not accidental. There was relation between the two movements. For as the Church more accurately defined its dogmas and hardened its policy of compelling belief, the greater grew the protest against it. There had been heretics before in every age. But these new heresies found large popular followings. Not merely the nature of the teachings, but the masses who embraced them also alarmed the Church. The Church could fairly easily stop the mouth of a single heretical leader. It silenced Berengar of Tours who doubted, even if he did not deny, the doctrine of transubstantiation. It deprived Abélard of his license to teach. It destroyed Arnold of Brescia.

It was not merely the religious doctrines of the heretics which alarmed

¹ An indulgence is, specifically, "a remission or reduction of punishment due for sins, granted through the Church and effected by the infinite merits of Christ and the superabundant merits of the saints, which are held to release those who can take advantage of them from part of the period of purgatory, which they would otherwise undergo." *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. H. C. Wyld, Oxford and New York, 1932.

the Church — and, it may be added, the ruling feudal class. It was fear of social revolt, which, in a theological age, took the form of religious heresy. Heretical ideas were used as means of expression of social and economic discontent. It is this popular aspect of the heresies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which makes them so different from previous heresies. *Heresy expresses social discontent*

Two groups of heretics in particular incurred the Church's enmity. These were the Waldensians and the Catharists, both of them in France.

Peter Waldo was a well-to-do merchant of Lyons, a simple and religious-minded man, who about 1170, having become shocked by the worldliness and the riches of the Church, began to preach that the Church must return to apostolic simplicity and poverty if it would recover the purity of its pristine spirit. His followers, as one might expect, were largely drawn from the lower working classes and the poor, who were attracted by Waldo's idealization of poverty. Accordingly the Waldensians were also called the Poor Men of Lyons. The Bishop of Lyons and then the papacy took alarm at this attack upon ecclesiastical property and the great wealth of the Church. Theoretically and idealistically there might be virtue in poverty, but the established Church has never manifested any disposition to renounce its wealth and return to "apostolic poverty." Driven out of the towns, where they had first found support from the working classes, the Waldensians found refuge in small villages in Provence and Piedmont, where many of the peasantry embraced the movement. Here for centuries the Waldensian Church preserved a fugitive existence. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was much persecuted by the dukes of Savoy in whose territories it was widely spread. The Protestant Church in Italy to-day is descended from the Waldensians. *Waldensians*

Far different in teaching and far more formidable to Catholicism was the sect of the Catharists, whose name was derived from the Greek word, *catharos*—pure, clean. This points to a Graeco-oriental origin. Its spread can be obscurely traced from the Orient westward under various names — Paulicians in Asia Minor, Bogomils in the Balkans, Patarini in Lombardy, and finally Albigensians in France. In the twelfth century the Catharists were most numerous and most influential in the diocese of Albi in the south of France, though it is to be said that they had a strong foothold in Champagne, the Rhinelands, and Flanders. The Catharist doctrine was a medieval form of ancient Persian and Gnostic dualism. The antithesis between good and evil was stressed to an extreme. God was the God of good, Satan was the god of evil. Matter was evil and therefore the purists among the Catharists refrained from sexual connection, though they made a concession to the family relation as necessary for the time being but in the belief that as men grew in intelligence and spiritual strength they would become purer in mind and heart and ultimately "perfect." These weaker brethren were *The Catharists*

called "believers" The *perfecti* among them, who answered to their priests and teachers, abstained, too, from the eating of flesh and were vegetarians Blood was a thing abhorrent to them Hence their rejection of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the eucharist and the whole Christian scheme of salvation The Catharists were not Christians at all, and this is what so excited the alarm and ire of the Church They taught that one must save himself by growth in perfection They did not believe in hell or purgatory Their *consolamentum* or communion meal was consolatory and not expiatory Strikingly oriental in nature was the Catharist belief that one's soul at death entered into the body of some animal most like him, thence to pass through cycle after cycle of transmigration until by a process towards perfection at last it might become perfect

Like the Waldensians at the same time, the Catharists at first were recruited from the lower industrial classes in the towns, but in time many of the feudal aristocracy adhered to them, notably the Counts of Toulouse, who for years gave them protection in their territories, which accounts for the fact that they became localized in densest numbers in Albi, in spite of the opposition of the bishop The reason why the noblesse supported the Catharists is to be found in the resentment against the growing political power of the Church, which trespassed more and more upon secular authority Moreover, since the Church was so corrupted by its enormous wealth, the confiscation of that wealth would be a work of merit No wonder the Church grew both furious and afraid over Catharism

Persuasion and threat alike failed to make the Catharists abandon their religion At last, in 1208, when the papal legate was assassinated by one of the count's over-zealous knights for having excommunicated Raymond VI of Toulouse — a disservice to him comparable to the murder of Thomas Becket by Henry II's over-zealous servitors — Innocent III ordered the extirpation of the Catharists by a crusade It was the second instance of the "diversion" of the crusades It was the rigorous spirit of St Dominic who impressed upon the Church the Spanish type of Christianity, which it has never lost "For many years," he said, "I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, with tears, but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much Behold now we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms and *many shall preach by the sword*" It was the spirit of the Inquisition

The French king, Philip Augustus, was unable to restrain the movement though he protested that the count of Toulouse was a grand vassal of the crown against whom the crusade was unlawful unless the count were first tried and condemned in the royal court by due process of law, and that the pope had no right to dispose of French fiefs so summarily The leader of the First Albigensian Crusade

*Papal crusade
against
Catharism*

*Extirpation of
Catharists*

(there was a Second in 1223-26) was the notorious Simon de Montfort, a famous family of the Ile-de-France, whose mother was the daughter of the Norman-English Earl of Leicester. He had campaigned in the Holy Land, whence he had returned covered with glory and blood. From 1209 to 1215 fire and sword devastated the Midi, Toulouse, Albi, Castelnaudary, Beziers. From the Rhone to the Pyrenees almost every other town was made into a shambles, the countryside was reduced to a wilderness, crops were burned, vineyards destroyed, even the wells poisoned. At Minerve, Simon de Montfort burned alive one hundred and forty Catharists. The fugitives from this inhuman invasion fled to Italy, to Flanders, to the Rhinelands. Provençal culture, the richest and most variegated not only in France but in Europe, was extinguished. The King of Aragon, who was lord of Montpellier, who came to the relief of Raymond, was defeated in the Battle of Muret (September 12, 1213). The lesser fiefs of the southland were distributed by Montfort among his followers. He took for himself the huge County of Toulouse, the pope was given the city and county of Avignon — of which more later, Raymond of Toulouse preserved only the marquisate of Provence, and it was in a condition of ruin. In 1215 Innocent III proudly paraded Simon de Montfort before the Fourth Lateran Council as a hero of the Church.

Reaction against this monstrous conquest was inevitable. Toulouse opened its gates to its fugitive and proscribed count, and Simon de Montfort was killed in the siege which followed. But a restoration of the great and powerful House of Toulouse was not in the intentions of the King of France, and in 1223 the crown prince, later Louis VIII, was sent into the South to restrain the movement. His expedition — the so-called Second Albigenian Crusade — was far different from the first one, and a futile undertaking. For feudal rule in the south of France was shattered into fragments.

*Crushing of
feudalism in
south France*

During the succeeding reign of Louis IX (Louis VIII died in 1226) almost all the great fiefs in southern France fell into the hands of the crown.

The success of the Albigenian Crusade enhanced the power of the papacy, but morally compromised it. What Innocent III had condemned in the Fourth Crusade, that he practiced and approved in the Albigenian Crusade. Fugitive groups of Catharists, principally in the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, survived until the middle of the thirteenth century, but in the end all were extirpated. The annihilation of Catharism is the greatest example in history of the extinction of a religion. There are traces of many ancient religions, even those of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, in religion to-day. But not a vestige of Catharist belief or practice exists. It was utterly destroyed, root and branch.

*Total extinction
of Catharism*

The most effective instrument of the Church in achieving this suppression was the Inquisition, which was established in 1229. This was a system of ecclesiastical tribunals for the detection and prosecution of heresy. The grand

inquisitor was resident at Carcassonne, and there were deputy-inquisitors at Toulouse, Albi, and other cities. They could not pronounce judgment without the presence of a certain number of ecclesiastical *The Inquisition* or lay judges, and since the Church could not shed blood, the torture used for the extortion of evidence, *not* as punishment, was inflicted by the secular authority. The Inquisition, therefore, was a co-operation of the Church and the state. The process might be open or secret, the witnesses known or unknown to the accused, who at first was permitted, but later denied counsel. The penalty was imprisonment, usually for life, confiscation of property, or death — often the first and second or the second and third imposed together. If condemned to death the accused was executed by the secular arm. The Inquisition survived through the residue of the Middle Ages and, indeed, was aggravated during the Reformation, when the Spanish Inquisition became notorious for its effectiveness and its cruelty. In the theory of ecclesiastical law, it still exists. The principle has never been abrogated.

The inquisitors were almost all of them Dominicans. This brings us to consideration of another new aspect of the history of the Church in the *The Dominicans* thirteenth century. The Dominicans were an Order of Preaching Friars,¹ who were regular canons (and technically, therefore, not monks) founded in 1215 by Domingo de Guzman (1170–1221), or St Dominic, a Spaniard from Castile, a stern and austere figure with fanatical religious intensity. When application was made to the pope for recognition of the Dominicans, he stipulated that the statutes of the new Order should be some rule already sanctioned by the Church. Dominic chose the rule of St Augustine, but there are also incorporations from the Rule of the Premonstratensians or Norbertines. "The chief articles enjoined perpetual silence, there being no time when conversation was permitted without consent of the superior, fasts almost without intermission, at least from September 14 to Easter, complete abstinence from meat except in serious illness, the use of woollen garments instead of linen, a rigorous poverty, and many other austerities." St Dominic's attitude towards poverty arose more from intellectual conviction than from emotional feeling. It is related of him that when returning with the Spanish Bishop of Osma through Languedoc he encountered the papal legates who had been sent forth to deal with the Catharist heretics in southern France. The legates were travelling in all the pomp and state of high ecclesiastics and complained of their ill success. St Dominic at once saw where the fault lay and advised them to dismiss their retinue and abandon their magnificent trappings. In order to set an example, the Bishop of Osma sent away his followers and retained only St. Dominic.

Popularly called Black Friars, because they wore a white habit and scapular with a long black mantle.

The international character of the Dominican Order was prefigured from the first. The nucleus around St. Dominic was composed of eight Frenchmen, six Spaniards, one Englishman, and one Portuguese. The rapid spread and enormous influence of the Dominican Order are impressive facts. Within the century of its establishment it had houses in every country of the Latin Church, even in Poland, Denmark, Greece, and the Holy Land. The master of the papal palace has always been a Dominican since 1218. The Dominicans have given three popes, over sixty cardinals, and upwards of eight hundred bishops to the Church. It is the only monastic order or order of regular canons which has never needed reform, except the Jesuits.

*International
character of
Dominicans*

The primary purpose of the Dominicans, and the reason for which they were instituted, was to combat the Catharist heresy, the spread of which alarmed St. Dominic. The *perfecti* among the Catharists were highly educated and astute theologians and nothing rejoiced them so much as to discomfit the Catholic clergy in public argument. Accordingly the Dominicans laid great stress on education and theology as preparation. Their other important activity was preaching. They were trained in public speaking and pulpit oratory, and travelled two-and-two, preaching in the language of the country to which they were sent wherever they found an audience inside or outside a church. They preached at fairs and in market-places. This preparation, when the universities arose, made the Dominicans especially qualified, and the first professors were most of them Dominicans.

*Aims of
Dominicans*

The administrative organization of the Dominican Order — which the Franciscans imitated — differed from that of any of the monastic orders, and introduced a new form. The whole territory of Latin Christendom was divided into "provinces," each under a "provincial" who had supervision over all the priories in the province. In each province there was an annual convocation, composed of representatives from each priory, and at longer intervals, usually from five to seven years, there was the great convocation to which delegates came from every province. These representatives, whether for the provincial or the general convocation, were elected. It is to be observed that the principle of elective representation was not peculiar to the great secular assemblies of the time, the English Parliament and the French States-General. Over the whole Dominican Order was the master-general who was elected in the convocation-general.

*Their adminis-
tration*

Few contrasts are as striking as the difference between St. Dominic and St. Francis (1182-1226), his contemporary and founder of the Franciscan Order. Dominic was an intellectual, Francis was an emotionalist. The Christian religion, to Dominic, connoted the knowledge of God as found in Christian theology. To

*St. Francis
contrasted with
St. Dominic*

Francis, the Christian religion was spiritualized humanitarianism, the principle and the practice of love and charity towards one's fellowmen, as enjoined by Jesus in the four Gospels. Dominic was highly educated, Francis was not. Every act of Dominic emanated from calculated reason. St. Francis's every act was one of natural and spontaneous enthusiasm. Dominic's thought flowed like a stream which knew its appointed course, the speed and volume and depth of its current. St. Francis's thought bubbled and sparkled like a brook in the sun. Dominic appealed to men's minds, Francis appealed to their hearts. It is characteristic that while Dominic worked among the higher classes of medieval society, Francis sought out the poor.

In the Apostolic Church poverty had been both a condition and an ideal. The ideal continued after the Church became sated with riches, but the principle was more honored in the breach than in the observance. The charitable professions of the Church were largely lip-service and sanctimonious gesture, and in any case an enormous amount of the Church's revenues were expended for the indulgence and luxurious living of the high prelates.

In St. Francis's eyes the Church was corrupt and degraded and the souls of the people were perishing because of riches. It is clear that this cry for poverty struck a deep note in the hearts of the time. This is evident not only from the multitudes which imitated St. Francis's example and followed after him, but from the way in which the poetry and art of the period took up the theme. But it was not poverty simply which St. Francis longed for. It was *holy* poverty — the poverty of Jesus. He would reflect and reproduce all the beautiful features which constituted the image of Christ.

St. Francis was the son of a prosperous draper of Assisi, whose business often took him and his wares to the rich castles and cities in Provence and Languedoc. Francis was brought up by his father to admire that renaissance of poetic and artistic culture so splendid in southern France until destroyed by the Albigensian Crusade. The boy had been christened John, but his father called him Francis out of love for "la belle France" and taught him the French language, or more accurately the Provençal form of it, which was spoken all the way from Tuscany to Catalonia. Francis had always a taste for the poems and stories of southern France. He began by preferring beauty and valor to other virtues. He set out to be a knight, and wanted to be a poet. The influence of this romance culture upon Francis was profound, but after his sudden and marvellous conversion, interest in it became secondary to his passionate love for his fellowmen.

St. Francis was born when the Medieval Church was cracking, when unorthodox and heretical sects were growing and spreading rapidly. The Church had become so engrossed in politics and wars and so fat with riches that worldliness had nearly crushed the spiritual life in religion; and the

new humanism of the twelfth century was likely to have disastrous moral influence upon the faith, the character and the culture of the age

Francis was twenty-four years of age before his vision became clear. A short experience of knight errantry had disillusioned him of the joy in feats of arms. A sudden emotional revolution changed him into a creature of purity and sincerity. Dressed in an old cloak *St Francis's vision* that had once belonged to his father's gardener, he lived alone in a hut made of branches, and at other times he made himself useful in the kitchen of a monastery in return for his keep. So convincing was his way, so persuasive his pleading, so charming his manner that soon several other young men of Assisi, of very different social strata, joined him. When they were twelve in number — the number of the original apostles, they went and unveiled their dream to Pope Innocent III, although legend says that the pope first dreamed of them. It was not Innocent III, however, but Gregory IX who sanctioned the Franciscan Order, almost to Francis's dismay, for he seems instinctively to have feared that formal organization would chill the spontaneity of the movement. But the Church was apprehensive of unregulated freelance movements. When Francis suddenly left Umbria for a year to join the crusades, visiting Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, not as a soldier but as a missionary "to chant the praises of God among the Mohammedans," some of his followers shook their heads and regarded him as an impractical and romantic troubadour. The hard-headed pope, the former Cardinal Ugolino, who had known Francis in his youth, saw clearly that without organization, without rites and observances, without studies, the Grey Friars might degenerate into a ragged regiment of vagabonds, and become a scandal like the Goliardi, "wandering, blithesome, and squandering" students, runaway monks who begged their way and trolled their songs across Europe. Great was St. Francis's consternation when he returned from the Orient and found his Brothers installed in handsome buildings.

St. Francis's first idea was not to found an order. But a firm organization was necessary for success. The problem was how to reconcile the ideal of absolute poverty with the temporal possessions of an order. The fiction had to be resorted to that the order was a holding company for the wealth which poured in upon the Franciscans but that they individually possessed nothing. It was a compromise between world necessity and idealism, which within a century split the Franciscans into two groups, the idealists among them being known as the "Spiritual" Franciscans.

The Franciscans caught the imagination of Europe. They appealed to the lower classes for whom and among whom they labored. Their houses were always in the towns and generally situated in the slums. They resembled modern social settlements in this respect, and the Franciscans have often been compared to the Salvation Army. So rapidly did the order increase that at the first general chapter, answering to the convocation among the

Dominicans, over five thousand friars were present. In form of government the Franciscan Order is similar to that of the Dominicans, having a minister-general, provinces, and provincial rulers, provincial assemblies, and elective representation. So effective have their examples been, that today every other large monastic order, including the Benedictines and Jesuits, has adopted the Franciscan form of government.

The Franciscans revived the earlier missionary spirit of the Irish and English monks in the seventh and eighth centuries, and were the creators of modern missions in Asia and Africa. They also — or rather St. Francis himself — exercised a very great influence upon poetry and art in the later Middle Ages.

Francis could read French and Latin and *Roman* or Provençal, but could not write and was obliged to have a secretary. He never pretended to be a scholar, and indeed, had no great admiration for scholars and scholarship. He was "romantic" in the highest and purest sense of that word. He never lost his liking for old French poetical romances. Even after he was converted, in his heart he thought of himself as the paladin of his liege lady, Lady Poverty, who was his ideal of virtue, as Beatrice was to Dante. To the end of his life he was a troubadour — "God's troubadour." One day when a novice asked the saint, in spite of his vow to possess nothing save the clothes which he wore, he might own a book of psalms, Francis burst out, and asked the young man why he should wish to read his prayers from a book. "Did the Emperor Charlemain or Roland or Oliver, did the paladins, the heroes and the knights of old, content themselves with reading? No! they fought and wrought and labored and bled and died to get their famous victories." Poetry and music were inspiration and consolation to him. One day, being very ill and temporarily stricken with blindness, he fell into a trance and on awakening, recited that magnificent *Hymn of the Sun* which is his great contribution to Italian literature. It is almost Greek pagan in its keenness for beauty and its perception of nature, but the sun is the very symbol of the Most High. When on the verge of death St. Francis picked up two sticks of wood, and scraping the one upon the other as if it were a viol, he improvised songs in Provençal. He would have liked to send his brothers, two-and-two, "one before and one behind," as Dante has described the way they walked, into all the towns of Italy to sing his canticle, *Joculatores Domini*, the Minstrels of the Lord. St. Francis was the first Italian poet to write in the vernacular, "half inventing a language not yet in full flower, which in another hundred years shall offer its reddest rose to Dante." On early Renaissance art, especially upon Giotto, St. Francis's influence was very great, and the incidents of his life provided themes for painters and sculptors second only in influence to subjects drawn from the Bible.

The attentive student must have perceived that there was not a little

mysticism in the life and teachings of St Francis. Mysticism is found in many religions, and Christianity is no exception. Mysticism has been defined as the belief that "a knowledge of ultimate reality and the divine can be gained only by immediate intuition, especially by concentration of the mind on, and absorption in, the divine essence, which leads through ecstasy to the revealing vision."¹ Mysticism is the very antithesis of theology, which is based on reason and logic. The Church has, nevertheless, always been wisely tolerant of mystics, although extreme instances have verged upon heresy and some, like the Spiritual Franciscans, have been deemed to have gone across the line into heresy. The mystics accepted and revered the theology and ritual of the Church, and though opposed to the temporal power of the Church did not inveigh against it.

The age of Hohenstaufen domination in Italy (1150-1250) was filled with such ferocity that suffering humanity eagerly clutched at crumbs of comfort in promise of better things to come. For there is comfort in illusion. Such promises were made by Joachim, a hermit, Abbot of Fiore in Calabria, among whose mountain peaks and valleys Greek monks of the Basilian Rule and uncompromising ascetics had long before found lodgment. The whole wild Calabrian country was tinged with a romantic Greek and oriental mysticism. Of noble birth, Joachim had become disgusted with life at the Norman court of Roger II and gone to Egypt and Syria to study the austere monasticism of the deserts. When he returned he founded a monastery and a Rule of his own at Fiore. The new order never had more than four or five houses and never spread out of Calabria. It was confirmed by Pope Celestine II in 1196.

Joachim of Fiore was a visionary and a prophet. By a series of singular calculations derived from the Bible and allegorically interpreted — one of them was that Elijah had dwelt for 1,260 days in the wilderness — he arrived at the conclusion that the "Victory of the Saints" was to begin in the year 1260. These saints were all of them to be monks, a teaching which deeply offended the bishops. The pope and the monks in the future were to constitute the whole Church. Rome was to become a spiritual New Jerusalem and finally when Anti-Christ had been crushed — Mohammedans, heretics, and the violent and the wicked everywhere — peace on earth and universal good-will would become a reality. The conflict with Anti-Christ would endure for three and one-half years preceding 1260, which date Joachim arrived at by the simple process of reading years for days in the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse.

Such was the great Medieval Church. "Of divine origin, but man-made in many ways," as I have written elsewhere, and the quotation may be repeated, "it moved on, the most impressive institution of history, preaching, teaching, ministering, governing spiritually and

¹ *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*

temporally, charitable yet haughty, spiritual yet worldly, cruel yet kind, an integrating force, yet destroying good with evil, sometimes confounding wheat with tares, pure in heart, yet polluted, saving others and itself saved by its supreme purpose and mission, and the devotion of the great souls ever to be found in it "¹

¹ J W Thompson, *The Middle Ages*, II, 674.

CHAPTER XXIV

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY EMPEROR FREDERICK II AND THE FALL OF THE ME- DIEVAL EMPIRE (1250) BONIFACE VIII AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY (1303)

In previous chapters it has been shown that as far back as St. Augustine the principle of the supremacy of the Church over the state was asserted, and that the conversion of the theory into practice began with the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85). Subsequent popes, *Triumph of papal supremacy* each building upon the work of his predecessor, succeeded, until papal supremacy reached its zenith with Innocent III (1198-1216). In that time there was hardly such a thing in Europe as a well-defined and thoroughly organized nation, whereas the Catholic Church was instinct with life and efficiently organized in every part. National monarchy was still, so to speak, in the gristle. The papal monarchy was as hard as bone.

It seemed, when Innocent III lived, as if imperial politics were wholly abased under papal authority. But young Frederick II was an eaglet. Not even the popes could tame him. As soon as Frederick reached his majority it was certain that he would cast off papal control *Emergence of Frederick II* and assert the rights and principles of his predecessors. The conflict broke out in 1218 at the accession of Pope Gregory IX, an old man of eighty, but strong-willed, vigorous, and full of zeal. The occasion of the quarrel was Frederick II's refusal to go on a crusade. He had sworn to do so in the impressionable days of his youth, but when he came to manhood he saw the folly of the crusades, a king's business, he said, was to stay at home and govern his lands and peoples. The young emperor — he had been crowned in 1215 — well knew that all the old forces of opposition to imperial rule in Italy and Germany would explode in his absence. He was deeply suspicious of the pope's political designs, and the event proved that he was right.

The new pope commanded him to leave at once for the Holy Land under pain of excommunication. The emperor temporized. He complained that he was ill. Gregory IX excommunicated him. Frederick delayed *Frederick II's diplomatic crusade causes his excommunication* a year. Then when he perceived that the papal ban was made a pretext of rebellion against him, he sailed for Palestine in 1228. There he resorted to diplomacy instead of arms to recover Jerusalem for Christendom. The emperor made a ten years' truce with

Saladin's successor, Malekel Kamel, which gave the Christians possession of all the holy places along with a strip of territory between Jerusalem and the port of Jaffa. When no priest would crown him, Frederick crowned himself King of Jerusalem. But Gregory IX repudiated the treaty as shameful and re-excommunicated the emperor.

The brilliant success of Frederick's diplomacy and his prompt return to Italy, however, disconcerted the pope and discomfited his enemies. The pope dissolved the ban. In the ten years which ensued Frederick II displayed that remarkable ability as an administrator which has made him famous, of which something will be said later on. He ruled equally in Sicily, Italy, at Arles, and in Germany. But the quiet was the lull before the storm. The Lombard cities with good reason feared that Frederick II intended to denounce the Treaty of Constance (1183), by the terms of which they had won their independence from Frederick Barbarossa, and were apprehensive lest he would subject them again to imperial control. In 1236 they rebelled. The emperor displayed as much military as civil genius and was victorious over the new Lombard League in 1237 at Cortenuova. But Milan, Brescia, Bologna, and Alessandria would not submit and appealed to the pope, who excommunicated the emperor for the third time. The use of this purely ecclesiastical weapon for secular and political purposes is to be observed. It stultified the priestly nature of the papal office.

In order to discomfit his adversary and to prove to all Europe the justice of his cause the pope convoked a great council at Rome. From all parts of Europe the bishops responded to his summons. Many high prelates from England, France, and Spain convened at Genoa whence they sailed for Rome. Meanwhile Frederick had surrounded Rome with troops and was master of the situation on land. He also got control of the sea. The unlucky churchmen miscalculated the imperial sea-power. The emperor captured twenty-seven of the Genoese ships and bagged the whole council! Gregory IX, who was almost one hundred years old, died under the strain of anxiety (1241).

For nineteen months the papacy was vacant. The cardinals were divided. Finally, in June, 1243, Cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi, of a noble Genoese family, was elected under the name of Innocent IV. Few abler or more sinister figures have ever sat upon the papal throne. With Innocent IV the papal authority was cynically exercised without the semblance of any spiritual attributes. Since Frederick was in complete possession of Italy, even the States of the Church being invested and Rome occupied, the pope, like Alexander III before, sought refuge in France, where the delayed council was convened at Lyons (1245). The bill of indictment against the emperor was a long one. Frederick was accused of perjury and heresy, of having violated the privileges of the clergy in Sicily and Italy, of having usurped the marches of Tuscany and Benevento, of sacrilege, in that

*Frederick's
struggle with
Lombardy*

*Frederick seizes
papal council*

*Cynicism of
Innocent IV*

he had kidnapped the members of a church council and held amicable intercourse with the Infidel when on the crusade. For the fourth time the emperor was excommunicated.

The conflict now entered into its last and bitterest phase. A reign of terror was instituted, whose instruments were the emperor's natural son Enzo, his son-in-law Esselino, and his ministers Taddeo de Suessa and Peitro de la Vigne. Distrusting Italian troops, even Neapolitans and Sicilians, Frederick made large use of Saracen mercenaries imported from Tunis and erected a great military camp at Lucera in Apulia. The almost universal character of the uprising of Italy is evidence of the spontaneous nature of the resistance. No quarter was given on either side in the war. Even non-combatants were mercilessly slaughtered. Towns were sacked, farmsteads, vineyards and orchards destroyed. Famine and disease stalked through the land. In the midst of this rack and ruin Frederick II suddenly died of dysentery at Lucera in 1250.

Before recounting the tragic sequel of this event, it is necessary to ascertain what Frederick II's designs were, and why he failed. Although emperor, and in that capacity ruler of Germany, Italy, and Sicily, Frederick II realized that the preservation of the Holy Roman Empire as it had been in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was impossible. The removal of the Hohenstaufen seat of power to Sicily by Henry had reversed the old balance, for all practical purposes Frederick abandoned Germany and visited it only thrice and then only for a short season. His real political design was to unite Sicily and Italy into a compact state such as it is today. This shows how far ahead of his age the emperor was. The Italian peninsula had neither historical nor cultural unity. Lombardy was a land of thriving cities, but every city was for itself, there was no consciousness among them of a higher and united principality. Tuscany historically was a feudal county, but in actuality it was a congeries of rival cities of which Florence, Siena, and Pisa were the most important. Traditionally, ever since the time of the Countess Matilda it had been anti-imperial and pro-papal. Venice and Genoa were independent maritime republics. Provincial separateness was strong in the other provinces, as Benevento and Spoleto. The difficulty of imposing political unity on Italy under such diverse conditions was immense, and, moreover, was aggravated by the policy of the papacy, whose dream of temporal power was to subject all Italy to its sway, to convert the peninsula into a papal kingdom, to expand the dimension of the States of the Church over the entire peninsula. For the achievement of this end the popes jettisoned their spiritual attributes and prostituted their ecclesiastical authority. They forgot the religious nature of their office and sunk themselves in a welter of politics and war. Temporal power, over Italy and overlordship of the kings and kingdoms of western Europe, was their object, along with the accumulation of almost fabulous wealth by means of papal taxes imposed

Merciless war in Italy

Frederick II's unifying designs

upon the Church in every country of Latin Christendom. They were deaf to the spiritual precepts and example offered by St. Francis, to the voice of religious mystics, even to the remonstrances of a ruler as pious and sincere as St. Louis of France, who protested against Innocent IV's policy as a prostitution of his office.

Frederick II has been called the first modern man. His kingdom, that of Naples and Sicily, was the first modern state. Already in the twelfth century his predecessors had done much to make the kingdom progressive. But Frederick II surpassed them all in modernizing his "regno." He abolished feudal privilege, feudal justice, feudal taxes. In the famous Constitution of Melfi (1231) he initiated the theory and practice of absolute monarchy, with equality of all classes before the law. In an epoch of intolerance, he was tolerant of every form of religious belief. He suppressed trial by battle¹ and the ordeal. Procedure and proof were to be conducted in writing.

In the sphere of culture, the emperor was also original. His brilliant intellect puzzled and dazzled Europe which called him "Stupor Mundi," the Wonder of the world. He spoke Italian, German, French, and Arabic fluently and had some understanding of Latin and Greek; he wrote good poetry and is credited with the invention of the sonnet-form. He was intensely interested in Arabic science. He was a capable soldier, an excellent military engineer and the ruins of the châteaux which he planned and erected stamp him as a consummate architect.

When Frederick II died there was no further question of uniting Italy and Sicily, to say nothing of preserving even the semblance of attachment between Italy and Germany. Except in a theoretical capacity, the Medieval Empire came to an end. But the preservation of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily in the hands of the Hohenstaufen was a reasonable expectation. The deceased emperor's only heir was his son Conrad IV who unfortunately died four years after his father. The succession fell to Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred, who had much of the brilliance and charm of his father. But the implacable enmity of Urban IV pursued the dynasty to its very extinction. The pope appealed to Charles, a brother of Louis IX of France and Count of Anjou and Provence. Charles was an ambitious, able man but with none of that gentleness that illuminated the character of the French king. Charles eagerly seized the opportunity to enlarge his domains and increase his power and prestige. His expedition to Italy was in the nature of a crusade. An army of adventurers, swashbucklers, soldiers of fortune, and hired mercenaries invaded Italy. It is said that when Charles of Anjou passed through Rome on his march to the South, the Romans shuddered with fright and even the pope trembled at what he had done. In the Battle of Grandella, near Benevento, Charles's army killed Man-

¹ It was not abolished in England until 1818!

fred and defeated his forces Charles triumphantly occupied Naples and so established the Angevin Kingdom of Italy Gradually, by hard fighting, the new French domination was extended over Sicily

The cause of the Hohenstaufen was lost A tinge of tragic romanticism gilds the downfall of the Hohenstaufen The last prince of the house was Conrad IV's son Conradin — or as the Italians called him, Corradino — Little Conrad He was living in Germany, for his life was *Death of Conradin* not safe anywhere in Italy To him the Ghibellines in Italy, all who still sympathized with the imperial traditions of the Hohenstaufen, and all the anti-papalists in Italy looked He was the hero of forlorn hope, of an adventure which was foredoomed to failure What could this lad of eighteen, with an army of dreamers like himself to sustain him, effect against the able and astute Charles of Anjou? In the Battle of Tagliacozzo in the Abruzzi on August 23, 1267, Conradin was defeated and made prisoner The victor addressed a cruel letter to Clement IV informing him of his "good hunting" Urged by the implacable pope and by his own pitiless nature, Charles of Anjou sent his victim to the scaffold

The death of Frederick II was an historical climax The death of Conradin was the climax of a drama rather than of history But the drama was destined to be followed by a second act This was the Massacre of the Sicilian Vespers The drastic nature of the Angevin rule in *Massacre of Sicilian Vespers* Sicily became a by-word of reproach The enormous increase of the power of France especially angered the Kings of Aragon, whose maritime ambitions in the Mediterranean had been awakened by the crusades The Aragonese had long been jealous of the commercial prosperity of Palermo, the great port of Sicily, and now they looked with apprehension and resentment upon the Angevin usurpation In Sicily a conspiracy against the French domination was formed, the leaders of which astutely appealed to Pedro III of Aragon for support On the Tuesday after Easter in 1282 the island rose in insurrection, which was timed for the same day and hour in every important town In Palermo eight thousand French were slaughtered on the first day The Aragonese admiral Roger de Loria destroyed the French fleet before Charles's eyes Sicily was conquered and annexed to the Kingdom of Aragon The event was a revolution in the Mediterranean, the impact of which was felt by France, Italy, the Byzantine Empire Needless to say, the pope regarded the Sicilian Vespers with impotent wrath and a good deal of alarm. It was an event of retributive justice, which recoiled upon the head of the pope.

There is a Biblical proverb that "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall" It would have been well for the papacy if it had pondered this bit of wisdom. But the popes *Papal arrogance* of the thirteenth century were inclined to be more interested in worldly power than in their spiritual functions.

Eleven years after the Sicilian Vespers, in 1293, Boniface VIII became pope. He was the incarnation of personal ability, ecclesiastical chicanery, astute political practice, worldly ambition, avarice and unscrupulousness. Although a trained canonist, he had no spirituality. "Greater and better popes have not struck the imagination of men like this turbulent, passionately despotic lawyer, greedy of wealth, greedy of power, rough and vindictive, convinced to the verge of insanity of his own omniscience, and in his deepest heart moved by an extreme of family pride and of devotion to family interests. But the hatred he aroused was enormous. The insolent masterful face of his statue does not belie him. Furious rages at opposition, fierce abusive sarcasms, uncurbed arrogance, hardness of heart defaced the really great qualities."¹

Practical and grandiose designs alike filled his mind. His private aims belied his high solicitude. Of a noble family, Boniface VIII, like all such Italian princely families, labored to build up the power of his ancestral house by enlarging its landed possessions. He married his nieces and nephews with this end in view, he bought land with the Church's money, he created two great complexes of property, one near Naples, the other near Rome. Together these two gigantic properties formed a patrimony which extended for fifty miles along the coast between Rome and Naples. When the Roman nobles whose property he coveted resisted him, he broke them, as in the case of the properties of the great Colonna family in Campagna, whose head was his fiercest enemy in Rome. The pope extended his long arm into Tuscany and provoked the revolution in Florence which drove Dante and other adherents of the imperial tradition into exile, as a result of which the poet damned Boniface VIII to everlasting fame, for in the *Divine Comedy* Boniface VIII is cast into the pit of hell. Farther afield, the pope was embroiled with James of Aragon over Sicily, the loss of which to the Angevin kings of Naples, was also a blow to papal power and prestige. To increase Boniface VIII's anxiety, since he took all Europe as his province to administer, Philip IV, the Fair, of France and Edward I of England were at war. There was also a dangerous alliance between the French king and the Austrian duke Albert of Habsburg.

The pope's ultimate conflict with Philip the Fair of France was to be his ruin. It happened that, to obtain revenues for war, Edward I and Philip IV each assessed the clergy and taxed ecclesiastical property in their kingdoms. But taxation of the property of the Church for secular purposes, except in the case of lands held under military tenure, was unlawful. "Princes, however, had frequently attempted to extort aid from the clergy, and the matter was dealt with in the Council

*Philip the Fair
challenges
Boniface*

¹ C. W. Previté-Orton, in *Edinburgh Review*, October 1928, pp. 297-98, a review of four volumes of sources in the archives of the Caetani family in Rome, in which Boniface VIII, who was a Caetani, speaks for himself.

of the Lateran of 1179 (c vii) The Lateran Council of 1215 (c xlv) repeated this decision with additions It made papal approval necessary¹ Boniface protested this taxation He failed to measure the increasing secular nature of European thought which had lost its reverence for clericalism The pope could not perceive, and he would not have understood if he had seen, the rising sentiment of nationalism in France and England especially, of which the kings were the exponents It was this nationalism which was to ruin the pope

Philip IV was a clear-headed and strong-willed king who was opposed to the prevalent theory of a papally controlled internationalism He was laboring for French nationalism in the form of a strong French monarchy and relied on lawyers instead of ecclesiastics to provide the officials which he needed for his centralized administration

When the pope learned of the taxation of ecclesiastical property in England and France, his amazement passed into rage, and forthwith he issued the famous bull² *Clericis laicos* (1296), which forbade any taxation whatsoever of Church property anywhere Edward I's reply was to declare the Church of England outside of the protection of the law, since the Church would pay nothing for the protection it got from government Philip IV forbade the export of gold, other precious metals and jewels out of France, which effectively deprived the pope of Peter's Pence and all other revenues derived from the Church in France An acrimonious correspondence between the kings and the pope dragged on for several years Boniface VIII's acerbity increased until finally in 1303 the *brutum fulmen*, the direst thunder-peal of papal pronouncement in history, emanated from the papal chancery in the notorious bull *Unam Sanctam* This document is the last word in the claims of the medieval papacy to temporal supremacy, and a masterpiece of subtle ecclesiastical reasoning After a long preliminary, the document contains this thunder-clap "We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary unto salvation (!) for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff" In other words, submission to papal authority was declared to be an article of faith

Philip IV's reply to this extraordinary pronunciamento was action, not words A military expedition was sent over the Alps into Italy under the command of the king's hard-boiled minister Nogaret, with whom Sciarra Colonna co-operated They found the pope at Anagni, his native place south of Rome, surrounded by loyal but frightened cardinals The old pontiff—he was over eighty years of age—was game to the last When all was lost save the honor of the papacy,

*Boniface
commands royal
submission*

*French army
smashes Boniface*

¹ F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 91-92

² A bull is a papal pronouncement The name comes from the *bullæ* or seal affixed to the document Papal bulls were distinguished by their opening words which became the title of the document.

Boniface VIII was not the man to lower his colors. While the French troops assailed the gates of Anagni the pope and the cardinals arrayed themselves in their official robes and were found sitting in haughty dignity when Nogaret and his men burst into the high hall of Boniface's ancestral palace. The pope was dragged from his throne and thrown to the floor where, as he lay prostrate, Sciarra Colonna gazed into his face with fierce and jubilant eyes. It was cruel treatment of one who held the most sacred and exalted office of the Roman Church. The shock ended Boniface's life and ruined the medieval papacy.

CHAPTER XXV

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND, FRANCE AND SPAIN

It is necessary to revert to the first quarter of the thirteenth century in order to relate the history of England and France. Something must be said about the difference between French and English institutions. The English monarchy was founded by the Norman Conquest. William I, as conqueror, began as a king, not as a feudal suzerain. He retained enormous tracts in his own possession and distributed the rest of the land among bishops, abbots, and barons as fiefs, the retention of which was subject to services and good behavior on their part. In France, on the other hand, the royal authority was feudal. The French monarchy grew out of feudalism. Hugh Capet, the founder of the monarchy, was a feudal duke years before he became king. The French monarchy developed gradually. Long tradition was attached to the French monarchy — that of the Carolingians. In England practically no ancient tradition was attached to the new kingship.

*Continuation of
English and
French history*

*Differences be-
tween English and
French institutions*

The contrast between the French and the English nobility is no less great. The French noblesse was old and well established before the Capetian monarchy came into being. It was older than the kingship. The noblesse in Norman England had no such antiquity. It was made by the king, its status and authority alike were determined by the monarch. The French king had to rule with consideration for the past and to compromise with feudal institutions and feudal nobles. The Norman kings of England were not so inhibited. They could dictate and did not have to compromise. A great noble in France enjoyed certain prerogatives of a sovereign nature. He administered high justice, coined money, imposed taxes as if he were a king within his fief, whether county, or duchy; he could even make war and peace without consent of the king. In England, on the other hand, not even dukes and earls had any rights of sovereignty. Justice was royal justice, coinage was royal coinage, taxation was royal taxation. No castle could legally refuse the king entrance.

*French and
English nobility*

Nor was the urban population similar in the two realms. Most towns in France were subject to the nobles and the bishops. In Norman England all towns were under the royal authority. The French bourgeoisie had excellent reasons to be against the nobles and to sustain the king, whereas in England barons and burghers more often

*French and Eng-
lish bourgeoisie*

united together against the king, as in the thirteenth century. The attitude and conduct of the clergy also was different in each country. In England the clergy almost always made common cause with the nobles, and in France clergy and nobles were mutually hostile to one another. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century the clergy, low and high, the majority of the bishops and even the universities never ceased to combat the nobility, and the bourgeoisie were with them.

These fundamental differences, political, institutional, social, account for the difference between the English Parliament and the French States-

*English and
French
Parliaments*

General. The Commons in England was not entirely composed of bourgeoisie, the nobles, through the knights of the shire, had a representation in the House of Commons. In England only the eldest son of a noble was a noble too. All the other sons were commoners. They were ineligible to sit in the House of Lords, but could and did sit in the House of Commons into which they carried the ideas, the manners, the traditions of the noble class. These younger sons were the reserve of the English aristocracy. In France real hostility prevailed between clergy and nobles, between nobles and bourgeoisie. The effectiveness of parliamentary government in England is in sharp contrast with the ineffectives of the States-General in France. One might go on also to distinguish the differences between English serfdom and French serfdom.

Henry III was only nine years of age when he came to the throne of England. The death of King John had reversed the political situation, and the pope and the barons were now as eager to undo the French intervention as they had once been anxious to sustain it. With the aid of the papal legate, this was accomplished in 1217. The evil effects of the civil war, however, lingered. The mercenaries whom John had brought over from Flanders still vexed the country and the French fleet held the Channel until August, 1217, when it was destroyed in a sea-fight.

During the first part of the king's minority the regent was the Earl of Pembroke, William Marshall. When he died the regency was carried on by a commission, chief of which was Hubert de Burgh, the last great justiciar, although Langton unofficially had much influence on the administration. Trouble began in 1232 when Hubert de Burgh died and Henry III had attained his majority. Even before Hubert's death the king had cast off all restraint and put the justiciar in fetters in the Tower and seized his property. Twenty-six years of weak, vacillating and sometimes bad government followed.

*Henry III's
accession*

Distrustful of his own subjects and hating the restraints imposed by the Great Charter upon kingly authority, Henry III surrounded himself with foreigners, most of them Poitevins and his mother's people. In 1225 he had confirmed Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests, a supplementary document, but two years after-

*Henry III repu-
diates charters*

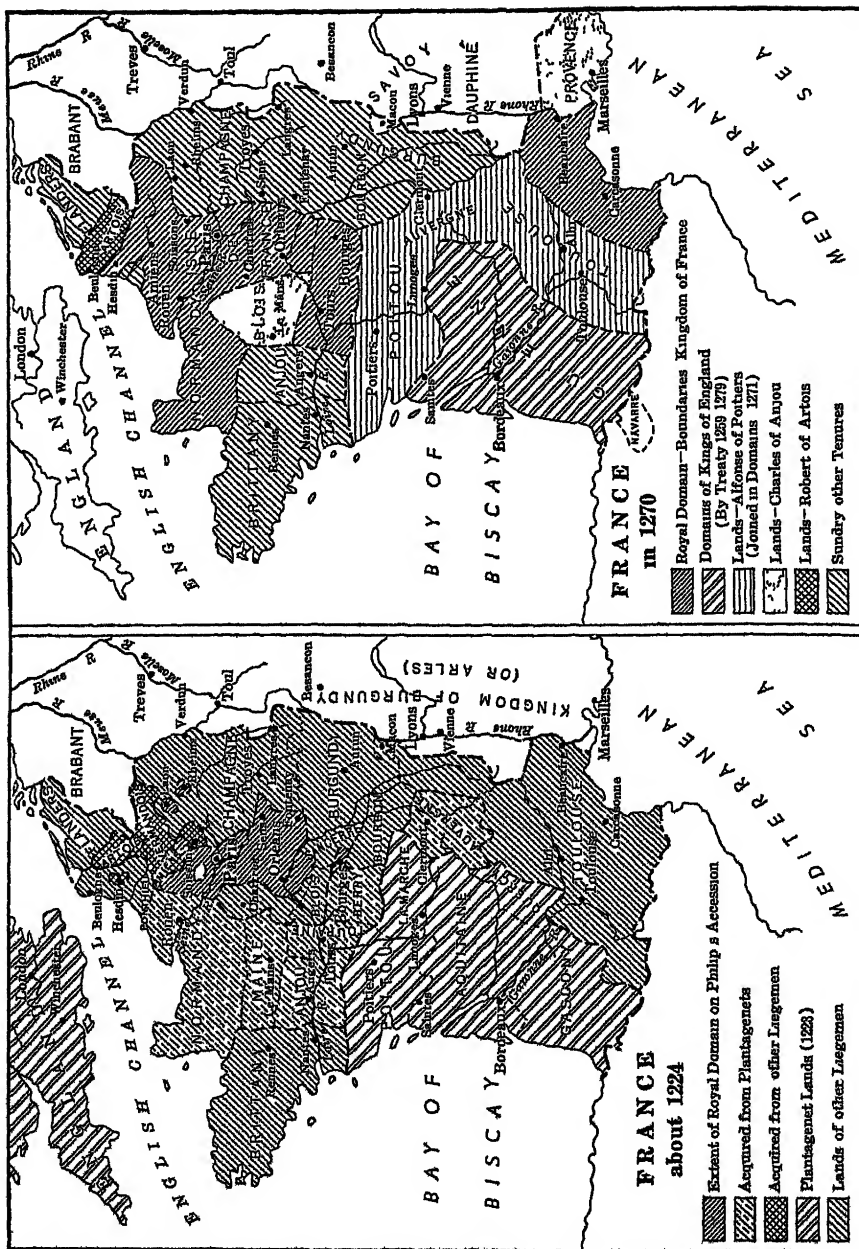
wards repudiated this action, ominously saying that, "Whensoever and wheresoever, and as often as it may be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge, or diminish the aforesaid statutes and their several parts by our own free will and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and our land"

For some years, however, open rupture between the king and the barons was averted. The loss of Normandy and Anjou rankled in English hearts and the resentment against France was increased when in 1224 the French king seized Poitou also. In 1225 Earl *Policy in France* Richard, the king's brother, was sent to Bordeaux and strengthened the English power in Gascony, which the French hoped to seize as they had seized Poitou. A deputation of Norman nobles who refused to accept the French domination invited the king to cross the sea, promising him their aid in recovering the lost provinces. A short and ineffective war ensued (1229-1230).

Henry III's failure to accomplish anything abroad made him more unpopular than ever. The fall of Hubert de Burgh in 1232 and the ascendancy over him of his favorite, the Poitevin Peter des Roches, who was made Bishop of Winchester, mark the change. The royal *Henry's unpopularity* castles were garrisoned with Poitevins. They overawed the barons, who remonstrated with the king but dared not rebel. Some of the hotheads among them, however, secretly concerted with Llewelyn, Prince of Wales. In 1234 a peace was patched up between the king and Llewelyn and the proscribed nobles, but each side was so distrustful of the other that it was only a matter of time before conflict again broke out.

In the interval Henry III arranged for an amazing series of marriages in the hope of gaining political support from abroad and conciliating opponents at home. The king himself married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence. His three sisters, Isabel, Joan, and Eleanor, were married respectively to the Emperor Frederick II, Alexander II, King of Scotland, and Simon de Montfort II, son of the notorious hero of the Albigensian Crusade. Of these alliances the king's and that of his sister Eleanor were of most significance. England was soon "invaded" by a rapacious swarm of Provençals and Savoyards following the queen, seeking and securing offices in government or Church. Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, was made Archbishop of Canterbury and another uncle was made Earl of Richmond. The old favorites were displaced by these newcomers.

Ever extravagant and avaricious, Henry III resorted to new forms of oppression to satisfy the hangers-on of his court. In 1239 he extorted one-third of all their possessions from the Jews. In 1240 "he sent justices *Henry's extortions* throughout England," says Matthew Paris, the contemporary historian, "who under pretence of administering justice collected



immense sums of money in the form of fees or fines, but he squandered it away" In addition to these extortions, immense sums were constantly withdrawn from the kingdom by the papal legates In 1240 the king's brother Richard went on a crusade The Dominican and Franciscan friars excited the people to assume the cross and then absolved them from their vows, "by which means they raised a large sum of money in England but incurred much odium"

Misgovernment and exorbitant taxations thus were growing grievances in England Open rupture, however, between Henry III and the barons again was delayed by new strained relations with France Louis IX's gift of Poitou to his brother Alphonse in 1241 awakened the *Papal exactions* old war spirit again and desultory warfare, chiefly on the sea, which degenerated into piracy, prevailed for the next five years to the detriment of commerce Again an outbreak of the discontented baronage was delayed because the issue of papal exactions became more pressing than the king's misgovernment In 1244 even Henry III, complacent as he was to papal authority, remonstrated with Innocent IV, and the protest was repeated in 1246 and 1247 by the barons at their meeting in London But the pope's thunder cowed them all, "and the graspings of Roman avarice were not satisfied until the pope received 11,000 marks" In 1252 Grosseteste, and the great Bishop of Lincoln, calculated that the revenues of foreign bishops, principally Italians, intruded by the pope into benefices in England, amounted to 70,000 marks, or more than three times the revenue of the crown

By 1255 the discontent of the barons and popular grievances presaged an imminent rebellion Henry III demanded more moneys for defense of Gascony against French aggression and to aid the pope against Frederick II, although the emperor was his brother-in-law *Demands of the barons* Subservience to the papacy was characteristic of the king The barons in a "Parliament"—mark the word—held at London demanded royal observance of Magna Charta and the right to designate the justiciary, the chancellor and the treasurer of the kingdom, who should not be removed without their consent It was a momentous demand—the use of money-power in government to secure redress of grievances and to initiate reform; to compel responsible administration upon the king But the barons were not guileless patriots, nor was their policy one of transparent justice

It would be an exaggeration to believe that the baronial policy was a disinterested one The currents of self-interest had devious windings The great barons had their own axes to grind "Reform" was a convenient smoke-screen with many of them Among the factors determining the changes of this stormy period of rebellion and reform the ambition of the greater nobles to enlarge their landed property played an important part

Among the factors determining the changes of this stormy period of rebel-

lion and reform, the desire to accumulate land played a predominant part. The Crown, helped by convenient partitions and escheats and by the misdeeds of important rebels and opponents whose territories it could confiscate, had been slowly undermining or absorbing baronial aggregations of territory. But the land-hunger of the barons was also intense. In 1244 Louis IX seized all the lands of the English nobles in France. This deprivation intensified their policy of land aggrandizement at home. In retaliation for the French decree, Henry III seized the lands of all French nobles in England. This made the king rich and the barons furious. The barons, under the guise of alleged "reform" and through gaining control of the three highest offices of state, sought to restrain and despoil the king.

*Baronial land
hunger*

In 1258 matters reached an acute stage when Simon de Montfort, who had long been governor of Gascony, returned to England and put himself at the head of the baronial opposition to the king. Historians who have put Simon de Montfort upon a pedestal as the champion of justice and popular rights and as the "father of the House of Commons" have not understood the epoch. They have been led astray by nineteenth-century ideas of democracy and reform, and failed to read the sources of the time with discernment. In the cleavage of parties the bishops as a whole supported the crown, while the monastic orders, notably the Franciscans, sided with the barons. Accordingly since most chronicles were written by monastic writers, a partisan and one-sided account has come down to us. Matthew Paris's invectives against the king and laudation of the barons must be read with much reservation, for he was a monk of St. Albans, which was a workshop of baronial propaganda.

*De Montfort heads
baron's revolt*

The rebellious barons assembled a Parliament at Oxford in 1258 and drew up the Provisions of Oxford. Despite the superficial impression this document gives of reform, the Provisions were dictated by baronial, not popular interest. The most important of these provisions required that four knights from each shire should be summoned by the crown to present complaints against the sheriffs, who were the hands of the king in the provinces. In this provision Simon de Montfort hit upon an instrument of opposition to the king which worked with astonishing efficiency and proved a popular means of demanding redress of grievances.

*Provisions of
Oxford*

Henry III and his son Prince Edward at first accepted the Provisions of Oxford, and then repudiated them. In 1264 the issue was submitted to Louis IX of France for arbitration, and the French king, as might have been expected of a monarch deeply convinced of the rights of strong monarchy, decided in favor of Henry III.¹

*De Montfort
defeats
King Henry*

The barons in fury repudiated the French king's decision and civil war ensued. The royal army was defeated at Lewes (May 14, 1264) by the barons,

¹ * This was the Mise of Amiens. Mise = capitulation or arbitration.

assisted by the militia of London, which was strongly baronial in sympathy, a fact which gives an element of "democracy" to the barons' cause. Henry III and Edward were taken prisoners. The former was soon nominally set at liberty, but the prince was confined in Dover Castle, for it was evident that he, and not his father, was the real leader of the royal cause. The short civil war soon came to an end, and De Montfort, now "in all but name a king," kept Christmas in regal state at Kenilworth, indifferent to the protest of the French king and the threats of Pope Urban IV, who excommunicated all adherents of the Provisions of Oxford. When the papal legate arrived at Dover, he was seized and the excommunication document torn to pieces.

In January, 1265, De Montfort summoned a Parliament. It had no legal status, but its convocation was destined to exert an important influence upon constitutional development. To this Parliament were summoned eleven bishops and twenty-three peers, to whom were added over one hundred of the lower clergy, two knights *De Montfort convenes a Parliament* from each county or shire and two representatives from every city, borough, and Cinque Port.¹ The knight originally was a baron, too, but in process of time the term *baron* was narrowed so as to exclude the knights who originally had belonged to the nobility, with the result that the knights in the shires threw their lot in with the people. It is important to observe that the knights of the shire represented not an *estate* but an *interest*—that of land ownership. Although the knights themselves by tradition belonged to the nobility, they represented the yeomanry and even the villeins. It was the reactionary legislation in the reign of Henry VI in the fifteenth century that converted the knights of the shire into an aristocratic class.

The whole number sat together as one body—clergy, nobles, and commons. It is important to observe that these different elements were convened in different ways. The bishops and peers were *summoned by writs*, personal to each, the lower clergy were represented by *How Parliament was summoned* the heads of chapters, archdeacons, one proctor for the clergy of each cathedral and two for the clergy of each diocese, the knights of the shire and those who came from cities and boroughs were *elected*. In short, this Parliament of 1265, although it was a body of partisans and composed only of those who supported the baronial party, had in it clergy, nobles, and commons—the three "estates" of medieval society, and, moreover, the principle of *elective representation* prevailed in the case of the commons. In the com-

¹ In medieval England a *city* was a town which was the seat of a bishop. A *borough* was a town or municipality with a mayor and corporation and privileges conferred by charter. Most of these dated from the reign of Richard I (1189–99) who had sold charters right and left in order to raise funds for his crusade. The Cinque Ports were a group of towns on the south-east coast of England [originally five (*cinq*ue)], which enjoyed certain privileges in consideration of furnishing warships.

position of this assembly¹ every element of the later full-fledged English Parliament is to be found

It was a momentous event in English history. Subsequent changes, such as the preference of the lower clergy to sit separately and not with the nobles and commons, and the distinction first made in 1332 into two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, were details which did not affect the idea behind Parliament. The disproportion in numbers as between peers and clergy on the one hand, and representatives of shires and boroughs on the other hand, was not due to an intention to counterbalance the influence of these two upper classes by the weight of the larger number of representatives of the people, it is to be ascribed to the fact that the evils of local misgovernment were more general than the particular grievances of lords and bishops. In this provision Simon de Montfort showed his political shrewdness. It was a gesture to secure popular support of his movement.

Actually Simon de Montfort was a self-seeking, ambitious, political adventurer who was not even an Englishman. He chanced to hit upon an instrument of opposition to the crown which effectively worked and was gradually adopted as a permanent practice to keep the king in check.

De Montfort's character

In 1265 Simon de Montfort was at the height of his power, but not for long. Prince Edward escaped from his imprisonment late in May, and was joined by the barons who had gone over to De Montfort's camp. Taking King Henry III whom he had in custody, De Montfort advanced against his foes. On August 4, at Evesham, De Montfort was defeated and killed, and the great rebellion of the barons soon collapsed. Henry III had still seven years of rule left, but for all practical purposes Edward I ruled. Henry III's last years were so quiet that Edward was able to go off on the crusade which failed to save Acre, and was not in England when his father died.

Victory of Edward I over De Montfort

Edward I (1272-1307) was one of the greatest kings in English history. He had the energy and will power of Henry II, and along with these capacities "the old demoniac fury" and fierce ruthlessness of his Plantagenet ancestors. There is a legend that a priest who had ventured into his presence with a remonstrance from his order in his hand dropped dead from sheer fright at the king's feet. In the progress of law and government, Edward I's reign was as important as that

Greatness of Edward I

¹ The word *parlamento* in Italian, *parlement* in French, *parliament* in English, etc. supplanted the older and more classical Latin word *colloquium* to designate many different kinds of assembly, whether of conciliar, legislative or judicial nature, even a board of aldermen. "It is clear that . . . behind these varied meanings is a common concept: where there is parliament there is conversation, discussion, debate," (H. G. Richardson, "The Origins of Parliament," *Trans. Royal Hist. Society*, 4th ser. vol. xi, p. 142). The word comes from Old French, *parler*, to talk. In England the Parliament was a legislative assembly; in France it signified a law court.

of Henry II Edward permanently conquered Wales (1283) and temporarily subdued Scotland The Hundred Years' War really began with him

As a law-giver, Edward I was the author of the First Statute of Westminster (1275), which regulated freedom of elections, fixed the rates and occasions of feudal aids and reliefs, and regulated the law of wreckage

In explanation of the last it may be said that wreckage of ships by false beacons was a common practice of sea-thieves and smugglers *Edward as law-giver*

In 1279 the Statute of Mortmain¹ was ordained to restrain the bestowal of estates on religious foundations, which was a frequent form of evasion of taxes, the grantor receiving an annuity from the beneficiary until his death In an effort to buttress the principle of primogeniture and to protect the peerage from the diffusion or dissipation of their lands, the Second Statute of Westminster (1285) founded entails, or the succession of an estate inalienably in a particular line of descent In 1290 the Statute *Quia emptores* forbade subinfeudation, or the grant of land in fief by a vassal to a dependent This was complementary to the act of 1285 and designed to prevent the growth of lower feudalism and in rigid conformity with William the Conqueror's policy of regarding every noble a direct vassal of the crown

It is noteworthy that almost all this legislation had to do with the regulation of feudalism, that Edward I reigned according to feudal law, but did not let feudal forces run away with him Unlike his father, he did not abuse his authority, in spite of the strictness and severity of his practices *Edward strengthens Parliament*

He was open-minded enough to perceive the merit in parliamentary institutions in spite of the fact that the Parliament of 1265 had been an instrument of an enemy to the crown Accordingly, Edward I encouraged the Model Parliament of 1295 This Parliament made general and permanent institutions out of the practices which had been used in 1265 In the earliest stage of its history the Parliament did not legislate, but might advise the king with reference to laws which he contemplated Later the commons developed the practice of presenting petitions to the crown, which, if affirmed by the lords and accepted by the king, became laws This shows how gradual was the evolution of the House of Commons

We are accustomed to think that representation is a right and a privilege But the medieval man did not so envisage it Representation sprang from the feudal idea of "aid and counsel" (*auxilium et consilium*), which medieval men found burdensome "They attended . . . as the unfortunate and unwilling persons selected by their fellows to carry out the requirements of the crown"² In the writs to the bishops in 1295 the king declared "that which touches all should be approved by all," and that "common dangers must be met by measures concerted in common" This was not an utterance in favor of democracy, as *Edward's idea of rule*

¹ Mortmain meant the holding of land "in dead hand" (*in mortua manu*), i.e., by a corporation.

² A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament* (London 1920), p. 139. *

some have fancifully imagined. It was the declaration that the king was the king of all classes and that he would defend the rights and privileges of each class. Edward I was so thoroughly feudally-minded that he regarded freeholders with contempt, because they had no feudal status. He thought there should be no room in the structure of feudal society for them. The presence of a non-feudal class in a feudal society was, indeed, anomalous. In the same spirit with which he accepted the Parliament in 1295, Edward I, in 1297, confirmed Magna Charta and the amendments made to it during Henry III's minority. But the qualifying clause which the king inserted before his seal, "saving the honor of our prerogative," showed that he did not regard himself as a limited monarch. He would rule according to law, but he reserved the right to declare what the law was. Above all, he would not be the minion of a class. The constitutional history of England in the main is the history of the struggle between the royal prerogative and the Parliament. The exceptional degree of power enjoyed by the kings materially promoted the growth of English liberty by compelling the nobles to ally themselves with the people. The partnership between nobles and commonalty is peculiar to English history.

There is always danger in either magnifying or minimizing the past. For the past inevitably suffers when compared with the present. "A vision or an idea," it has been wisely said, "is not to be judged by its value for us, but by its value to the man who had it."¹

English historians, ever since the emergence of political democracy in the first part of the nineteenth century — the Reform Bill of 1832 — have boasted that Parliament is a unique English institution and that the principle of representation is an English device. This is hardly the whole truth. The principle of representation sprang from feudalism, which was the mother of the sworn inquest — the *Domesday* survey was taken by representative jurors in each hundred and township — of the jury system, of Parliaments, of the principles of liberty of the subject, and of the idea that one may not be deprived of life, liberty, or property except by due process of law and by the judgment of his equals.

The principle of representation was not unique to English history. For the practice obtained in the French États-Generaux, or States-General, the Spanish Cortes, the German Diet, and in the Convocations of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders. The roots of all such assemblies are to be found in local or provincial estates-general, which antedate the appearance of national representative assemblies by many years. Such provincial estates-general were common in the south of France in Languedoc and Gascony. The representative principle in the two orders of friars was visible to all Europe. We cannot escape the conclusion that parliamentary assemblies, which emerged in the thirteenth century,

¹F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 161.

were implicit in feudal institutions and a product of feudal civilization. Local differences and variations were due to national conditions, but representative assemblies were a general European phenomenon, and not an exclusively English one.

By a coincidence, the Kings of England and France in the first part of the thirteenth century were minors, and a regency was necessary. In England this regency was in the hands of a commission of the barons. In France the regent for the boy-king Louis IX (1226-70) was his mother, Blanche of Castile.

*Regencies in
France and
England*

The enormous increase of the royal authority in France under Philip II and Louis VIII occasioned a violent reaction immediately after Louis IX came to the throne, the uprising was crushed by the energy and ability of the queen-mother. Medieval history can point to no nobler woman than this queen. Her mother was Eleanor, a daughter of Henry II of England and the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine. Blanche inherited the best qualities of her maternal ancestors, and transmitted them to her son. The just and gentle character of Louis IX was formed by his mother. His abilities perhaps he owed to inheritance from his grandfather, Philip Augustus.

Queen Blanche

The regency lasted until 1236, but until her death in 1252 Blanche exercised great influence over the administration. The relations between Louis IX and Henry III of England have already been considered, and the history of the Albigensian Crusade has been related in connection with the history of the papacy in this century.

*French crown
acquires Toulouse*

What is to be observed here is that in Louis IX's reign the French crown absorbed the great province of Toulouse and its dependencies, as the result of the shattered condition of things in the south of France after the Albigensian Crusade, so that the royal domain extended from the Channel to the Mediterranean. The king's piety, in spite of his gentle nature, would not brook heresy and he had no compunctions in politically profiting from the effects of the crusade.

The two unfortunate crusades in which Louis IX partook have also already been dealt with. What remains to notice is the development of the French monarchy as an institution under Louis IX. This was in direct continuation of the policy of Philip Augustus, who had done much to eliminate the feudal element in the king's high court of justice and introduced the principles of Roman law to the extrusion of feudal law. Louis IX completed this process, and in his reign the Parlement of Paris emerged as a trained body of judges, no one of whom was of either feudal or ecclesiastical status. The beginnings of the absolute monarchy of France are found in the reforms of the judiciary made by Louis IX. In fact, Louis IX created a new class, the *noblesse de robe*, an administrative nobility. This new principle was also extended to other officials—sene-

*Louis IX's
administration*

schals who were set over the bailiffs and provosts, and special commissioners known as *enquêteurs*, whose duty was to pry into the administration of justice, always a matter of deep interest to the king. Legislation was expressed in the form of royal ordinances framed by the king and his counsellors, which later were collected into the famous code of laws known as the *Establishments of St Louis*. Another code, the *Livre des metiers*, regulated commerce and industry throughout the provinces under the king's immediate authority, it is a valuable source of information with regard to the guilds and their organization, conditions of labor, hours of work, etc. Justice and efficiency characterized Louis IX's collection of taxes.

All in all, the king was an excellent embodiment of medieval kingship, and though he was canonized after his death for his piety, he equally deserved to be so honored because of his enlightened administration of justice and the mildness and intelligence of his rule. His nature was as sincere and as beautiful as that of St Francis. Louis IX was the perfect gentleman, and, indeed, was as proud of the title, "The first gentleman of France," as he was of being king. The kingship he regarded as an office conferred upon him by God, but to become the first gentleman of France was a purely human responsibility and achievement. Louis was deeply religious, but he was not pious in any narrow or snivelling sense. His was a manly piety, whole-hearted and sincere. He could be merry withal, without loss of dignity. He liked good company and clean conversation, and was the first French king who was fond of books. Most of these were of a devotional sort, but not all of them. The universal esteem in which Louis IX was held by all Europe is a tribute to his character. No writer has written a disparaging word of him. Even the Mohammedans respected him, although he made two crusades against them. One must read that charming biography of him written by the Sire de Joinville, for forty years his equerry, his friend and confidant, if one would really understand the king. Of Louis IX's zeal for the Church, Joinville exquisitely says "As the transcriber illuminates the book which he is writing with gold and azure, so the king illuminated his realm with the fine abbeys which he built, with *maisons-dieu* (hospitals, literally houses of God), and houses for the friars preacher (the Dominicans), the Franciscans, the Carthusians and many other religious orders."

Unfortunately the happy equilibrium created by Louis IX between the monarchy and the feudality could not last. A strong monarchy in the hands of a just and able king was a blessing, but a strong monarchy in the hands of an ambitious and unscrupulous ruler was oppressive. The reign of Philip III, le Hardi, or the Rash (1270-85), was a period of transition. To the old and reduced, if not vanished, evils of too much feudalism, succeeded the excesses and abuses which spring from strong but irresponsible kingship. Except for these sinister mani-

*Nobility of
Louis IX's
character*

*Reign of
Philip III*

festations, the reign of Philip III is remarkable only for his unsuccessful war with Aragon in order to avenge the affront of the Sicilian Vespers — the massacre of the French in Sicily in 1282, an event which has been already related in connection with the papal policy after the death of the Emperor Frederick II

The evils which were foreshadowed under Philip III became realities with the accession of Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314) This king's conflict with Pope Boniface VIII has already been related *Absolutism of Philip IV* The administration of Philip IV is a landmark in the growth of the French monarchy which now verged upon absolutism The great instruments of the central government developed fully in the reign of Philip These instruments included the Parlement of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, which dealt exclusively with causes in feudal law, which by this time were of inferior importance to *cas royaux* or "royal causes" requiring the immediate and direct jurisdiction of the crown The same may be said of the grand officials of the king, who in this time became powerful ministers of state That preponderance of the monarchy over feudal power and authority which began in the reign of Philip II was almost whole and complete under Philip IV

In the thirteenth century Europe was drifting away from ecclesiasticism and becoming increasingly secular minded Characteristic of this change was an immense interest in political speculation The leaders of this thought were lawyers, government officials, secular clerks, and not clerics and theologians It was the age of legists

The energy and ability which Philip IV displayed in every branch of government — the making of ordinances, justice, taxation, finance, regulation of commerce and trade and of weights and measures, are astonishing Some of his measures are notorious, especially those *Philip IV's energetic activities* which had to do with money and finance, for the king was in constant need of money and avaricious He continually altered the coinage — though it is not true that he issued spurious coins alloyed with lead or copper In this time, when the volume of commerce in Europe had enormously increased owing to the stimulus of the crusades, the problem of adjusting the coinage was a difficult one in every country, the more so because the balance of trade was against the West, and gold was constantly drawn off to the East to redress this balance Until the middle of the thirteenth century gold coins were not in circulation in western Europe The first successful gold coinages were issued by Venice and Genoa (*ducats*) and Florence (*florin*) The earliest French gold coin was the *louis d'or* of St Louis, late in his reign. How rare gold was in the West is shown by two facts The whole ransom of Richard I in 1197 and of Louis IX in 1249 was paid in silver

It will be remembered that Philip IV's conflict with Boniface VIII was

occasioned by the king's taxation of ecclesiastical property. The action was typical of the new age. But Philip IV was no whit more avaricious than the pope. "Fiscality" was part of the atmosphere of Europe in 1300.

Another widespread grievance against Philip IV was the invention of new-fangled taxes, which were attributed to his avarice. But here, again, the accusation must be qualified. The economic and social revolution of the thirteenth century had created new kinds of wealth and a new class unknown to the previous age. Hence there was no precedent according to which taxes might be imposed. But it was unthinkable that this new form of wealth and this new-rich class should not be taxed. Naturally the French bourgeoisie complained and protested. In all times people have resented taxation, especially new kinds of taxes.

*Taxation of
Bourgeoisie*

In one instance, however, little palliation of Philip IV's policy is possible. This was the suppression of the Order of the Knights Templar in France after the fall of Boniface VIII. After Acre was lost, there was nothing left of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and nothing there for the three crusading orders of monastic knights to do. The Knights of St. John or Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights found occupation elsewhere, the former first at Rhodes and later at Malta in resisting the Turks, and the latter in Prussia. But the Templars found no new dominions to conquer, and nothing to justify their existence. They used their enormous wealth as bankers and money-lenders and soon excited execration for their avarice.

*Suppression of
Knights Templar*

It is strange that Boniface VIII never seems to have thought of utilizing the Templars' military ability and their riches against Philip IV. Philip IV's success in exciting general animosity against the Templars was a remarkable example of the organization and influence of a powerful propaganda. The middle class hated them, the Dominicans and Franciscans, for all their prating about the virtues of poverty, envied them for their riches. Almost overnight these former heroes of the crusades were believed to be heretics and guilty of monstrous crimes and immoral practices. Most, if not all, the charges were trumped up and sustained by false witnesses and forged evidence. In one day fifty-six Templars were burned alive in Paris, the order was annihilated and all its wealth confiscated. Clement V, the first French pope who succeeded Boniface VIII, was a tool of the king and consented to the destruction of the Templars. Every government in Europe imitated the example of Philip IV and within a few years the great Templar Order was exterminated. Instead of being used for the benefit of society in the form of endowments of hospitals and of education, as some enlightened men argued should be done, the immense resources of the Templars were wasted upon favorites of the rulers and professional politicians.

One other event of Philip IV's reign remains to be noticed. This was his war with Edward I of England (1293-1302). The long conflict between Eng-

land and France which had existed ever since 1066 now came to a climax. It is typical of the changes in Europe that the issue was not one arising from the feudal relation between the two crowns, but from commercial competition. There were three grounds of feud: (1) the fisheries of the North Sea over which England claimed exclusive control, by virtue of her doctrine of "sovereignty of the sea"; (2) The wool trade between England and Flanders. England was the greatest wool-growing country of Europe but she was not yet industrialized, so that the raw wool was shipped across the Channel to Flanders, then the most industrialized country in northern Europe, where thousands of weavers, dyers, fullers, and carders earned their living by the loom or at the vat. Ghent was the chief Flemish city but there were many others. Flanders politically was a fief of France and its count was a vassal of the French crown. But this relation was traversed by the economic attachment of Flanders to England. Philip IV aimed to expel English predominance in Flanders by making England pay for her wool-trade, and further he planned to tap the Flemings by taxes imposed upon their crafts. (3) The wine-trade of Gascony where all the claret, the most highly prized wine of the age, was produced.¹ This claret trade of Gascony was a lucrative source of income to the English kings, who were also Dukes of Gascony. Hence Philip IV's ambition to conquer Gascony, as his predecessors had conquered Normandy and the Angevin provinces.

*Philip IV's war
with England*

The war began in 1292. At the time Edward I was engaged in war with the Scotch who were led by William Wallace. Edward captured Wallace and put him to death. Scotland was conquered and did not recover its independence until the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. In vain Boniface VIII attempted to arbitrate, but both kings were suspicious of him. In 1302 Philip IV invaded Flanders but was beaten by an army of Flemish town militia at Courtrai (July 11). The war finally came to an indecisive end because both kings became involved with the pope. In the same year as Courtrai Philip IV summoned the first States-General in French history as preliminary to the expedition into Italy which resulted in the deposition and death of Boniface. The importance of this war lies in the fact that it was a preliminary to the great Hundred Years' War between England and France in the next generation.

When Philip IV died in 1314 it was the end of an epoch.

The Spanish peninsula had slight contact with the rest of Europe all through the Middle Ages. A few allusions to Spanish history have been made in previous chapters, which may be recapitulated in this place as necessary background to understand the history of

Isolation of Spain

¹ It is to be understood that wine was widely used in the Middle Ages and was the beverage of the upper classes, as beer was of the peasantry. Water was for ablution, not to drink.

the country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when Spain emerged from its isolation.

The great peninsula of Hispania, as it was called by the Romans, was a congeries of provinces. Roman domination had been established in republican times and continued and confirmed by the empire. No country was more thoroughly Romanized. Early in the fifth century the West Goths occupied it and established their kingdom which lasted until 711, when the invasion of the Mohammedanized Berbers extinguished it, and the Moslem Khalifate of Cordova spread its rule over most of the land. Remnants of the Romano-Gothic-Christian populations preserved a precarious independence in the foothills and fastnesses of the Pyrenees. Charlemagne had come to their relief and organized the whole territory between the mountains and the Ebro into the Spanish Mark. When the Carolingian Empire dissolved in the ninth century this Mark not only was separated from the rest of the empire, but itself was broken into several fragments by the disruptive feudal forces of the age. The true history of medieval Spain began with the emergence of these petty states.

These initial principalities, from east to west were the County or Barcelona which later was absorbed by Aragon, the tiny Kingdom of Navarre; and in the northwest corner, the little Kingdom of Asturias. The meridian of Moslem power was reached under Abd-er-Rahman (912-60). By 1031 the Khalifate was broken up into several parts under separate dynasties, and the petty Christians began to take the offensive against their enemy. This was soon arrested, however, when the Almorávides, a fanatical Mohammedan sect composed of Berbers and Moors, after having overthrown the old Moslem state in Africa, crossed the strait and between 1087-92 conquered and again united the whole of Moorish Spain. In the eleventh century the danger of Christian Spain — that slender band of Gothic territory in the North — was increased by a second invasion of Moslems. These were the Almohades, who supplanted the Almorávides and were more formidable than the latter. It was this peril which drew down into Spain those hosts of adventurers, chiefly Normans, who contributed to the movement in Europe that finally culminated in the crusades. These campaigns were of the same spirit and indeed were "Spanish crusades."

The eleventh century was the heroic period of Spanish history. The hero *par excellence* was Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known as the Cid Campeador, the earlier exploits of whom pertain more to epic poetry than to history. He died in 1099. The crowning achievement which marked the turning of the tide was the Christian capture of Toledo in 1085. This victory was followed nine years later by the capture of Valencia (1094) by the Cid.

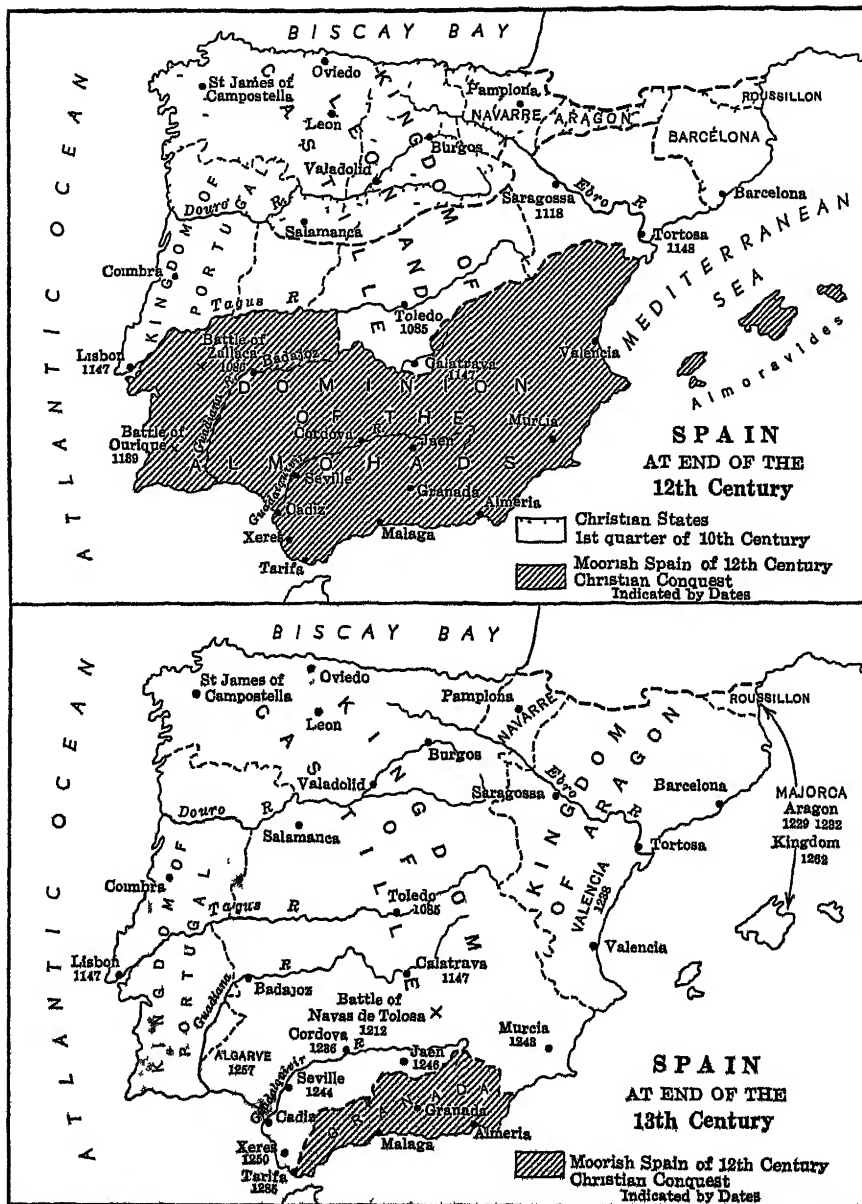
At this point we must retrace our steps. The history of medieval Spain is

the history of the slow formation and slower union together of separate and different peoples and territories. For provincialism is the hall-mark of Spanish culture. The Christian offensive had first begun among the Basque peoples in Asturias under Pelayo in the ninth century. Asturias was the cradle of Spanish history. The conquest of Leon — *Leon and Castile* the name is derived from the Roman word *Legio*, for the site was the place of the Seventh Legion, the most famous legion in Roman history and the darling of Julius Caesar — created the Reino or Kingdom of Leon, of which Asturias was the northern province. As Leon expanded her sway and reached out for domination over the central plateau she built border castles to retain her successive acquisitions. These outposts became so typical of the country that it came to be called Castle-Land or Castile. Its capital was Burgos. In time New Castile, the focal point of which was Toledo, was formed as an expansion of Old Castile. The greatest King of Leon was Ramiro II (931-50). In 1037 Leon and Castile were united by Ferdinand I.

Portugal broke away from Leon in the twelfth century under different circumstances. Alfonso VI gave Henry, Duke of French Burgundy, then crusading against the Moors, the little County of Portugal in *Portugal* fief although it was occupied by the Moors. Duke Henry, instead of rendering the territory to the crown as he was feudally bound to do, refused to do so and, with the sanction of the pope, kept Portugal as his own and in an independent capacity. In the capture of Lisbon in 1148 Henry was aided, as we have seen in the chapter on the crusades, by English crusaders.

Meanwhile, farther east amid the Central Pyrenees a new political formation had begun in the valley of the little river Arago, where dwelt the purest Iberian stock, the veritable descendants of the defenders of Numantia against the Romans. They were a hardy, sombre *Aragon* people. This tiny principality in the course of time attached the Catalanian County of Barcelona unto itself and so reached down the Ebro to the sea. This consummation took place in 1137, exactly a century after the union of Leon and Castile, when Ramon Berenger IV of Barcelona married the daughter of Ramiro II of Aragon. Thus by the middle of the twelfth century Christian Spain was divided between the two Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon — or into three, if we include Portugal on the Atlantic coast, whose origin is bound up with the Second Crusade, as already related.

In spite of Castile's acquisition of the key-stronghold of Toledo, the balance between Moslem and Christian still swung uncertainly in the twelfth century. Alfonso VIII defeated the Moors at Alarcos in 1195, but was in turn defeated by them at Las Navas de Tolosa in *Castile defeats Moslems* 1212. The decisive Castilian offensive was begun by Ferdinand III (died 1252) in whose reign Cordova and Seville were taken (1236, 1248) and the Moorish power in the peninsula confined to the Kingdom of



Granada The capture of Seville in 1248 and of Cadiz in 1262 gave Castile command of the whole valley of the Guadalquivir (Arabic, Wad-al-Kebir, "the great river") and egress into the Mediterranean

For centuries Castile had been cut off from access to the Atlantic, first by the Moorish occupation of the coast and later by Portugal, whose capital, Lisbon, controlled the mouth of the Tagus River Castile had thus remained an inland power, and when she reached the Mediterranean it was too late for her to develop much maritime enterprise, in spite of the advantageous situation and commercial tradition of Seville and Cadiz An important reason for this failure was the stupid fanaticism of Ferdinand III, who expelled three hundred thousand Moors from Seville and the adjacent territory after its capture For the Moors were experts in economic promotion, both as agriculturalists and merchants, whereas the incoming Castilians among whom the conquered soil was distributed were knights and nobles (*hidalgos*), whose only profession was war, and peasants, most of whom were sheepraisers, for the high plateaus of inner Spain were so much like desert that they were only capable of raising sheep, while agriculture was unprofitable

Castile expels Moors

In striking contrast with Castile was Aragon The amalgamation of the hardy Iberians of little Aragon with the Gothic population of Catalonia (Gotalania?), the racial term for the feudal County of Barcelona, had proved an extraordinarily energetic combination

Aragon

Barcelona from Roman times had been an important commercial port and the Catalans from of old had the reputation of being enterprising merchants and intrepid navigators Thus as Castile was naturally a land-power, Aragon was as naturally a sea-power, a condition stimulated by the close proximity to the coast of the slopes of the Pyrenees which were covered with forests of excellent timber for shipbuilding

Just as Castile expanded over central Spain, so Aragon spread out along the east coast of the peninsula and over-sea. Her most important conquest was the Moorish Kingdom of Valencia in 1238 — which the Cid had taken in 1095, but which was soon lost — by Jaime I of Aragon (1213-76), the greatest of Aragonese kings as his contemporary Alfonso X (1252-84), called El Sabio, or the Wise, was the greatest of Castilian kings This political dualism of Spain has been a preponderant fact of Spanish history ever since the Middle Ages, and its effects are still acutely visible The union of Aragon and Castile when Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile in 1469 did not obliterate this line of cleavage, for each sovereign remained supreme in his and her kingdom.

Expansion of Aragon

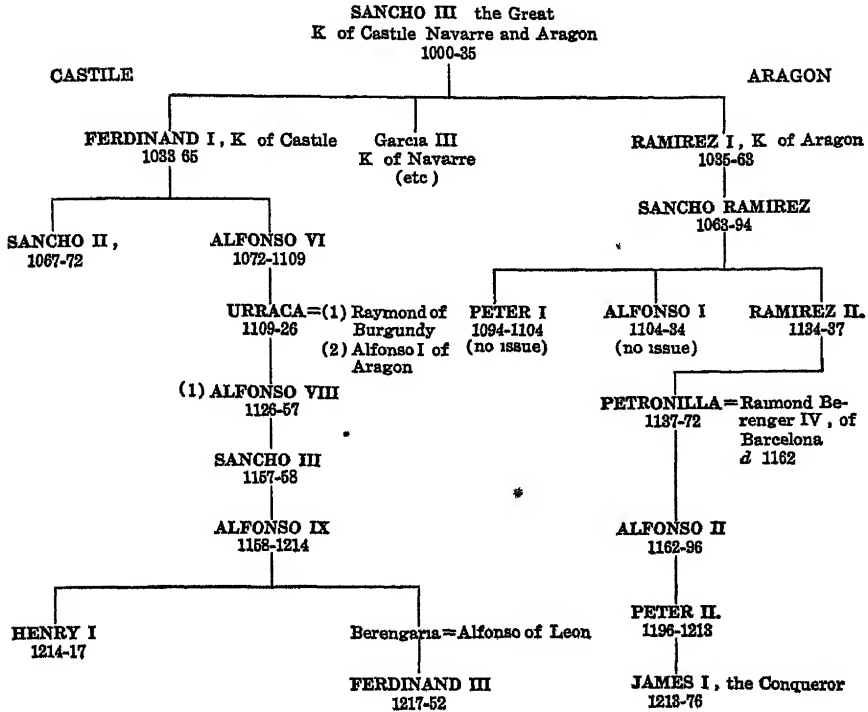
The difficulty in giving and preserving political unity to Spain was and is accentuated by the intensity of provincial differences Every country in Europe exhibits traces of such regional differences which are heritages of the

feudal age¹ In Spain these medieval provincial survivals are very different and very intense Asturias and Galicia, Castile, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia, Estramadura, differ acutely in past history, economic conditions, manners and customs of the people, dialects The Castilian tongue is the purest There is a large ingredient of Arabic in the Spanish language—greater than the element of Norman-French in English Almost every word associated with the soil, with farming implements, with irrigation is Arabic Spanish art and architecture are overlaid with oriental influences, even if the motifs and intention be Christian The dances and music of the Spaniards are distinctly oriental

Arabic ingredients in Spanish culture

¹ Examples *Italy* Romagna, Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Apulia, Calabria *Germany* Franken, Swabia, Bavaria, Saxony, Rhinelands *France* Ile-de-France, Normandy, Brittany, Bourgogne, Champagne, Provence, Languedoc, Gascony

KINGS OF CASTILE AND ARAGON



PORTUGAL

| | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------|------|---|------|
| 1139 | Alfonso Henriques | 1185 | 1385 | John I | 1433 |
| 1185 | Sancho I | 1211 | 1433 | Edward | 1438 |
| 1211 | Alfonso II | 1223 | 1438 | Alfonso V | 1481 |
| 1223 | Sancho II | 1248 | 1481 | John II | 1495 |
| 1248 | Alfonso III | 1279 | 1495 | Emmanuel | 1521 |
| 1279 | Diniz | 1325 | 1521 | John III | 1557 |
| 1325 | Alfonso IV the Brave | 1357 | 1557 | Sebastuan | 1578 |
| 1357 | Pedro I | 1367 | 1578 | Henry | 1580 |
| 1367 | Fernando I | 1383 | | | |
| | <i>Interregnum</i> | | | <i>Portugal united to Spain till 1640</i> | |

CHAPTER XXVI

FEUDALISM THE PEASANTRY AND THE MANOR RISE OF THE TOWNS

In preceding chapters not a little has been written about feudalism, and the student should already have some understanding of its spirit and practice. This chapter will describe the formation and nature of feudalism as a medieval institution of universal extent. *Nature of feudalism* It must be understood, however, that feudalism was not uniform in all countries, but varied from country to country.

Feudalism was a natural stage in the development of European civilization. For the sake of clarity, French feudalism will be singled out, since it reached its highest form in France. Indeed, it may be said that feudalism was France's greatest contribution to medieval history. *French feudalism* Feudalism shares with the Church the distinction of having been the greatest of all medieval institutions. Every great historical institution is composed of several ingredients and is the product of a long process of evolution. Feudalism was the resultant of the fusion of Roman, Christian, German, and Celtic elements, although the weight of these different elements cannot be exactly specified. The last may have been the least important. As to the others, French historians attribute the preponderance to Roman, German historians to German influences.

We may begin with Roman influence. In the fourth and fifth centuries when the Roman Empire was decaying, as has been related in chapter I, rich landed proprietors in the provinces acquired economic and social supremacy, and even usurped the functions of the government, displacing officials of the imperial administration. *Roman influence on feudalism* Private authority more and more supplanted public authority, which is one characteristic of feudalism. These *potentes* (powerful ones) exercised the powers of government privately, they administered justice and imposed and collected taxes. Since the crying need of this age was for protection of person and property, small landowners sought the protection of the strongest man in their neighborhood to whom they "commended" themselves and what property they had. Thus a mutual relation was established between the greater proprietors and lesser proprietors, in which we perceive the lineaments of lordship and vassalage. The strong man needed support, the weak man needed protection. The property relationship was of

Roman origin. But the spirit of vassalage, the idea, if not the exact form, was of Celtic origin. Among the ancient Gauls, as Caesar noticed, the custom of clientage, or of economic and social dependency of small men upon some chieftain among them, obtained. These clients were called *vassi*. It is evident that vassalage when it finally crystallized into a regular practice of the feudal regime, was of double origin, Roman and Celtic, and that "commendation" was the ceremonial link which bound lord and vassal together in this mutual relation.

But what was the status of the lower classes in this new society? It was as under the Later Roman Empire. At the bottom were slaves, above them, but lower down in the social scale, were *servi*, serfs, *coloni*, dependent peasantry, broken freemen, glebemen (or those "bound to the glebe") as heavy workers on the "great farms" (*patrimonia*) of the proprietary aristocracy. The status of *servi* was hereditary from generation to generation, and the origin of the medieval peasantry is found in these ancient lowly. They lived in wattled huts in huddled villages upon the "great farms." Their labor was long and hard.

When the Germans established their kingdoms within the Roman Empire they adopted and continued this incipient feudalism, the crude political, economic, and social regime which they found already there, and with which, indeed, most of them had long been familiar. But the Germans contributed some of their own barbaric institutions to this nascent "feudalism," although we may not yet call it that. Among the Germans also was found a form of vassalage and service. This was the *herzog* or duke, a military chieftain, and his war-band or *comitatus*, as Tacitus, the first Roman writer about the ancient Germans, called it. It is apparent that there is an analogy between this Germanic institution and Celtic clientage, and the late Roman practice of commendation. Yet the resemblances must not be stressed too much, for these three superficially similar institutions differed in origin and content. It was inevitable, however, that by a process of fusion too obscure for us to observe the details, these three practices should amalgamate in process of time.

This amalgamation began in the Merovingian period and was nearly consummated in the Carolingian era. In the former age we find the king surrounded and served by *antrustiones*, i.e., men whom he trusted. These were drawn from among the warriors and constituted a military élite around the king. Again the analogy with the Germanic *comitatus* comes to mind. Karl Martel set his mark upon this nascent feudalism after 732 when he established military-service lands called *benefices*. This benefice-system — after the tenth century benefices were called *fiefs* — combined landed proprietorship, commendation, military service and the Christian idea of fidelity. Charlemagne was the first ruler who laid special stress upon this last quality. Indeed, his chancery may have been the first to coin the word *fidelis*. All nobles and all freemen were

Lower classes

German contribution to feudalism

Origins of feudalism

required to take the oath of fidelity to the king-emperor. It is evident that the ancient *vassi* and the new *fideles* were much alike, if not quite the same. Thus by the end of the Carolingian period it may be said that these diverse elements and practices had become roughly fused into forms which were beginning to assume a pattern. Historically, a fief was a territorial fragment of the Carolingian Empire. The lord of a fief was, above all things, a war-lord. Next to its military nature, the most important characteristic of feudalism was its judicial nature. The fief was a judicial as well as a military unit of territory, the lord of which had jurisdictional rights over every one of his vassals.

This feudal pattern was made up of combined property conditions and personal relations. It included only the noble class which was a landed and military aristocracy. Under the later Carolingians this feudal aristocracy took advantage of the weakness of the kings to *Feudal aristocracy* seize control of government in the counties and provinces of every kingdom of which the empire was composed. France, Italy, Germany, and part of Spain. A swarm of provincial dynasts arose, counts and dukes, who reigned over the fragments of territory into which the Carolingian Empire had been broken, with scant regard for the king, who was reduced to a mere overlord. In time these territories grew into feudal principalities with historic names which still survive.

The feudal state consisted of the king and those lords who owed him fealty and service. The kingdom was the territory comprising the lord's fiefs and the domain lands of the king. The king's direct action was limited to the latter. He had no immediate authority *King and lords* in the fiefs. He could deal directly only with the rulers of the fiefs. The feudal relation was unaffected by the size of the property involved. The land which was originally granted out on a military tenure, or which a freeholder owner found it expedient to convert into a fief by commendation, might be a few acres, or a county, or even a kingdom. Commendation converted the lord into a vassal of a higher lord, and his land into a fief, which he held on feudal tenure, subject to the fulfillment of certain "aids" to his suzerain or overlord. Military service, indeed, was the most important function of the ownership of land, the primary "aid" given by the vassal to the overlord. Other aids were the requirement to contribute to the overlord's ransom in case he was made a prisoner in war, to give money or gifts on the occasion of the knighting of the overlord's eldest son or the marriage of his eldest daughter, to assist him in the administration of justice, and to give him counsel when required.

The feudal baron derived his power from two sources. He represented a fragment of governmental sovereignty which he had established in a given area of territory, and at the same time was a landed proprietor. He might be duke, count, viscount or baron. *Power of the lords* According to his rank he exercised "high," "mean" or "low" justice, but the principle

in each case was that he administered the law of the fief, not the law of the king. This state of things stamped law as a local institution. A lord, whether suzerain or vassal, had the right to be tried by the law of his fief. The law of the fief was the law of the court. Only the clergy and Jews were outside of this law.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries feudalism as a form of government gradually elaborated its institutions, clarified its relations and authorities, and purified itself of the grossest elements and practices. The relation of suzerain and overlord was defined and protected by law and a customary code came into being. The Peace of God and the Truce of God refined feudalism by restraining the worst of its brutalities. Much of the petty warfare in the Middle Ages, "private wars" as they were known, was really of the nature of a "struggle for rights," and is therefore to be distinguished from mere robber baronage, which then as now was criminal violence. Such men were bandits and road-agents.

Before royal authority grew to such strength that it could suppress private war and enforce royal justice through its courts of law, private war was so prevalent that the Church stepped in, as has been shown, and instituted the Peace of God and the Truce of God in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the twelfth century these institutions became obsolete, for then the royal authority everywhere had become strong enough to handle the situation. The "King's Peace," as it was called in France and England, or the "Landfrieden (Land Peace)" in Germany, gradually came to prevail.

Provincial customs (*coutumes*) gave a measure of right and protection even to the peasantry, for public opinion and sometimes the intervention of a suzerain enforced this customary law in event of its infraction by a violent and unjust lord.

At bottom every feudal principality was a miniature state. Lord was bound in the mutual relation of suzerain and vassal, and sometimes subvassal to lord until at the peak of this structure the greatest nobles of all were direct vassals of the king. These were called peers.

One must avoid, however, making this pattern too precise or schematic. The so-called feudal system was never systematic except in theory. If the theory and the practice had ever coincided, and the feudal regime had become a perfectly patterned form of government and social structure, it might have become a "system," but it would have ceased to be living and organic, and Europe would have been ossified. Just because feudalism was a living, working force, it varied constantly, involving new applications, even new forms and adapting itself to new conditions. To use a metaphor, feudalism was not a suit of clothes, cut

and formally shaped to fit men and circumstances, but a general condition fitting the needs of the time. It was not an external condition imposed upon feudal man and to which he had to submit, but an ever-present reality.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries feudalism as a form of government and a civilization reached the zenith of its qualities and potencies. The political theory of feudalism ruled Europe and even penetrated into theology. God was regarded as the supreme overlord (*suzerain*), whose vassals were the emperor and the kings. Into this original political concept the pope insinuated his claim that as vicar of Christ *he* was the immediate overlord of all princes to whom emperors and kings owed homage. This doctrine was first enunciated by Gregory VII (1073-85), affirmed in theory and practice by Innocent III (1198-1216), and terminated only in 1303, with the fall of Boniface VIII, who carried the papal pretensions so far that the liberty of the state required his abasement.

Feudal political theory

The mutual or reciprocal nature of the services rendered by vassal to suzerain and by suzerain to vassal, however much they may have failed of fulfillment sometimes, nevertheless historically represented a new theory of the organization of society. The principle of contract pervaded it. The medieval state was founded on contract. The relation between overlord and vassal was of a contractual nature requiring the performance of specified duties and the enjoyment of certain specified rights on the part of each. In event of failure to execute these duties, or of abuse or denial of these rights the offended party could legally renounce the relation. If a suzerain failed to protect his vassal or treated him unjustly, the vassal could repudiate the contract. For example, military service was limited to forty days; if a lord exacted more, and made the enforcement too burdensome the vassal had the right to renounce his allegiance. On the other hand, a suzerain had the right to compel or restrain a recalcitrant vassal in event of his failure to perform his obligations.

Contract-principle of feudalism

This form of contractual state was medieval history's great contribution to political theory. The implications in it and the evolution of new principles and practices of law and government derived from it have had an immense influence upon history. The right to seek redress of grievances, even to the point of rebellion, as in the cases of the Puritan Revolution in England in the seventeenth century and of our own American Revolution and the Civil War of 1861-65, are examples. Because the weaker goes to the wall in the struggle, is not always proof that the victor is in the right. Feudalism, at least in theory, never admitted that might made right. Henry the Lion was broken by Frederick Barbarossa, but he still has advocates. The Emperor Frederick II was ruined by the papacy, but he still has many partisans among historians. One may find apologists for Philip IV and for Boniface VIII. Whose rights were greater in any of

Feudal political theory

these cases? The conception of responsible kingship, of responsible government, was implicit in feudalism. A corrupt minister could be impeached, a bad king might be deposed or even sent to the scaffold, a dynasty might be displaced, a people might rebel or secede. Of course, in such drastic instances the right to do what was done is not always clear. Victor and vanquished have still their partisans among historians. In addition to the examples already cited, one may mention the deposition of Edward II in 1327, of Richard II in 1399, and of Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria in 1347.

Poets and writers of fiction have made much of chivalry in the Middle Ages. Chivalry and heraldry were of late formation—the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Chivalry was far less important and far less laudable than usually supposed. It was the froth of feudalism, although it stressed courage, loyalty, and courtesy. The knights were loosely associated in adherence to these bonds. The grandiose profession of virtues attributed to the knights were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Knighthood originated in the decadent days of feudalism, and was an exclusive, arrogant, and pretentious caste, without the sense of rights and duties found in the best expression of feudalism. It is significant that knights were universally hated by the people whom they despised and maltreated when they could. The worst of them, since they were landless nobles and dependent upon the largesse of some rich patron, “gained a thievish living on the road,” or were gentlemen-highwaymen.

Heraldry, on the other hand, though practically obsolete today, was of social use in the Middle Ages. It was the art of tracing and recording genealogies, an important function in an age of an hereditary noblesse, when dignity, authority, office, and property passed from father to son, and intermarriage between noble families prevailed. Another art of heraldry was blazonry or the knowledge of armorial bearings or coats of arms. The necessity of such symbols arose when the closed helmet appeared, which wholly concealed a man's face and made his identification impossible without some identifying device. Medieval fancy ingeniously devised all sorts of curious and grotesque symbols, especially during the crusades, when lions, leopards, dragons, griffins were introduced along with studied geometrically formed patterns. These insignia were affixed to the shield, the surface of which was parcelled into “quarters,” which were filled with the arms of as many of the owner's ancestors as could find room. The Emperor Charles V had seventy-two quarters on his shield. The language of both chivalry and heraldry was French, as one might expect. Color as well as forms played a large part in heraldry and the employment of it was subject to rigid rules. The favorite colors or “tinctures” were blue (*azure*), red (*gules*, so called from the blood-color of the inside of the throat; compare the word *gullet*), green (*vert*) and purple (*purpure*). Heraldic devices for shields were generally made of gold or silver, but other metals sometimes

were used. When these devices were worn on clothing they were made of gold and silver thread and fur, especially ermine or sable.

The division of medieval society into orders, or according to status, was clearly defined. The duty of churchmen was to maintain the worship of God, to sustain divine service, and to administer the sacraments of the Church unto men. The duty of the noblesse was *Status* to rule and govern, to preserve peace within and repel invasion from without. The feudal regime pertained to and concerned only the noble class, among which the high clergy were included, when the Church also became feudalized. Bishops and abbots were fief-holders and liable to do military service. The duty of the common people, the peasantry, which before the twelfth century was almost wholly composed of the servile and villein class, was to work for the support of the two privileged orders. This conception of a tripartite society was expressed in the rhyme

Oratores — those who pray (from Latin *orare*, to pray)

Bellatores — those who make war

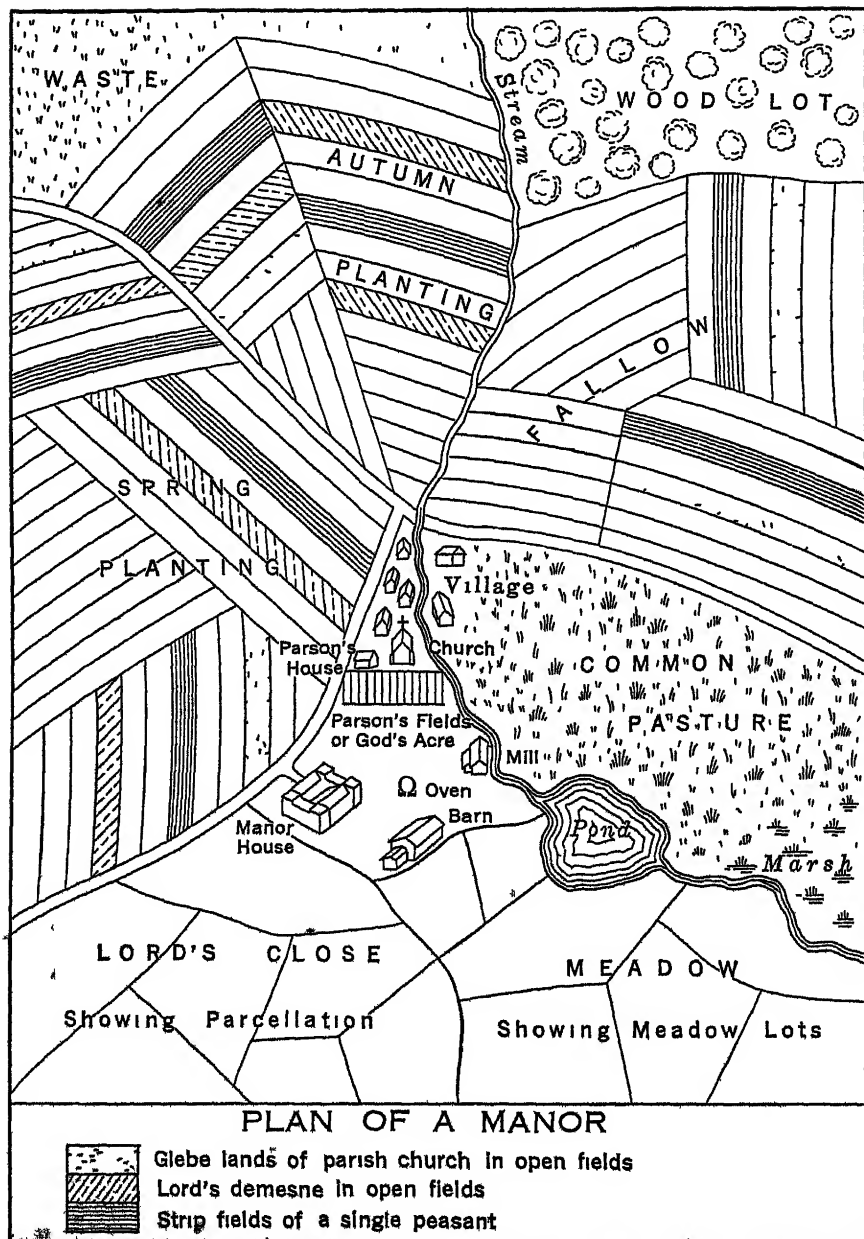
Laboratores — those who labor

Status meant the civil standing and social grade to which a person belonged, it was a legal condition. From it the word "estate" is derived. The First Estate was the clergy, the Second Estate was the nobility, the Third Estate was the common people.

The medieval peasantry was historically descended from the slave and servile classes of the later Roman Empire, which blurred together more and more in the early Middle Ages. Slavery diminished because serfdom tended to pull the slave up rather than slavery to *Peasantry* pull the serf down. A slave was a chattel,¹ but a serf had rights of a minimum sort, at least. The originally Roman servile class was augmented when the Germans invaded and occupied the provinces of the Roman Empire. For there were slaves and serfs among them, too. All over western Europe a blending of different stocks and customs took place. Thus in time not a uniform but a relatively similar condition of status and customs came to prevail, governing the life and conduct of the common people.

Since medieval economy was almost entirely based on agriculture, the medieval peasant was a farm-laborer. The feudal regime was built upon the manor, which was the basic political, social, and economic *The manor* unit in medieval civilization, it was the "constitutive cell" of medieval society. The manor was a "great farm" on which from one to several villages were to be found, peopled by a dependent peasantry. A group of manors owned by one lord formed a barony. It was a miniature state. Men in the same manor dwelt together, tilled the land together, used the

¹ Care must be taken to distinguish between slavery and the slave-trade. The latter lasted all through the Middle Ages, and well down into the nineteenth century.



same succession of crops, had the same local customs, and were subject to the same court of law, that of the lord of the manor. The structure of this village community was intricate, and historically was a blend of Roman and local conditions and customs.

The land in each village consisted of three parts — the arable fields, the meadow lands, and the common "waste." Each occupier of land had rights of pasturing his cattle, gathering fuel, etc., on the waste, but when these wants were provided for, the remainder of the *Village fields* waste and its produce belonged to the lord of the manor. The right of cutting grass on each strip of meadow was apportioned, in many cases by lot, among the different occupiers of land, unless they were mere cottars who owned no cattle at all.

The importance and the difficulty of this subject lies in connection with the arable land. In the early Middle Ages this was divided into two parts, half being cultivated and half being left fallow each year, so that agriculture was an alternation of Field-Fallow, Fallow-Field. This was the Two-field system. Later on — its beginning is discernible in the eighth century — the Three-field system was developed. The arable was divided into three parts, Spring Planting Ground, Autumn Planting Ground, and the Fallow. The discovery that winter wheat might be grown as well as summer wheat, is one of the most important progressive steps in history, almost second only to the use of fire and of iron. Besides wheat, rye, oats, pease, beans, and root vegetables were grown. Thus we find alternation of tillage and rotation of crops in combination. *Arable land*

Every householder or man with family had allotted to him a number of strips in each of the three fields. These strips were roughly four rods wide and forty rods long, and represented the amount of soil which a team of oxen could plough in a morning's work, for at noon *Strips of farm land* the oxen had to be turned out to grass. Hence this area was called "ploughland" or a "virgate" and in Germany a "morgenland" (morn-ing-land). Whether called ploughland or morgenland or virgate, the area was a modern acre (from Latin *ager*, ploughed land). Some of the oldest and simplest lineal measurements were derived from this rural economy. The word virgate came from *virga*, an ox-goad, which was used by the ploughman as a means of measurement, hence the rod, which varied from twelve to sixteen feet. Similarly the word furrow comes from furrow-long, i.e., forty rods. The total number of strips in each of the three-fields owned by one man constituted his "farm." Unlike a modern farm which is usually formed of contiguous fields, a medieval peasant's farm was widely scattered. Many examples of these "strip" farms survive in nearly every country in Europe. There may have been a certain fairness in this system, as it rendered the ground of each owner equal to that of his neighbors, not only in area, but in quality and "lay" of the land, but it entailed great inconvenience. The

usual size of the total holdings of each villager was from thirty to forty acres, but it is obvious that there must have been great difficulties and loss of time in working thirty acres which consisted of sixty parts or more, some of which may have been situated a mile or two away from others. Two oxen or the fourth part of a team was the share of stock which each holder of thirty acres required. The lord of the manor might or might not have additional teams for ploughing his demesne.

These strip-fields were not fenced, but were distinguished from the two adjacent strips by a ribbon of unploughed land or by balks or ridges between furrows. Hence they were known as "open fields." The cattle grazed on the meadow after the hay was gathered and on the stubble after the harvest. In winter they were confined to byres and fed on straw and tree-lopings if the hay was exhausted towards the end of winter. Old nursery jungles preserve reminiscences of this medieval rural life, as

Ridges between furrows

Little boy blue, come blow your horn

The sheep are in the meadow, the cows in the corn

"Comin' through the rye" recalls the time when the bands of turf between the field-strips were used as paths by the villagers.

The fact that the meadow, the woods, and the waste — which furnished stone and gravel — were enjoyed in common has led some historians rashly to infer a communistic origin and organization of the ancient village community, which was destroyed during the feudal regime. This is not true. The ownership of these tracts might be of a community nature, but use was in severalty, as is shown by the quartering of the meadow for hay and the number of cattle permitted to graze in pasture. Finally, the ownership of the strips in severalty, many peasants owning a few strips each, and a few richer peasants owning many strips, proves the private ownership of farming land from the beginning. But much labor in the village was done co-operatively, especially in time of ploughing and harvest. There might be only one plough in the village to the use of which several peasants would contribute an ox or oxen. Eight oxen usually made a plough-team.

Village community co operation

Part of the arable fields, or some of the strips, belonged to the lord of the manor and formed his "demesne"¹ or "inland." But perhaps more frequently the lord's demesne was in a separate block which the tenantry had to plough and sow and harvest for him as part-payment of their rents. The lord owned the village, the peasantry were perpetual tenants; it was only in theory sense that peasants "owned" the strips they farmed. They might change ownership by purchase or gift or inheritance among the villagers, but the new owners merely acquired a right of tenancy in place of the former occupants. The peasant's farm, in other words, was a

Peasant tenure

¹ Not to be confused with "domain," which was the sum of the lord's manors

tenure and he himself was a tenant. He did not hold the tenure (from Latin, *tenere*, to hold), however — the tenure held him! He was bound to the soil as a serf and compelled to pay rent in labor and in produce. He dared not default this rent in services. For the lord might have him flogged or more severely punished in body and limb, and even cast him out, in which event the evicted tenant became a vagabond. The woods and forests in the Middle Ages sometimes were infested with such outcasts, who, by necessity, became thieves and robbers. Slave dealers were keen to pick up such refugees whom they deported to Mohammedan countries. Most of the population of a medieval village was servile. But some might be villeins, who were a stage higher than serfs, since they held their tenures according to stipulated terms, instead of being subject to the variable and sometimes whimsical or brutal exactions of the lord (*tailable à merci*). Above the villeins were free tenants, leaseholders who were free to go when they had fulfilled the contract or the lease had expired. Villein-tenures and leaseholds were cut out of the lord's demesne and may have been more profitable to the lord in this way than when worked by reluctant serfs.

The lord rarely administered his estates (manors) directly but managed them through a bailiff or steward, who was frequently himself a serf of higher intellectual capacity. These bailiffs often were bullies and petty tyrants, and many of the complaints and abuses of the manorial regime may be traced back to them, the lord *Bailiffs as manorial administrators* was sometimes uninformed of such abuses until he learned about them through a revolt of his tenantry. There are occasional instances of general and formidable peasant revolts which were suppressed brutally and bloodily. The earliest example mentioned was in Normandy in 997. When these general risings are analyzed, one finds injustice and economic exploitation to be commingled with emotional and visionary phenomena, such as the Peasants' Crusade in 1096 and the Pastoureaux in France in 1251.

In addition to being an economic and social unit of smallest dimension, a manor was a miniature political entity, a barony, or cluster of domains, was a small state, and as such, a source of revenue to the lord. *Lords revenues* Another species of income arose from banalités. These were local monopolies. The lord owned the local bake-oven, the mill, the brewery, the market (if the village were large enough to have one), and compelled the inhabitants to use these, for which he exacted a toll.

Sentimentalists have dwelt at length upon the hardship of the medieval peasant's life. But primitive circumstances are not hardships when no better form of living is known. Poor peasants lived in hovels, but better-class ones had real though simple cottages. Millions of *Peasants' lives not wretched* people today live in wretched unsanitary houses or slums in spite of modern "improvements" in light and heat and plumbing. The peasants' work was hard and unrelenting. But much work of that sort is

still required today in spite of modern machinery and power-driven tools

The peasant's food was limited to a few grains and fruits, meat was scarce and local famines sometimes occurred. But the diet of the poor today is also restricted

In some respects the condition of the medieval peasant was better than that of many of the working classes now. He worked in the open air instead of crowded factories, and did not suffer from unemployment

*Condition of
peasants*

Who ever heard of a farmer who had nothing to do? In wintertime when he cannot work in the fields, the farmer makes and mends tools and harness, and does chores. Every serf had a right to demand a fair measure of subsistence. The condition of cultivation limited the number of villeins who could be profitably used. Accordingly, as population increased, there was an inclination for the free tenants to increase in numbers more rapidly than the villeins. In cases where there was so much land under cultivation that no more could be cut out of the demesne, the holdings of the villeins could only be multiplied by subdivision. Serfs and villeins and cottars were a liability and not an asset to a manor if they were so numerous that they could not all be employed or fed. But there was no similar check on free tenants or leaseholders. The conditions and occupations of these latter were very diverse. Some of them might have large holdings, on long leases — even so much as for three lives, others were village artisans who perhaps had learned their trade in town as apprentices, but found more remunerative employment in a village than in a town, others might have been mere day-laborers. It is not hard to understand the place which these last occupied in the economy of a manor. They may have sometimes proved to be a cheaper method of carrying on cultivation than when the lord depended on servile labor for the exploitation of his estate.

It has been said that a manor was a miniature state of which the lord was ruler. But he was not an absolute ruler, for he was controlled by customary

*Manorial lords'
power*

law beyond which he might not go without restraint either by his neighbors of similar authority or, in flagrant cases, by his overlord. On the continent this condition was general. In England there was but a meagre amount of self-government in the manor, a situation that was destined to be of immense influence in the development of the English government, this, indeed, distinguishes England institutionally from the continent more than the English Parliament does. In medieval England the villagers might be jurors or suitors in the manor court over which the lord himself or his steward presided. But the lord was not a judge, he recorded the decisions, but he did not give them, it was the serfs or villeins themselves who exercised the right of framing judgments. The jurors and suitors themselves were the court. Thus in medieval England — but not on the continent — a certain degree of political freedom was preserved, even among the lowest classes of feudal society. The interpretation of the lawyers

and the influence of the royal courts tended to debase this right and to maintain that the only judge of a customary court was the lord or his steward. But nevertheless the right was never wholly destroyed and the germ of English freedom and self-government was thus obscurely preserved.

In conclusion of this subject of the peasantry and the manor, a word should be said in regard to the influence of forests upon life in the Middle Ages. As the population of Europe increased, and it did so rapidly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the forests were invaded *Influence of forests* and swamps drained in the search for new land. Many place-names in Germany, France, and England point to a forest origin.¹

It requires an effort of the imagination to realize the historical and physical importance of the medieval forests. The big forests—the Anderida in England was 120 miles in length and 30 in breadth—retarded the advance of the Saxons for over a hundred years. The forests checked expansion, separated communities, influenced rainfall and climate, harbored savage beasts, were the abodes of robbers, deterred stock-raising, furnished game to eat, fuel to burn, and timber to build with. The forests of Europe today are mere shrunken remnants of these great tracts. The British bear seems to have become extinct before the Norman Conquest. For it is very doubtful whether the bear which the people of Norwich once sent to Edward the Confessor was a native animal. The wolf lingered until a later date in England, dying out apparently in the reign of Henry VII about 1500. The last wildcat in England was not killed until 1853. To supervise the forests a host of officials were appointed—woodwards, and verderers with charge over “vert and venison”, forest courts sat at irregular intervals to try cases in violation of the forest laws. Everywhere the forests were game preserves for the kings and the nobles, and the penalties for poaching were terribly cruel.

The condition of nearly universal serfdom began to change in the eleventh century, at first slowly, but rapidly in the twelfth century. If numbers of people be considered, the rise of the towns was the most important event in medieval history. Its history, it has been *Rise of towns* finely said, is “the biography of the common people.” The town movement was at once a social, an economic, and ultimately a political revolution. A new class, the burgher or bourgeois class, emerged from serfdom, trade, commerce, and industry grew rapidly so that the economy of Europe was no longer almost exclusively agricultural. The newly risen bourgeoisie, whose ancestors had been a farming peasantry and dwelt on rural manors, forsook the country and lived in towns on the profits of trade.

These towns were a purely medieval development. The ancient Roman

¹ Examples in English are place-names ending in *holt*, *hurst*, *chart*, *royd*, *wold*, *field*, i.e., a place where trees have been felled. *Chart* means charred, *royd* means ridded. In German are *hagen* or hewn, *rade* or ridded, *brand* or burned, *ried* or moor-swamp.

municipia had perished in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true that the sites of these ancient *municipia* were still occupied by denser agglomerations of people than found in the countryside, but the inhabitants were serfs of the local ruling bishop or noble, not free citizens. Still, even in the Dark Ages, there were towns of a sort, where products, made by serfs, were sold at the market, which products were owned by the local lord. Such "towns" were pitifully small — only a few thousand in the very largest places like Cologne, Milan, Paris, London. The importance of the new town revolution, however, is not to be measured by the growth of population in the old towns, but in the increase in the number of new towns.

How did these new towns arise? For answer we must go back to the ninth and tenth centuries, the most violent period of the Middle Ages when strong government had dissolved. At that time the nobles built castles to protect their lands, Burgwarde, blockhouses, and fortresses, were erected in the North to defend the land from Norsemen and Hungarians, and in the South against Saracen marauders, the ruined walls of ancient Roman cities began to be repaired, monasteries ringed themselves around with walls for the sake of protection. Naturally the greater security of life and property in these fortified places attracted not only the surrounding population, but also pedlars and travelling merchants, while at the same time local artisans and local dealers sprang up in the new community. Every such town had its market, weekly or monthly. This new class which had risen out of serfdom, and lived by trade and industry instead of by farming, was formed of burghers or bourgeois, the words being a derivative of the old German word *Burg*, or fort.

The feudal noble drew the necessities of subsistence from his manors. It was usually necessary for him to import salt, iron, and millstones only. But he was not content therewith. He and his family wanted silks and spices and sugar and tapestries, and these articles were luxuries which had to be imported from the Orient. Travelling merchants, most of them Syrians and oriental Jews or Greeks, supplied these. Accordingly the feudal nobles were friendly to the merchant class. At the same time the nobles increased their revenue by requiring payment for protection of the merchants and their wares, by exacting rent for stalls in a wing or compound of the castle. Monastic chroniclers give little of this information, but the popular literature, especially the *chansons de geste*, are replete with evidence, and we have descriptions of the excitement in a castle when some merchant arrived with a string of packhorses — wheeled travel was unknown until the fourteenth century when roads began to be improved — and undid his bales before the eager eyes of delicate ladies, stalwart nobles, and astonished peasants. In the *Chevalier de Coucy* there is a story of a lover who in despair of seeing his mistress in any other way, disguised himself

as a merchant and so was able to see her. In a previous chapter it has been related that the father of St. Francis was an itinerant silk merchant from Assisi whose comings and goings among the châteaux of France were so eagerly awaited. In time the volume of trade so increased in western Europe that greater markets or fairs sprang up, for example, in Champagne where the river-system favored traffic and where the Counts of Champagne were liberal and enlightened rulers.

This transition antedated the crusades. But that great upheaval accelerated the town movement by uprooting masses of the peasantry from their manorial environment and by stimulating commerce and trade. Thousands of serfs ran away and took refuge in these new communities, living as they could, so that manorial proprietors everywhere found it necessary to ameliorate the condition of their serfs in order to keep them on the manor. The most progressive among the lords emancipated their serfs, not for any humanitarian reason, but because they found that it paid. It was cheaper to pay daily wages to free laborers when urgent work was necessary, as in spring and summer, than to carry ill-paid serfs through the winter when there was little work to be done. A serf was entitled to subsistence on the manor, while a free laborer was not, and had to live on what he earned from day to day. It does not follow, however, that all manorial lords were thus liberal. The social revolution was not to their liking. Many were hostile to these changes, which they could not understand, and conservatively clung to past practices, even when they were being gradually impoverished by obstinate adherence to old ways. The clergy in particular were unwilling to yield to the new tendencies because they were the largest landowners, and accordingly hundreds of abbots and many bishops found it necessary to mortgage their lands, they got into debt, and fell into the hands of money-lenders. Kings and nobles, too, fell into the same ditch. The antagonism against money-lenders, who, for religious and political reasons, happened to be Jews, was acutely manifested in the thirteenth century and was fundamentally due to economic resentment. A cheap way not to pay debts was to exile the debtors, destroy the notes and mortgages, and seize their property.

Crusades stimulate town growth

In time, however, the more enlightened and liberal princes and nobles yielded to the unavoidable, and planted small towns in their territories called "new towns," or *villes nouvelles*, to which they attracted settlers by liberal franchises. When it was found to be profitable, the practice of building such new towns rapidly spread.

Planting of new towns

The burgher revolution, it will be seen, was of a triple nature. At first it was an economic, a commercial, and an industrial revolution, then a social revolution, and finally it became a political revolution. It is true that in some measure all three of these changes were simultaneous and phenomena of one period may be found

Triple Bourgeois revolution

in another period. But in general the revolution ran through these three successive changes. By political revolution is meant the determination of the people of the towns to cast off the last shackles of feudal lordship over them, whether of noble or bishop or abbot, and to govern themselves. It was this issue which was most bitterly fought. The long conflict of Frederick Barbarossa, supported by the bishops and great nobles, with the Lombard cities in the twelfth century, is the chief example of this conflict. But all over western Europe this struggle may be observed. By the end of the twelfth century the town movement everywhere was successful, although not always and everywhere in the same degree. It was most successful in Lombardy and Germany, less so in Flanders, and least in France, where the towns always remained under rigid royal authority.

The town charter was the outward, visible sign of the town's independence and at the same time the instrument of its government. Some of these charters were so excellent that they were imitated by other towns, so that "families" of towns are found, all of them having the same form. In general, town government everywhere was similar, with much local difference in details. Every free city had its city hall (*Hôtel de Ville*, *Rathaus*), a mayor, a board of aldermen, its own police force and law courts, each town levied and collected taxes without reference to any higher political authority.

The town wall was the most important thing about the town, for on its maintenance the liberty of the community reposed. As the town grew in population, the area inside of the wall was insufficient to hold all, the overflow settled on the outside, forming an external quarter or *faubourg*.¹ In time the first wall was demolished and another wall built to enclose this outside population. This happened at least three times in the case of every large city. The space occupied by the old wall was converted into streets. The maps of Paris, Vienna, Munich, and many other cities, still show these stages of expansion in the concentric arrangement of their streets.

Prosperous cities vied with one another in the magnificence of their municipal buildings, often to the anger of the local clergy who were proud of the biggest church in the community. The danger of fire, since almost all buildings were made of wood, was very great, so that by slow degrees and after disastrous conflagrations, all important structures were required to be built of stone or brick. Dwelling-houses were of stone in the lower courses and of mixed plaster and timber above. The houses were high — for that time — since the area within the wall was limited, and to make more rooms in a house it was a common practice to

¹ The French form of German *Pfalzburg*, a *burg* enclosed with a fence of stakes or pales, medieval Latin chroniclers called this agglomerated population under the town wall *suburbium* and its inhabitants *suburbani*.

have each floor above the ground jut out over the street, so that the street would be arcaded. Berne in Switzerland, one of the most medieval cities in Europe, is a striking example of such practice. The streets were generally narrow and crooked, and except in front of the chief church, the city hall and the market square, unpaved, they were dusty in summer and foul with mud in winter, and this condition was augmented by the garbage and slops, which were thrown into the streets where hogs and dogs were the only scavengers. The problems of sewage and pure water supply and street lighting were of modern, not medieval solution.

Since the medieval cities grew up out of commerce and industry, a new kind of law, the "Law Merchant," gradually developed for the conduct of business, since feudal law was inapplicable to the new conditions. Merchant and craft guilds were the medieval solution *Gilds* for regulation of business. There were separate guilds for every kind of merchant and every sort of craftsman. The richest and most influential of the guilds were the mercers or silk merchants, woollen merchants, jewelers and goldsmiths, armorers, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and other dealers in comestibles. Lesser or lower guilds were those of carders, fullers, dyers in the cloth trade, skinners, tawers, leather-workers, ironmongers, carpenters. While the guilds did much to preserve the quality of goods and of manufacture, and were also a species of medieval lodge or insurance association, in some other respects their practices were detrimental. In order to prevent monopoly, they differentiated commerce and trade too narrowly. In order to eliminate competition they limited the amount of capital, the number of apprentices and other employees, and the output of every guildsman, they also regulated prices. Finally the richer members of the guilds excluded all others in it, and converted the guild into a small and close corporation, a limited company. Thus the guilds became capitalistic corporations and the line was drawn hard and fast between the rich and the poor, the employer class and the employee class. In short, the feud between capital and labor arose in the fourteenth century, with all the problems of strikes and lock-outs, low wages, long hours of work under unhygienic conditions, and unemployment.

The greater guilds also instituted a political change in the cities. Only members of these organizations were allowed to vote or to hold office. The common people were shut out from any political activity. The medieval city was far from being democratic. The *Town patriciate* bourgeoisie merely constituted another class in society — the patriciate, below the nobles but above the common people in town and country alike. From business this patriciate branched out into real estate. These patricians owned most of the city lots and the buildings thereon, and leased them for high rents. The lower working classes, for the most part, lived in the *faubourgs*. Since the patricians controlled the government of the town, they naturally spared themselves taxes as much as possible and imposed them on others.

who had no voice in town affairs. This explains why so many taxes were imposed upon comestibles: the *octroi* was the commonest tax to be found in a town. The poor had to eat and would always pay for food, hence taxes on food stuffs were the steadiest and most profitable for the patrician-ruled city.

The sovereigns of Europe in time awoke to the realization that in this rich and influential bourgeois class they had a weapon which they might use against the feudality with which every king was in silent or open conflict. Many sons of rich burghers, instead of continuing in their fathers' business or trade, studied law or medicine, and thus created a new professional class which the kings were not slow to employ. While army officers were nobles, civil offices fell increasingly into the hands of men of bourgeois ancestry, the ablest or most fortunate of whom became legists, counsellors, ministers of the kings. This phenomenon appeared most clearly in France under Philip IV, the most progressive, the most modern monarch of his time (ca. 1300). Under him the more brilliant members of this upper middle class were admitted into the ranks of the nobility, or rather were elevated into a new kind of nobility. Thus *noblesse de robe* was a nobility of great administrative officials very different from the old feudal and military aristocracy. Titles and lands were showered upon them. This new nobility did not dwell in the country but in the city — though some of these nobles might have country houses, which first appeared in Italy and France in the fourteenth century. "They remained country-shy and war-shy." Even before the Renaissance the most cultivated of these new-rich nobles displayed a zeal for culture: they patronized painters and collected books and were fond of music.

*Royal officials of
Bourgeois origin*

CHAPTER XXVII

MEDIEVAL CULTURE

In some of the previous chapters certain paragraphs have attempted to characterize the general nature and content of the culture of the early centuries of the Middle Ages. The student's attention has been called to the important cultural transition which took place in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. This was a time when Christianity supplanted paganism. Classical literature was replaced by Christian literature, Greek and Roman science, architecture, and art declined, except in the East, education was bent to wholly ecclesiastical ends, and secular schools disappeared in the West, except in Italy, where vestiges of old Roman education still survived. By about 700 A.D. the only bright intellectual spot in western Europe was England where the combination of Irish, Roman and Anglo-Saxon learning produced a vivid literary and artistic culture of which Aldhelm of Malmesbury (died 716) and Bede of Jarrow (died 735) were the greatest exponents. This Anglo-Irish learning was brought to the continent by English missionaries, notably by St. Boniface (died 755). Then came the Carolingian Renaissance when Charlemagne, inspired by English influence, called Alcuin (died 804), the most learned man of the age, from York under whose direction a great educational and literary and artistic revival was initiated. The Carolingian Renaissance was the first attempt to systematize classical and neo-medieval, Latin and German, pagan and Christian elements into an integrated culture. Carolingian culture was deeply injured when the empire of Charlemagne dissolved in the ninth century and a recurrence of barbarism ensued, owing to the invasions of the Norsemen and the Magyars; but it carried on, though with diminished vigor. Alcuin's intellectual heir was Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, who was "the master of them that know" for the next generation. His greatest pupil was Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (died 877). In Germany the shining places were Fulda, St. Gall, Reichenau, and Constance, in France Rheims, Paris, Chartres, and Auxerre; in Italy Pavia in the north and Salerno in the south — the only place in the West where Greek culture was to be found.

Until the tenth century the monasteries had been the chief places of education. Then the cathedral schools began to compete with the monasteries and soon surpassed them. The monasteries had become closed schools from which all students were excluded, except oblates or young monks still in their novitiate, whereas the cathedral schools were

open even to those not studying for holy orders. This change first became general in Germany in the Saxon epoch, and is a primary phenomenon of the Saxon Renaissance initiated by Otto the Great's brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne (died 966). From Cologne the movement for episcopal schools spread up and down the Rhine and into Saxony where the schools of Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Bremen became famous. The first great product of German art was the bronze doors of Hildesheim Cathedral adorned with sixteen reliefs, illustrating the Fall and the Redemption, which were moulded and cast in 1015, under Bishop Bernward.

France's intellectual revival stemmed from Hincmar of Rheims. His greatest successor was Gerbert (984-999) whom Otto III appointed to the papacy as Sylvester II (999-1002). He was the most learned man and the most brilliant teacher in medieval Europe before the twelfth century. He even had some knowledge of Arabic. When Gerbert left Rheims for Rome, the torch of knowledge in France passed to Chartres, where Fulbert, Gerbert's ablest pupil, was bishop. The school of Chartres from 1000 to 1150 was the most brilliant intellectual seat in western Europe. From it came a long series of eminent scholars and teachers who spread abroad the ideas and the methods of what may be called the "new education." When one considers that the Bible was the ultimate source of authority and that the Church in fear of heresy rigorously suppressed independent thought, the boldness of some of these masters of Chartres is astonishing. William of Conches challenged the whole account of Creation in Genesis and asked: Why was light created on the first day, and the stars on the fourth? Why was the moon called one of the two great lights, when it was far smaller than any of the planets or the earth? Why were birds and reptiles said to have issued from the sea, and quadrupeds from the land? Questions like these were more startling in that age than Darwin's theory of evolution was in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Gradually the best teachers and scholars drifted to the French capital. The most eminent of these Paris teachers were William of Champeaux, Roscellinus, and Abelard, all of whom had studied at Chartres; they numbered their pupils by hundreds. Theology and philosophy were the two chief subjects of instruction and debate at this time. St. Augustine was dominant in the first field, Plato in the second.

For centuries medieval thought had tried to harmonize Greek philosophy with Christian teaching with much argument and little success. Since philosophy is based on reason and the Christian religion on revelation, it was difficult to reconcile them. The chief points of debate were predestination, free-will, and transubstantiation. The first and second were as old as Augustine. But the doctrine of transubstantiation was new. It was first proclaimed by Paschasius Robertus, a ninth-century monk, but attracted little attention until the eleventh century. The

France's intellectual revival

Paris schools

Philosophy and theology

very nature and efficacy of the mass were involved in the issue, which was raised by Berenger of Tours

Two schools of philosophy arose out of this controversy early in the twelfth century — the realists and the nominalists. The former contended that knowledge stemmed from general "universals" which were final entities. In the world of things as well as in the world of ideas everything was finally and formally one. These universal essences, by receiving certain "accidents" or properties, which are mere contingent attributes and not part of their essential nature, form individuals, whether persons or things or ideas. For example, Between all animals there is an essential identity through the element or essence "animal," and this universal essence, by receiving "humanness-*humanitas*," or "cowness-*vacetas*" or "horseness-*equitas*," becomes man or cow or horse. The world, to the realist, is made up of universal elements or essences, all of which may finally be reduced to one universal entity, namely God. Thus philosophically speaking, ideas and realities are one, logically, universals and particulars are one. On the other hand, the nominalists contended that the names given to general classes, e.g. man, cows, horses, or attributes and qualities attached to things, were only *nomina* — mere names and abstractions, describing the common characteristics of anything founded on observation of various individuals. Scholastic philosophy held that not only was theology the science of God but that it also was the science of man and of reason, and hence the science of law and government. There were affinities between realism and Platonism and between nominalism and Aristotelianism.

Realists and nominalists

The rigor of the reasoning on both sides was carried so far that formal logic became not only an instrument for argumentation, but almost an end in itself. The first great realistic philosopher — and theologian, for the two were inseparable in the Middle Ages — was Anselm of Canterbury (died 1109), who sought to prove the existence of God and the mysteries of the Christian religion by rationalistic argument, especially in his book on the Atonement, "Why God became Man (*Cur Deus homo*)". Anselm founded the scholastic philosophy. This was not altogether a system of logic-chopping and hair-splitting, nor was the controversy between realism and nominalism a mere war of words. "He who has given his answer to it has implicitly constructed his theory of the Universe."¹

Scholastic philosophy

In this great controversy, at once theological and philosophical, the Church inclined to realism. St. Bernard routed Abelard, not because he had the best of the argument but because he had the authority of the Church behind him. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (1164) clinched St. Bernard's arguments and assured the victory of orthodoxy. But it was a barren triumph. For about 1200 the philosophical

Aquinas synthesizes medieval thought

¹ H. Rashdall, *The Rise of the Universities*, I, 38.

works of Aristotle became known through the medium of Latin translations of Arabic translations from the original Greek, together with the ideas of the great philosopher Averroes (ca 1149–ca 1200), a Spanish Arabian of Cordova. The authority of Aristotle soon became so great in the medieval universities that the Church, while it would not retreat from its realistic theology, was compelled to attempt to harmonize realist and nominalist views, and to reconcile Aristotelianism with orthodoxy. Mixing oil and water was child's play compared with such an effort. This intellectual feat was accomplished beyond all expectation of success by St Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), a Dominican, born in a little town in the Campania. St Thomas was the greatest Christian thinker since St Augustine, and has never been superseded. He taught at the University of Paris. His *Summa Theologiae* “remains to this day the most comprehensive and complete of all expositions of the Catholic system,” and one of the great products of the human mind. The *Summa* marked the apex of medieval thought. In the fourteenth century scholasticism began to decline when Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, both Englishmen, made logic an end and not a means of thinking, and taught that the conclusions of logic were as valid as actuality, in other words, what was true for thought was true for things, that correct *à priori* reasoning was as capable of ascertaining as observation, reflection, and experience. In the early nineteenth century Hegel, the German philosopher, taught much the same thing.

Besides this current of theological and philosophical thought, there were two other streams of ideas. One in the field of medicine and the other in law.

Medicine and law The tradition of Greek medicine had been transplanted from Constantinople to southern Italy — for it must be remembered that the Italian provinces of Apulia and Calabria belonged to the Byzantine Empire until they were conquered by the Normans — and under their sway a medical school of renown sprang up at Salerno. The theory which attributes the rise of the Salernitan school of medicine to the introduction of Arabic medical learning by Constantine Africanus, a Christian author who had long lived in Tunis, and was the first translator of Arabian medical works, must be rejected. For the physicians of Salerno were famous long before Constantine was born. Salernitan medicine does not exhibit the slightest trace of Arabic influence. As for law, the centre of Roman law studies was at Bologna. This revival was stimulated by the conflict between the Emperor Frederick I and Pope Alexander III, both of whom based their claims to universal authority upon the Roman law. Moreover, the Lombard cities found Roman law more applicable to their revived commerce and trade than feudal law, which had sprung from and was applicable to an agricultural society, such as was found in all western Europe before the twelfth century.

Out of this ferment of thought emerged a new system of education. The universities were not only institutions of a higher learning, but they differed

from the earlier schools in method of education and form of organization. In Italy and the south of France, where Roman traditions were very strong, the word "universitas" corresponded to the word "gild" to signify any sort of group united together for a specified purpose. The earliest groups of masters and students were regarded as a sort of gild and their association was called a "universitas." In time the word became an exclusive term confined to the new education. Such a group was formed in one of two ways. A distinguished master might collect a body of students around him to whom he lectured, and charged fees for his lectures, or a number of students might combine and hire some teacher to lecture to them. In either case the "universitas" was a voluntary organization.

New system of education

The Church which had had exclusive direction of education for centuries past looked with suspicion upon this new development and soon sought to control the movement. Accordingly the bishops required teaching licenses of the masters, prescribed the subjects taught, introduced examinations and degrees, and in general regulated the new education. The precedent was established that only the pope could charter a university. The first chartered university was that of Paris about 1200, followed in order by Oxford, Cambridge, Montpellier and Salamanca. In the fourteenth century many more were founded. Prague was established in 1347, Heidelberg, the earliest university in Germany, in 1386.

Papacy regulates education

A medieval college was not a separate educational institution like a college of to-day, but a corporate part of a university. Every great university was a federation of colleges for the number of students increased so greatly that both for convenience of housing and of instruction, separate organizations had to be formed. Each college had its own lecture halls, dormitories, library, faculty, and students. Such colleges often were founded by private persons, bishops, nobles, rich bourgeois, for charitable purposes. The Sorbonne at Paris was established by Robert Sorbon, the chaplain and confessor of King Louis IX in 1257. This collegiate university form was abolished everywhere in Europe during or after the French Revolution. The only universities still preserving a medieval form are Oxford which has twenty-three colleges, and Cambridge which has nineteen.

Medieval colleges

Independently of this college organization, the student body was distinguished into separate national groups, French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, etc. For the medieval student was wont to migrate from university to university and rarely acquired all his education in a single place. The rivalry, even animosity, among these "nations" was intense, and often led to feuds and rioting in the town, no love was lost between "town" and "gown." All university teachers and all students enjoyed "benefit of clergy"; that is to say, they had clerical status, were exempt from secular jurisdiction, and in case of offense could only be tried before an ecclesiastical court. The university provost held court on the campus into

College students

which ordinary municipal police could not enter, and every university had its own prison for the confinement of offenders, just as a bishop and an abbot had his own court and his own prison. The greatest professors in the universities — except those which specialized in the teaching of law and medicine — were Dominicans and Franciscans who almost monopolized direction of higher education in the later Middle Ages.

While the ancient distinction between *trivium* and *quadrivium* was preserved¹ in the universities, the quantity of subjects taught and the quality of the teaching were greatly increased. Of course the libraries were scant in an age when all books had to be written by hand, and there were no laboratories. The medieval student had to rely upon attentive listening to his professor, a good memory, and serious reflection upon the knowledge and information conveyed, far more than the modern university student. He got more intellectual discipline out of his education than is the case to-day, for he could not rely much on books and outlines and syllabi and written notes. Medieval thought was far from being as narrow as is supposed, it probably was more logical and cogent than much of modern thought.

"The great work of the universities was the consecration of learning, and it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that work upon the moral, intellectual, and religious progress of Europe. Our intellectual advance since the medieval period has less to do with the improvement in the substance or method of education than the academic world has complacently imagined.

The value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or the practical usefulness of what is taught. The intelligent modern artisan or the half-educated man of the world possesses at the present day a great deal more true and useful information than a medieval doctor of divinity. But it can on no account be admitted that this puts the uneducated man of modern times on a level with the educated man of the Middle Ages."² Then, as now, clergy, teachers, judges, lawyers, physicians, expert public officials, authors of distinction, were university trained men. The greatest service of scholasticism was the development of logic as an instrument of thought for the discovery of truth, its greatest limitation the failure to seek new truth, but rather to discover new ways of looking at old truth. This was the blighting effect of the belief that supreme truth, even all truth, was found in the Christian religion and this truth was a matter of divine revelation and not to be attained by human reason. From this inhibition scientific thought was free and unconfined.

¹ The *trivium* was the initial course of study, consisting of the three liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric and logic, and corresponded to the B.A. course of to-day. The *quadrivium* consisted of the four mathematical sciences, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, and roughly corresponded to the B.S. degree.

² Rashdall, *Rise of the Universities*, II, 693 and 706.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the advancement of science was as notable as it was in the nineteenth century Greek science — the Romans made no improvement of their own except in engineering — had decayed along with everything else of antiquity in the early centuries of the Christian era. The destruction of the Alexandrian library in 415 by a mob of fanatical monks and the closure of the School of Athens by the Emperor Justinian in 529 were fatal blows. Greek science henceforth owed its preservation to the Syrians from whom it was translated to the Persians. The studies which Justinian condemned were cultivated and promoted by Chosroes the Great. When the Arabs conquered Persia in the seventh century the study of science continued to be promoted in the Mohammedan schools, not by the Arabs themselves, who constituted the warrior class in Islam, but by Jews, Arabized Persians and Syrians in the Baghdad Khalifate. Within two centuries nearly the whole body of Greek scientific works was translated into Arabic. Baghdad, Cairo, Kairwan and Cordova became brilliant centers for the study and teaching of science. A mere list of the most eminent of Arabian scientists would be a long one.¹

*Preservation of
Greek science*

Knowledge of this Greek-Arabic science began to penetrate into western Europe late in the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries, not as the result of the crusades, as one might imagine, but through Sicily into Italy and from Mohammedan Spain into Christian Spain, and thence into France. Men of eager mind flocked to Palermo and Toledo to learn the Arabic language and to study Arabian science. Strange to say, most of these were Englishmen — Adelard of Bath, Daniel of Moiley, Roger of Hereford, Alexander Nequam. Adelard of Bath's *Natural Questions* was the first scientific treatise produced in western Europe in the Middle Ages. Some scholars spent years in Spain and engaged all their lives in this work of translation of Arabic works of science into Latin. Gerard of Cremona who died in 1187 at the age of seventy-three, translated 71 different works. Plato of Tivoli was almost as productive. In this way, by the thirteenth century, western Europe was in possession of almost the whole body of Greek and Arabian science, and science was taught in the new universities as a matter of course. The greatest scientist of this time was the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon (1214-92). Almost as great was Albertus Magnus, a German Dominican (1193-1280). Both Bacon and Albertus taught in Paris.

*Penetration of sci-
ence into Europe*

In the middle of the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais, in a great

¹ Al-Khwarizmi of Khiva (ninth century) was mathematician, astronomer, geographer, and developed algebra beyond Diophantus, the Greek inventor of it. Al-Rhazi of Baghdad, died 924, was "the greatest clinician of the Middle Ages." Al-Battani, died 929, a Persian, was a great astronomer. The medical treatises of Avicenna (eleventh century) were the supreme authority for six hundred years. *The Oculus' Manual* of Ali ibn Tadrūs al-Kahhalin was the best work on the diseases of the eye until the eighteenth century. Medicine, botany, chemistry, mathematics, and astronomy were enormously advanced by the Arabs.

work entitled *Speculum Naturale*, or Mirror of Nature, embodied the whole knowledge of science as it was known in western Europe, including medicine, cosmography, astronomy, geography, meteorology, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, anatomy, and physiology. At times he was curiously modern in his ideas and seems to have had some notion of anatomy and physiology. Medieval medicine was not as crude, nor as superstitious in the use of strange drugs and singular compounds as is popularly believed. There was some knowledge of contagion, but none of infection. Surgery was practiced, principally on the skull and the limbs. Amputation in an age of warfare was common, and there are interesting recipes "to put a man to sleep that he may be treated or cut." Operations for cataract were measurably successful. Abdominal operations were desperate remedies and usually impossible. The prohibition against post mortem operations on the human body was a serious deterrent to the progress of medical science. Effective hospitalization began with the founding of the Order of the Knights of the Hospital in the first crusade. Before that time there had been only monastic and capitular infirmaries. In the thirteenth century the larger cities began to establish municipal hospitals.

The medieval Church carried on the tradition of the Latin language and literature, although it was hostile to classical literature because it was of pagan authorship and pagan spirit. Christianity developed a literature which was entirely different from that of antiquity. It was of a religious and theological nature, instead of being of a secular spirit like classical literature. History was written by monks and narrated events of interest and importance only to ecclesiastics. Saints' lives were a popular form of literature and written for purpose of edification. Hymns were almost the only kind of poetry. Even the Latin language was changed in syntax and by the introduction of new words of ecclesiastical or Germanic or feudal origin.

Latin was the universal language of the Church and of governments, official documents were written by ecclesiastical officials in Latin, a language which the rulers themselves could not understand. Before the twelfth century it was exceptional to find a king or a noble who could read and write. Nobles and peasantry spoke the common language of the people of the country. There were four main linguistic groups in western Europe. The Germanic languages spoken in northern Europe (Germany, the Low Countries — modern Holland and Belgium — Scandinavia, Iceland, and England). The Celtic tongues — Irish, Welsh, Gaelic, and Breton, were spoken in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Brittany. In the East the Slavic tongues were spoken. In the south of Europe the Romance languages, French, Italian, Spanish prevailed. Unlike the others, which were of race-national origin and nature, these southern languages were off-springs of Latin, derived from the daily speech (Low Latin) of the common people of

the Roman Empire, modified by local influences and variations in each country Italian, French, Spanish are cousins, for the mother-language of each was Latin It is probable that by the eighth century the differentiation of these three languages had become established The oldest written French is found in the Oaths of Strasbourg (842) The oldest written Italian appears in a document of 960 The oldest Spanish belongs to the tenth century

The oldest vernacular literature, however, did not appear until the late eleventh or early twelfth century This was in France where a magnificent series of epic or heroic poems (*chansons de geste*) emerged Strangely enough the themes of these first *chansons* were not derived from the history of the crusades, but harked back to the age of Charlemagne The *Chanson de Roland*, the oldest and finest of these Old French epics, is based on the story of Charlemagne's intervention in Moorish Spain in 778 and Roland's heroic battle to cover the retreat of the Frankish army through the pass of Roncevalles in the Pyrenees The earliest and greatest Spanish epic is the *Poema de Mio Cid* (ca 1140) which relates the deeds of the Cid Campeador, the hero of Spanish Christendom against the Moors Both the *Roland* and the *Cid* are based on actual history and both reflect the feudal ideals and the chivalry of the age in which they were written Later on, as ancient Latin literature grew in popularity, vernacular epics were written upon classical themes, notably the Trojan War and Alexander the Great, which gave rise to a whole cycle of heroic poems

In the second half of the twelfth century still another kind of epic poetry came into being, based upon the story of King Arthur and the Holy Grail As the source of the *Chanson de Roland* was Einhard's

Life of Charlemagne and Frankish *Annals*, and the source *Poetry*

of the Trojan Cycle was Vergil's *Aeneid* (Homer's *Iliad* was unknown before the Italian Renaissance), so the source of this Arthurian epic poetry was a remarkable work, part history and part legend, entitled the *History of the Kings of Britain* It was written by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a great romanticist He was half-Welsh and half-English descent and gave his book to the world in 1136 Here for the first time Europe learned of the Celtic myths and legends which gathered around the figure of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table and Parsifal These new tales not only introduced a new kind of hero, but also new themes, motifs and even a new "atmosphere" The *chansons* reflected a feudal world These Welsh romances opened a new world filled with fairies, magic, and fancy The society found in them is not a real but a romanticized, idealised feudal society in which women play a notable part There is hardly a woman in any of the *chansons de geste* Helen of Troy is the only woman in the Trojan Cycle This softer, feminine influence undoubtedly was derived from the love lyrics of Provençal troubadours and trouveres Geoffrey of Monmouth had written in Latin But the poets

who borrowed from him wrote in Old French. The greatest of these was Chrétien of Troyes (died 1191), whose patron was Marie de Champagne, daughter of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Louis VII of France, and the wife of the cultured Count Henry of Champagne. Chrétien was perhaps the greatest poet before Dante. He drew on Irish and Cornish legends which Geoffrey had not known or at least had not mentioned. The most important of these is the story of *Tristan and Isolde*.¹

The *chansons de geste* and the themes in the Arthurian Cycle spread all over Europe but most profoundly affected German literature. Wolfram von Eschenbach, the greatest German minnesinger, completed and adapted Chrétien of Troyes' *Perceval* in his *Parzival*, and Gottfried of Strasbourg Germanized the tale of Tristan and Isolde.

Lyric poems were of Provençal origin and were composed and sung to the lute by poets who travelled from court to court, playing and singing wherever they found welcome and reward. Romantic and courtly love was the universal theme of these lyrics. This literary fashion spread to the north and Marie de France (ca. 1170) was the first famous authoress of the Middle Ages. Prose romance lagged far behind the poetical romances of this age. The gem of all is the story of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. It is written in the Picard dialect of northeastern France. Other popular compositions were the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Golden Legend* which the poet Longfellow paraphrased in English verse.

Other types of medieval tales were fables of animals and animal epics. The source of these was Aesop's *Fables* through the Latin version of the Latin poet Phaedrus. The tradition of Aesop undoubtedly was furthered by the clergy because of the didactic value of these stories. During the crusades closer contact with the Orient introduced the beast tales of the Hindu *Panchatantra*, from which sprang the animal epic, like *Isengrim the Wolf*, *Renard the Fox*, etc. These often are thinly disguised satires on human society. Another Indian collection were the *Kalila and Dimna*. The tale of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is a Christianized Buddha legend. The *Arabian Nights* was formed too late in the Middle Ages to affect western literature. Its influence is modern. Other literary patterns, which need not be discussed, came from Byzantium, Syria, and Egypt. Sermon stories, or *Exempla*, which always pointed a moral, were immensely popular.

It was a natural transition of thought from explicitly religious or didactic poetry to allegorical one, of which a very long poem in Old French entitled *The Romance of the Rose* is the best example. It is a commentary on medieval manners and morals. Other types of literature were *debates* between contrasted types such as Soul and Body, Spring and Winter; *battles*, such as the

¹ The student should not fail to observe that this Arthurian Legend in the nineteenth century was the source of Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur* and *Idylls of the King* and of Wagner's operas, *Lohengrin*, *Tristan and Isolde*, and *Parsifal*.

Battle of the Seven Arts, the *Battle of the Seven Deadly Sins*, and *visions*, such as the *Dream of Paradise*. In sharp contrast with this serious and sometimes depressing kind of poetry were the rollicking and often ribald songs of wandering students and vagabond monks who were called Goliardi.

The earliest poetry of the Anglo-Saxon people appeared in the seventh century, the earliest prose in the ninth. The epic *Beowulf* and Caedmon's *Genesis* are examples of the first, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of the second.

French literary ideals and literature were introduced into England with the Norman Conquest. The old Anglo-Saxon literature became extinct and the language was spoken only by the common people. French became the speech of the court, of the nobles. Anglo-Saxon did not perish, but it was gradually modified, not so much in the structure of the language as in the vocabulary, by the introduction of French words. Most of these pertained to war and chivalry, hunting, legal and administrative words, and abstract and technical terms. The French plural *s* or *es* displaced the Anglo-Saxon plural *en* except in old and homely words like *chil-dren* and *ox-en*. In general it may be said that Old English words of one syllable survived to much greater degree than other words. No other language equals English in number of monosyllabic words.

*French influence
on English*

The loss of Normandy in 1204 had the effect of emancipating England from this predominance of French. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show a remarkable advance of the English language and the beginnings of a literature which is English both in form and spirit. In 1350 English supplanted French in the schools, in 1362 it became the language of the law courts, in 1399 Henry IV employed it for the first time in parliament. Wyclif's English version of the *Bible* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* appeared in this same century. The volume, the variety, the value of the literary works which made their appearance in England between 1350 and 1450 is an impressive fact.

It has been said that much of Latin classical literature was preserved in the Middle Ages and examples of how it was imitated have been given. But one type of ancient classical literature, the drama, had no influence on the Middle Ages. The medieval drama was a genuine medieval product, it originated in the Church. These plays began as dramatizations of episodes in the liturgy, such incidents as the Magi and events dealing with the life of Christ, or of the Virgin, etc. The actors were priests and choir boys. The dialogue was reverent and the players serious. The purpose was to dramatize Biblical history in order to make it more simple to understand by an audience which could neither read nor write nor understand the Latin service. Accordingly these interludes, although at first spoken in Latin, soon came to be uttered in the vernacular. There are mentions in ninth and eleventh century chronicles of such ecclesiastical plays or "mys-

Medieval drama

teries," in France, Germany, and Spain, and in each instance the subject was the visit of the Magi. The miracle play was of a similar sort, but the themes were derived directly from the Bible and did not grow out of the ceremonies of worship. Noah and the Flood, David and Goliath, Daniel in the lions' den were favorite subjects. Still another form — in the fifteenth century — was the morality play in which allegorical figures, such as Virtue, Vice, Peace, War, Wantonness, Avarice, were personified. These plays were not represented in the churches, but out of doors at markets and fairs by the various guilds of a town. There was much buffoonery and slap-stick in them. For a popular audience wanted to be amused, not edified.

From what has been written above, it should be apparent to the student that western Europe experienced a rich and variegated advancement of culture in many forms. It was not a gift, but a development which became intense in the twelfth century and reached a climax in the thirteenth. This movement is known as the "Twelfth-century Renaissance." The awakening was not, as Walter Pater erroneously said, a "false dawn" to the Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but a true unfolding of the human spirit which reveals two considerations of vivid importance, first the continuity of medieval culture, and secondly that the Italian Renaissance was not the beginning of a new era, but the continuation of a previous movement which began in France and later was expanded in Italy. The literature, the art, the philosophy, the science of the Italian Renaissance were given an Italian cast of thought, but these manifestations were not more original than the same species of culture exhibited beyond the Alps previously, except in one particular. The humanism of the twelfth century failed to take root. The newly risen universities were indifferent to classical scholarship, which was crowded out by a predominant interest in scholasticism and the study of Roman law. Classical scholarship and humanism as a general intellectual interest had to wait until the Italian Renaissance before its value was perceived.

In Western society we get the impression of initiative, of intellectual interest, of intelligent understanding of the necessity of change, much more so than in Byzantine and Moslem society. Both of these societies were inclined to immobility and fixity of form and ideas, and lacked the inclination and the power to make changes, even when the necessity was apparent. Averroes, the great Mohammedan philosopher, perceived this weakness in Mohammedan civilization. Byzantine society and thought remained static through the whole Middle Ages. Western Europe was organic and perceived that change was necessary for progress. A French thinker Dubois, who wrote about 1300, pointed out that "God himself changed many things in the New Testament which He had decreed in the Old Testament."

The completest synthesis of medieval culture was made by the Italian

poet Dante (1265-1321), a native of Florence, whose *Divine Comedy*¹ is one of the greatest poems of all time. Dante, it is often said, knew all that could be known in an age when this feat was still possible for a single mind. His countryman Villani, the Florentine historian, who lived in the generation after him, truly said that he was "perfect poet and philosopher, with the most exquisite style that the language ever produced."

Dante in his deep reverence for Catholicism and his profound knowledge of scholastic philosophy was predominantly a medieval man. But standing as he did on the threshold of the Renaissance, there are intimations of the dawn of a new day in his poetry, notably in his love of nature, his reverence for the classics (Vergil), and his use of the Italian language, instead of Latin. The trilogy is written in *terza rima* a, b, a, b, c, b, c, d, c. It is a pageant of the soul's progress out of darkness into light, out of evil into good, out of the shadow of death into life eternal. It is thoroughly medieval in spirit and content, thoroughly contemporary in art and form and factual matter. Contemporary persons such as Rudolph of Habsburg, Boniface VIII, Charles of Anjou, Emperor Henry VII, Philip IV of France, cardinals, princes, condottieri, ruffians, women fair and foul, stalk through the pages. Descriptive passages abound: the simple life of old Florence, the hectic life of Dante's own time, market place, piazza, patio, church aisles, the arsenal at Venice, crowded streets and busy piers are all vividly pictured, love, devotion, faith, hope, despair, hatred, avarice, ambition, courage, cowardice, virtue, vice are described in moving or terribly denunciatory words. No other literature except the Bible and Shakespeare can equal the exquisite beauty or terror of sound and sense combined in Dante. There are lines which are cadenced melody, there are phrases which hiss like red hot iron when immersed in water. There are thoughts that breathe and words that burn. Dante was scholar, poet, theologian, philosopher, moralist, artist.

The final aspect of medieval culture which remains to be considered is the history of art in the middle ages, especially architecture. Until art became secularized during the Italian Renaissance, the Church was the mother and patron of the arts. Ancient art, except the technique of execution and the form, vanished with the decline of ancient civilization. New motifs, new subjects, new symbols were introduced by Christianity. The Church's attitude towards art was very different from that of antiquity. In ancient art expression of beauty and creative imagination had been the ruling motives. Early Christian art was a form of adoration and a means of edification. Adornment may beautify, but whether of color or of

¹ In three parts, *Hell* (Inferno), *Purgatory* (Purgatorio), *Paradise* (Paradiso). The word *Commedia* is here used in the old classical sense. A composition which treats human life seriously and depicts character according to truth, but without leaving a sense of tragedy at the end. The trilogy concludes with Paradise.

line, adornment inclines to be conventional and repetitious, it is rarely original or creative. Art was used by the Church to give reality to Christian history and doctrine, and as a form of instruction to the people, most of whom were unable to read or write. They "read" pictures and statuary instead. These pictures were illustrative of scenes and incidents related in the Bible. Naturally the life of Jesus was the commonest theme. The statues were of prophets and apostles, martyrs and saints.

Until the rise of the feudal castle the only architecture worthy of the name was ecclesiastical. Byzantine and Western architecture were alike predominantly associated with the Church. Both types were adaptations of ancient buildings to the requirements of Christian worship. The predominant form of the edifice, however, differed. In the East the model was the ancient Greek temple, which was often circular instead of rectangular in shape, upon which the Roman dome was imposed. The dome, too, was imposed upon the basilica, as in Justinian's great church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople. To erect such a building was a formidable engineering problem. In the West, although the former imperial provinces abounded with old pagan temples, the Church generally was reluctant to adopt these pagan edifices as places of Christian worship, and instead used the Roman public building. This was the basilica, a sort of roofed forum, of rectangular shape, divided into three aisles, a central aisle, called the nave from its resemblance to a ship's deck, it was separated from the two side aisles — the true aisles — by arcades of arches, and columns. The nave was terminated at the far end by a projection known as the apse. The arches supported the walls of the nave and the clearstory or row of upper windows in the walls of the nave. The Romans roofed their basilicas with great slabs of stone or cement. Until the twelfth century medieval church roofs were made of timber, often covered with sheets of lead or with slates or tiles nailed upon the timber roof.

In the early Middle Ages carpentry and stonemason-work, even brick-making, and nearly every other skilled craft, declined so that even after a church had been built, its repair was difficult to maintain. The building arts were best preserved in Italy, and Italian workmen were in demand in France, Germany, and England before the eleventh century. The interiors of medieval churches were always cold, and dark, and frequently also damp. Glass was known, but the pieces were small and used for decorative purposes. Linen curtains made stiff with beeswax covered the windows. They might ward off the rain, but they dimmed the light so much that often the windows were open apertures.

One of the many signs of religious revival in the eleventh century — examples of it have been given in a previous chapter — was a popular and enthusiastic movement for new and better and bigger churches. This movement began in Italy and spread over western Europe. Out of it Romanesque architecture emerged.

Growth of stone churches
c. 1100

These new churches were built of stone as a precaution against fire, which was fearfully destructive of the old timbered edifices. Chartres Cathedral was burned in 962, in 1019 and again in 1194, Notre Dame in Paris was burned in 1034 and 1059, in France alone in the eleventh century, that is to say before Romanesque architecture reduced the danger of conflagration, nineteen cathedrals were burned, six of them twice in the same century.

Romanesque architecture was of stone and characterized by thick walls with deep windows, low, heavy arches and thick columns. Substantiality and simplicity were its attributes. It was an immense improvement on the old church-building but it had two defects — *Romanesque and Gothic architecture* — the roof was still made of timber and the windows were so deep because of the thickness of the walls that little light was admitted. For about one hundred and fifty years, from 1000 to 1150, Romanesque architecture held sway over western Europe. "Rhenish" and "Norman" architecture are the best species of it. Then from about 1150 to 1300 the Gothic style obtained. The invention of Gothic was the supreme achievement of medieval engineering and art. The architectural problem was to elevate and thin the walls in order to make larger windows. This required the roof to be raised and the burden of its weight to be shifted from the walls. The feat was accomplished by use of the pointed arch. The round arch was stubby and the mathematical fact that the radius of a circle is one-half the diameter rigidly limited plasticity of design. On the other hand, the height of the pointed arch is not conditioned by its breadth. By an intricate system of groined arches, stone ribs and vaulting, an exquisite distribution of thrusts and balances, the Gothic architect achieved a structure with a high vaulted roof so strong that it could be made of stone, shifted the weight of it from the walls to the heads of the arches, thinned the walls so that broad and long windows — "lancet windows" — on the ground-floor and in the clearstory were practicable. For security's sake, these thin walls were stayed by buttresses and the still thinner upper walls of the clearstory by "flying buttresses."

Romanesque churches had been adorned with wall paintings in brilliant colors but by little stone-carving either within or without. Gothic churches, on the other hand, were lavishly, even extravagantly, decorated inside and outside in paintings, statuary and stone-carving. *Adornment of churches* The medieval artist taxed his imagination in design of every sort. The great portal of Amiens Cathedral has been called a "Bible in stone." The wall enclosing the choir at Chartres is "like point-lace in stone." To most tourists, perhaps, the supreme glory of Gothic architecture is the stained glass which fills these long, pointed windows on the sides and the great rose windows at each end of the nave. Some of these stained glass windows are poems in color.

Castle-building was a triumph of architectural engineering and masonry. The castle was a rugged structure meant for defense and protection. Not

beauty but utility was the object in its construction. In the ninth and tenth centuries as has been pointed out already, castles were mere wooden block-houses. Early in the eleventh century the lower course began to be made of stone, but the superstructure was still made of timber. The first all-stone castle in the West was Richard the Lion-hearted's Château Gaillard in Normandy. The donjon¹ tower, or keep, was only the largest of several towers or smaller castles united into a complex structure to make, so to speak, a network of castles connected by drawbridges, each capable of being separated from the others by pulling up the drawbridge and dropping the portcullis gate. The courtyards between these various towers were used as drill grounds or to stable horses. They were called "baileys."²

Other medieval arts were goldsmithing, enamelling, wood-carving, ivory-carving, wrought iron work, and book decoration or "illumination." Some of the miniatures which survive in medieval manuscripts, especially service-books for church worship and Books of Hours are very beautiful. Art was still regarded as a craft in the Middle Ages. It was not yet a profession. "Architects, painters, sculptors, engineers, skilled craftsmen of every sort, musicians, schoolmasters, were little esteemed and commanded very low salaries. No one knows the names of the architects who built our cathedrals and abbeys. It was not the ecclesiastics who did the designing (as has been recently demonstrated), but professionals whose remuneration was only that of a very superior master mason. No one knows who composed the music of the Middle Ages, and hardly the names of a few gold and silver workers have been preserved. The artist was considered much of the same rank as the house-painter and glazier, and paid on a scale not much more liberal. The schoolmaster got much less allowance than the bailiff on the neighboring manor."³

The Church also fostered music. The traditions of Hebrew and Greek music penetrated into the Church in the Apostolic Age. But in a very large sense medieval music was an original development and grew out of the forms of public worship and the singing of hymns. It is hardly to be doubted that both vocal and instrumental music obtained in early church worship (Mark xiv, 26, Ephesians v, 19), but we have little precise knowledge of church music until the time of St. Ambrose, who introduced into the West the mode of chanting which he had learned in Antioch. This was plain-chant which moved in irregular prose rhythms, each syllable having equal duration, very unlike ancient Greek music which was metric in

¹ This word comes from *dominium* or lordship. The keep was the outward physical sign of the feudal lord's authority.

² From Old French *baille*, a walled or palisaded enclosure. Old Bailey, the central criminal court of London, stands in what was the bailey of the old city wall.

³ C. W. Oman, *The Sixteenth Century*, 52-53.

structure, the length of the notes varying according to the syllabic values in the metre. This was due to the difference in the form of the language used in worship. Though the Psalms in the original Hebrew are of poetic form, in Greek and Latin translation this form is lost, and only a certain rhythm remains. Plain-chant was prose rhythm sung in unison or by a single voice or antiphonally. Its most important use was in the liturgy of the Mass. The oldest parts of the liturgy are literal extracts from Holy Writ. Later non-Biblical forms called "tropes" were interpolated between the various chants of the Mass before the *introduction*, the *gloria*, and the *gradual*, the last is known as the sequence. The best known trope probably is the "Kyrie eleison." The tropes became the source of much Christian poetry.

Unlike plain-chant, which is rhythmic, hymns are metrical in form. The themes are of a religious nature, but the music of early hymns was not "sacred" music, but popular tunes or folk melodies. In the fourth century the Aryan heretics used hymns with such effect *Hymns* to popularize their teachings that the orthodox Church was compelled to follow their example. The emotionalism created by mass-singing of popular melodies was very great. The singing of hymns has ever been a potent instrument in religious revivalism. The name of St. Ambrose is intimately associated with the early hymns of the Church, as with the introduction of plain-chant into the West.

Plain-chant and hymns obtained in the Greek Church before they passed into the West. The great name associated with this transition is that of Pope Gregory I (590-604) who during his long residence at Constantinople as papal legate before he himself became pope *Singing schools* seems to have learned a great deal about church music in the Eastern Church. He established a singing school in Rome (*schola cantorum*) the influence of which was vivid for centuries. When Charlemagne undertook to improve church services in the Frankish churches he imported two singing teachers from Rome for this purpose, and established singing schools at Metz and Soissons for the instruction of the clergy. Both men, however, complained that they "could not coax a trill from the throats of the croaking barbarians,"¹ which may be taken as a prejudiced opinion.

The musical instruments used in the Middle Ages were those known in antiquity, with one exception — the organ was a medieval invention, though the principle of it, a series of pipes of graduated sizes into which wind was injected by a bellows, was known to the *Musical instruments* Greeks. It was first worked by means of a perforated slide. Keys were introduced in the eleventh century and pedals invented in the fifteenth by a German in the service of the doge of Venice. The Byzantine

¹ Tremulas vel vinnulas, sive collisibus vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere. Franci, naturali voce barbarica frangentes in gutture voces. *Annals of Lorsch*, anno 799.

Emperor Constantine Copronymus sent an organ to Pepin the Short in 757 and the Emperor Michael sent one to Charlemagne. The Greek Church frowned upon instrumental music, as does the Russian Church today, so that the development of such music was left wholly to the Latin Church in the West.

Since music was a part of the quadrivium, the theory of music was taught in every progressive monastic or cathedral school, and a comprehensive series of work on medieval music has come down to us.

The period from about 500 to 1050 A.D. was significant in the history of music because the system of pitch-relations that it evolved, with its inherent limitations and potentialities, provided the basis for the harmonic development which is the unique property of European music. Considered in the light of modern aesthetic theory, the fact that this musical system has been capable of centuries of expansion is due to the profound and long-continued effort that it cost church scholars to bring it into being. A study of the subject begins with Boethius and Cassiodorus in the sixth century, and includes the work of subsequent writers through the time of Guido of Arezzo (ca. 1050). Boethius's *De Musica* provided the source-material for succeeding theorists, including Hucbald in the tenth century who was among the first to describe the simultaneous use of two sounds in music.

Secular music was folk music—the songs of bards and minstrels and jongleurs. The tunes were as old as the Germans and the Celts and the Norse peoples. “Notwithstanding all the disturbances and oppression of a troubled age, people of all classes found time and courage still to dance and sing.” These were soldiers’ marching songs, songs of victory in battle, harvest and vineyard songs. There is one song of a peasant singing in the furrow as he followed his plough, there are also student songs, and the songs of troubadour and trouvère, who wandered from château to château with his viol upon his back and a sheaf of songs in his wallet.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337-1453)

In the second half of the thirteenth century a series of important events occurred, the cumulative effect of which was in a large degree profoundly to change conditions and alter the course of history. These events were 1250, the fall of the medieval empire, 1258, the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, 1261, the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1268, the Angevin conquest of Naples and Sicily, 1270, the death of Louis IX of France, 1272, beginning of the reign of Edward I of England, 1273, the rise of the Habsburgs, 1282, the Massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, 1291, the loss of Acre, the last Christian holding in the Holy Land and end of the crusades, 1291, league of the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, the beginning of the formation of Switzerland, 1293, beginning of the war between England and France which was preliminary to the long Hundred Years' War, 1295, the Model Parliament in England, 1302, first States-General of France; 1303, fall of Boniface VIII.

*Important
Late-13th century
events*

To these events must be added profound movements which reached or nearly reached their culmination late in the thirteenth century, such as the rise of the towns and formation of the bourgeoisie, the growth of national monarchy in England, France and Spain, the rise of the universities, the ascendancy of scholastic philosophy, the culmination of Gothic architecture, the growth of vernacular literature, the beginnings of discovery — Marco Polo returned from China in 1295.

*Significant
movements*

Every one of these occurrences and processes had an important bearing upon the future development of Europe. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were an age of transition during which Europe was neither wholly medieval nor wholly modern in circumstance and spirit. These two centuries were the back-door of the Middle Ages and the vestibule to modern times. They were the end of the Middle Ages, or the beginning of modern history, according to the way they are looked at.

Transition period

While the events and movements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were sometimes widely separated and distinct, it is to be observed that in the second half of the fifteenth century nearly all of them converged towards two ends — the Renaissance and the Reformation.

We have seen that there were not a few intimations of nationality in the

kingdoms of England, France, and Spain in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries each of these powers emerged from the chrysalis stage and at the end of this period national monarchy was realized in western Europe. In this period the history of England and France was interwoven because of the long war in which they were engaged, lasting, with intervals of cessation, from 1337 to 1453, and military events in each realm frequently influenced their civil history. The preliminaries of the Hundred Years' War are found in the conflict between Edward I and Philip IV (1293-1301) which ended inconclusively and failed to settle any of the issues.

In England Edward II (1307-27) exhibited the weakness of character and vacillation of his grandfather and some of the old evils of the thirteenth century recurred — court favorites, misgovernment, and trouble with the barons. The barons, however, were in a better position than formerly, for parliament by this time was an established institution. In 1312 the barons, led by the Earl of Lancaster, rebelled and secured the fall of Gaveston, the king's favorite. Meanwhile, Scotland, which Edward I had seemingly subjugated, under the leadership of Robert Bruce seized the castles the English had erected at Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth. The total defeat of the English at Bannockburn (June 24, 1314) liberated Scotland. The king learned nothing from adversity and instead of playing fair with the barons, found new favorites in the notorious Despencers. The cause of the barons was morally compromised by the conduct of Queen Isabella, a daughter of Philip IV of France, who formed a liaison with Mortimer, the baronial leader. The sordid reign culminated in 1327 when the Parliament deposed the king, shortly after which Edward II was mysteriously murdered, the queen and her paramour Mortimer being the principals in the affair.

The history of France in these years is summed up in a single event — the expiration of the Capetian dynasty. In fourteen years (1314-28) three sons of Philip IV succeeded in rapid succession. The last Capetian was Charles IV who died in 1328. The nearest male heir was Philip of Valois, a nephew of Philip the Fair, who became Philip VI (1328-50). His succession, however, was contested by England's Edward III, whose mother was a daughter of Philip IV, and by Charles (the Bad) of Navarre, who was a great-grandson of the same king through his mother. To forestall both of these claims to the French throne the legists invented a new construction and application of the ancient law of the Salian Franks which prohibited succession to real property through the female line. It was an ingenious and novel device to apply to the realm of France a law which originally was applicable only to homestead property (*sal*).

Edward III was a minor in 1327 and although a regency was appointed by Parliament, the power was in the hands of Mortimer and the queen-

*Effect of Hundred
Years' War*

*Defeat of
Edward II*

*End of Capetian
Dynasty*

mother But within three years this condition changed The young king took the bit in his teeth, sent Mortimer to the scaffold after a mock-trial, and imprisoned his mother for life in Hertford Castle where she died twenty-seven years later The king began his reign well *Edward III of England* He confirmed the Magna Carta as well as the Charter of the Forest and granted a new charter to London The relation with the Scotch, however, was tense and unsettled But the crisis with France was the dominant issue

As for France, Philip VI intervened in Flanders to sustain Count Louis, whose bourgeois subjects in Ghent and many other towns were in a state of revolt The militia of these rebellious towns was badly defeated at Cassel (August 28) In the reprisals which followed, ten thousand Flemings were put to death, the privileges of the towns revoked, the guilds abolished Many Flemings escaped to England The English government viewed these events with alarm, for it was a blow to the English wool trade with Flanders French domination in the Low Countries (Pays Bas) would be ruinous to England What Philip IV had been unable to do because of his defeat at Courtrai (1302) now had come to pass

England declared war against France in 1337 The *alleged* ground for it was Edward III's dubious claim to the French throne The *real* ground of it was French ascendancy in Flanders and the threat to the English wool trade, though the English-French friction over Gascony was an additional irritant Flanders was torn between two parties The count and the nobles, who were partly French, sustained France The urban classes, whose bread and butter was dependent on the wool trade, sided with England The leader of this pro-English bourgeois party was James Van Artevelde, the first creator of Belgium *Anglo-French war*

As Europe envisaged the situation, the odds seemed to be with France, then the foremost nation in power and wealth England's population was not over five millions, while France's was around sixteen millions Moreover, Scotland menaced England on the north, and the Welsh were far from tractable, while France had no foreign enemy Moreover, England as the aggressor was compelled to fight across the Channel, and France, on the defensive, could fight on inside lines But Europe reckoned without consideration of English sea-power Philip VI foolishly thought that he could duplicate William the Conqueror's feat and invade England, he collected a fleet for that purpose in the estuary of the Sluys in Flanders The deficiency of French sea-power was supplemented by hire of some Genoese galleys Edward III, informed of the preparation, took time by the forelock and attacked the French fleet in the harbor and almost destroyed it A few of the galleys which were rowed and so independent of the wind escaped (June 24, 1340) *English sea victory*

The blow to France was so great that the war practically lapsed for the next five years. But the Channel teemed with privateers which preyed upon the port towns of south England and of Normandy. The English plan for prosecution of the war was to occupy Ghent and from it as a base, invade the northeastern provinces of France. But shipment of wool from England to Flanders had been stopped by the war, since the sea was infested with privateers and pirates. The Flemish workingmen in the towns were reduced to starvation by lack of employment, riots ensued, and finally Van Artevelde was murdered by the mob (1345). The event closed Flanders to English occupation. But England had another open door into France. This was Bordeaux, the capital of Gascony, an English possession, the wine-trade of which was lucrative to England and coveted by France. It could only be reached by sea.

In the winter of 1345-46 great preparations were made for the invasion of France from the south-west in the summer. But violent headwinds off the point of Brittany delayed the fleet. After weeks of waiting, in order not to let the campaign go for naught, Edward III, in July, 1346, resolved to invade Normandy instead, knowing that the country was all but defenceless since the French army had been sent to the south. For weeks the English army strode unresisted through the heart of Normandy, pillaging and burning, sacking towns and even churches and monasteries. The king was almost stopped when he reached the Seine near Paris where the bridge was broken. When it was repaired, the English marched on, footsore, weary and laden with booty as they were, the French army was close on their heels. Again the invaders were almost stopped when they reached the Somme, but a peasant showed them a ford and on they pushed. Edward III's purpose was to reach Flanders, where he would have friends, and to avoid an engagement. But the French army pressed him so hard that when he reached Crécy, near Abbeville, he was compelled to halt. It was August 25, 1346. The next day the great battle was fought, it flushed England with pride and filled France with humiliation. The men who won the day were the English longbowmen.¹

¹ The longbow was a far more formidable weapon than the short bow of antiquity and the Middle Ages, which had no great range and almost no penetrating power after armor was introduced. It was made of yew or elm, was six feet long, and drawn to the ear instead of merely to the waist. The arrow was the famous "long arrow," steel-tipped and guided by goosequill feathers. Its range was anywhere from one hundred to two hundred yards and its penetrating power sufficient to pierce a breastplate or go through a horse. At siege of Abergavanny in Wales the Welsh arrows pierced an oak door four inches thick. The longbow was invented in South Wales, and first came to the front in the Welsh wars of Edward III, although Strongbow's conquest of Ireland in 1170 was achieved by its use in the hands of Welsh archers. It has been written that "The lesson which the Scotch taught the English at Bannockburn the English taught the French at Crécy."

Crécy opened the eyes of Europe. For England's Welsh and Scottish wars were hardly known on the continent. Edward was now safe and so he besieged Calais in order to acquire a permanent gateway into France.

The siege lasted for nearly a year. Philip VI made no effort to relieve the town and Calais was taken (August 4, 1347). *English victory at Crécy*

In the same summer as Crécy England won another battle at home. The Scotch, with whom France had made an alliance, invaded the north of England, apparently ignorant of the fact that no Englishman living north of the Trent was required to serve in France. The invaders were defeated in the battle of Neville's Cross near Durham (October 17, 1346) and King David II was taken prisoner. Six bishops fought in the engagement.

Again there was a long cessation of hostilities, due to the intervention of nature. It was the Black Death in 1348-49. Europe had suffered before from three former visitations of the plague in the fifth century

B.C., and in the second and sixth centuries A.D. But the *Black Death*

Black Death is the greatest epidemic in history. It began in China, spread to India and central Asia, invaded western Asia, eastern Europe, Egypt and Africa, and gradually spread westward until all Europe was enveloped by it. Its course can be followed, for it expanded along the trade routes of both land and sea. The first appearance of it in every country was in cities and port towns of commercial importance. The wild guesses and frantic figures of mortality given by medieval chroniclers are to be greatly discounted. Nothing like fifty percent of the population perished. But the number of deaths was greater in proportion to population than has ever since been the case. The nearest approach probably is the first epidemic of influenza just after the Great War which slew millions. The Great Plague disrupted everything — families, society, government, the Church, it upset values, scattered property, Europe became religiously emotional to the verge of hysteria simultaneously with a decay of manners and an appalling depravation of morals.¹

It was nearly ten years before Europe's heart began to beat again with any strength. In 1356 Edward, the Black Prince, went out to Bordeaux with a great army to do what his father had designed to do ten years before. The border provinces between the French and the English possession in the south were terribly ravaged. *England again invades and defeats France*

The new king of France, John le Bon (1350-64), was as lackadaisical and dilatory as his father. The Black Prince had reached Poitou in his swing around the circle and hoped to return to Bordeaux with the loot he had collected, when suddenly he almost ran head on into the French army. The battle of Maupertuis (erroneously called Poitiers for the true site of the battle was not identified until 1887) on September 19, 1356, was a second

¹ Space does not permit an extensive treatment of this subject. The student is referred to J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, chap. xvi.

Crécy, again largely won by the longbowmen in the English host. The intrepid folly of the French cavalry, as formerly at Courtrai and Crécy, was also a factor in the French defeat. For the experience of both of those engagements proved that cavalry charges were ineffective against the longbowmen since the range of their arrows was so great that no body of horsemen could reach their front and close with them. Moreover, the penetrating power of the English clothyard arrows was so great that armor was not proof against them. The future of war was henceforth increasingly with infantry and no longer with mounted troops. King John, three of his sons, and two marshals of the French army were captured, besides hundreds of nobles and common troops. The number of prisoners was so great that the Black Prince slaughtered many of them. The nobles were paroled on promises to pay ransom later. The French king and the princes went with the victor to England where they were indulgently treated pending final settlement of terms of peace.

The defeat at Poitiers precipitated a general crisis in France. The Dauphin Charles had scarcely assumed the regency when a double revolution broke out. The burden of sustaining the long conflict which by now had been waged off and on for nineteen years had chiefly fallen upon the bourgeoisie of the cities and towns, for the nobles' sole obligation to the government was discharged in military service. The strain was great and there was nothing but a series of reverses and defeats to show for it, and the countryside wherever the foe had passed was in ruin.

The chief of the municipality of Paris at this time was a draper named Étienne Marcel, who was provost of the merchants, that is to say of the associated guilds who controlled the city administration. In a business capacity Marcel had visited Flanders and seen the independence and power of the Flemish towns. He was ambitious not only to make Paris as independent as Ghent, but also to check the growing power of the crown in France. Accordingly he stirred the people of Paris by citing the grievances of excessive taxation, court extravagance, wastefulness in administration, etc. There was much of truth in his indictment, but the evils were somewhat exaggerated. Marcel should have sustained the crown prince who had summoned the States-General to consider the condition. Instead, Marcel resorted to revolutionary measures. Armed mobs paraded the streets, invaded shops and private houses. A reign of terror prevailed. The royal palace was invaded and two of the ministers of state murdered in Charles's presence. The States-General was cowed into submission, and under color of a decree presumably emanating from the Estates Marcel demanded the regent's acceptance of a document demanding limitation of the royal preroga-

Towns bear the burden

Etienne Marcel

proletariat in the towns But Marcel's high-handed policy had gone too far The upper classes in the capital began to take courage Marcel planned to admit Charles the Bad of Navarre, who was a partisan of the English, with his forces into Paris in order to make him king This was treason On August 1, 1358, Marcel was assassinated by one of his own city officials The Dauphin returned quietly to a chastened and frightened Paris

This event was hardly over when a new terror broke out in the country east of Paris This was a rebellion of the peasantry known as the *Jacquerie* Serfdom everywhere had become worse after the Black Death and the condition of the French peasants was aggravated by the devastation of the war and the added burden of being compelled to contribute to the ransom of the hundreds of nobles who had been captured in the battle of Poitiers The exasperated peasants burned castles and manor-houses and slaughtered the defenceless women and children there The Champagne country was a shambles for six weeks in the summer of 1358, until the revolt was mercilessly suppressed The *Jacquerie* failed equally with the insurrection of Paris

The Dauphin's hands were at last free to give attention to the question of the war He saw clearly that the continuation of the war was impossible and that peace would have to be made, almost at any price Pope Innocent VI had found out through legates that Edward III was not disinclined to make peace By the terms of the Treaty of Bretigny (near Chartres) in 1360 Edward III renounced his claim to the French throne and the title King of France, which he had assumed, France gave up its claims of suzerainty over all the provinces of England in France,¹ acknowledged the loss of Calais, and contracted to pay a ransom of 3,000,000 *écus d'or*, payable in six years, for King John The happy-go-lucky king returned home when the first installment was paid But John had no stomach for the condition of things in France, so when his two captive sons took "French leave" and fled to France the king grandiloquently proclaimed that he would "honorably" return His death in London in 1364 relieved the English government of a royal nuisance and Charles V of an embarrassment

The accession of Charles V (1364-80) turned a new page in the history of France There was nothing military in his character He could scarcely ride a horse He had been a student in the University of Paris, had bookish inclinations and ruled France from his cabinet in the Louvre He was a closet-king He could not, however, immediately initiate those administrative reforms for which he is famed. The treaty of 1360 had released thousands of soldiery formerly in the pay of

Peace of Bretigny
Lawlessness in France

¹ In the north these territories were Ponthieu and Guines, which were the dowry of Edward III's mother In the south these territories were Guienne with all its dependencies, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Limousin, Perigord, Agenois, Quercy, Rouergue, Bigorre

the English who now were plundering the provinces. These were the notorious "Free Companies." Not all of them were English. Some were Flemings, Walloons, Gascons, even Germans. Each of these gangs of marauders had its captain, one of whom was Sir Robert Knollys. Their effrontery is shown by the fact that they threatened to sack Avignon, and compelled the pope to pay them enormous sums in self-defense.

In this dire condition Charles V called into his service a hard, notoriously ugly Breton named Bertrand Du Guesclin, an unpropertied knight who had proved his prowess in war, and made him constable or commander-in-chief of the French army. This goblin-hero was wont to fight like seven devils — and he resembled one. He once was wounded seventeen times in a single conflict, and lived to fight another day. When Bertrand appeared alone in the camp of the Free Companies they welcomed him as a new comrade. When he gave them their choice of leaving France for other pastures or fighting him, they roared with glee. But they speedily found that Bertrand meant business. Ere many months the discreet commanders among them quit the country. Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, took his company with him across the Alps to Italy where his services were engaged by this or that city to fight its little war, and leave the bourgeoisie to pursue their business unmolested. Sir Robert Knollys went back to Devonshire with his loot, endowed local churches and priories, and died in the odor of sanctity.

Before France was entirely cleared of this gentry the king found a use for the remnant of them still left. The Kingdom of Castile in Spain had been drawn into the Anglo-French war. Pedro the Cruel (1350-69) was involved in a struggle with his half-brother Henry for the throne. Pedro appealed to the Black Prince, whom Edward III had made viceroy of the English possessions in France, for aid, and Henry appealed to Charles V. The administration of the Black Prince had not been popular. He was arrogant towards the Gascon nobles, and the extravagance of the court at Bordeaux had entailed heavy taxes upon the bourgeoisie and peasantry. His advisers tried in vain to dissuade him from intervention in Spain because it would burden his provinces with new taxes. But the Black Prince was nothing but a soldier and he joined Pedro's forces. The French army was under Du Guesclin, it was chiefly made up of the residue of the Free Companies who left their bones on the plains of Castile as Charles V had intended. In the single battle of this war, Najara (1367), the French were routed and Du Guesclin taken prisoner. For a great sum Charles V ransomed his constable. The Black Prince returned to Bordeaux elated with his victory. Soon afterwards Pedro mur-

*Bertrand
Du Guesclin*

*French free-
booters defeated
in Spain*

forms in the administration, internal peace had hastened economic recovery in country and town, justice was enforced, the finances had been rehabilitated, taxes were collected and intelligently expended, the important cities were re-walled, fortified and garrisoned against the day when Charles V intended to fight the English

Charles V defeats the English

He knew that the Gascon nobles under the English were sullen. In 1369 Charles V renewed the war. The Black Prince furiously invaded the French provinces, managed to take and to sack Limoges where the civil population, men, women and children, were put to the sword. Du Guesclin followed the Fabian tactics of constantly harrying the foe but never closing with him. The country folk were gathered with their produce and livestock into the walled towns, and the fields were burned by the French. Before long the Black Prince's army was starving. At last Edward abandoned the struggle, complaining that he would not "fight with rats," and went back to England. Du Guesclin triumphantly overran the English provinces, while Jean of Vienne, the first great French sea-captain, beat the English on the sea. Times had changed. England was now the underdog. By 1378 only Calais, Bordeaux and Bayonne, the two latter on the Bay of Biscay, were left in English possession. France was a united country and out of the struggle the new sentiment of nationality was born.

Charles V and his great constable died within two weeks of one another in July, 1380. It was the end of an era. Honors may be evenly divided between them. But the king was born to rule. Du Guesclin attained that power by prowess and ability. "The power that cleansed France of anarchy, that turned the luck of the war, that took

Greatness of Du Guesclin

him as Constable on the great sweep through the southwest, that restored the lost provinces, was neither brute courage nor even his uncanny strategic and tactical wisdom, but the power of gripping and firing men's affections — and women's, too, for it was no empty boast that made him tell the Black Prince, as a prisoner, that every woman in France would spin for his ransom. The charm of that thick-set little goblin creature came from the sheer humanity within, and even his beaten enemies could feel it." An English captain laid the keys of the Château de Randan (near Vichy) which had heroically resisted capture by the French, in Du Guesclin's dead hand, and he and his men wept beside his bier. It was a perfect tribute. Another followed in the next century. In 1429 when France seemed shattered again as she had been in 1356, Du Guesclin's ring was given to Joan of Arc. One man in the fourteenth, one woman in the fifteenth century, were the soul of France.

Edward III's reign had begun strongly but ended in weakness. The best signs of progress were the growing power of Parliament and the importance of trade. The king's constant need of money to carry on the war required him often to appeal to Parliament, which refused to make grants without concession or limitation of the

Taxation and commerce in England

royal prerogative, though it must be admitted that the king frequently ignored the provisions of the Great Charter and raised funds without regard for Parliament. In general, however, there was systematic progress made in taxation and Parliament's control of it. By 1334 the subsidy was standardized, urban districts were distinguished from rural ones, and property in the former was assessed at a higher rate. "This was just," writes Professor Willard, "not only because of the burgesses' greater wealth but also much of their property was in the form of cash or sums still to be collected from customers to whom goods had been already supplied, and thus difficult for assessors to cover."¹ The rate finally settled down to a fifteenth and a tenth. The collectors in the districts were laymen, often local knights, but not men of the upper feudality. The property taxed in the country was mainly livestock, grain, articles of personal adornment, kitchen utensils, and furniture, but *not* farming tools, as also in the towns the tools of trade of an artisan were exempted. The local collectors not infrequently were used as a bank, and the king often drew drafts in advance on the collectors before the taxes had been collected in order to supplement their other resources. Ready money for wages to pay soldiers abroad and to buy munitions was constantly needed. Signs of the increase of commerce were the establishment of a uniform system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom (1340), the coining of the florin, the first English gold coin (1344), the establishment of the staple (1352). The five great or "staple" commodities of England were wool, woollens (sheep skins with fleece), leather, lead, and tin. The export of these was controlled by a corporation called the merchants of the staple and was lawful only in certain specified towns where foreign merchants were found in numbers. It was a severe but profitable regulation of trade.

Less success attended the effort, in the Statute of Laborers (1350), to regulate the wages and hours of workers. Everywhere workers demanded higher wages and shorter hours, since the mortality in the Black Death had greatly reduced the number of day laborers. The corresponding French Statute of Laborers was far better and more successful, though it is not so well known among historians.

Edward III in the first years of his reign showed spirit in his endeavor to restrain papal abuses in England. This was an old evil but it had new acuteness because now the pope was French and suspected of loaning the moneys he extorted from the English people to the French king. In other words, England was compelled to underwrite the war waged against her by France. The accusation could not be proved then, but it has been since. Edward III once, in protest against papal extortion, told the Holy Father that he was commissioned to feed his Master's sheep, but not to slay them. The Statute of Provisors (1351) forbade papal appointments to English livings, and the Statute of Praemunire (1353) forbade

¹ J. F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property* (1290-1334)

appeals to courts outside of the realm Both laws, however, were found difficult to enforce

In the last decade of Edward III's reign the decline of English arms abroad was reflected in the decay of government at home The king became the tool of his mistress, Alice Perrers, and a cabal of corrupt nobles In the "Good Parliament" (1376) the Commons pro-^{England's weak position} tested against misgovernment and other evils Hope for better things hinged on the Black Prince, but he died in 1376, in the next year Edward III also passed away The year 1377 was the end of an epoch in England as 1380 was in France England's position was one of weakness and humiliation, France's position was one of power and glory

Clouds soon darkened over England Richard II (1377-99), son of the Black Prince, was a boy of eleven, under the tutelage of his uncles John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester The country was badly governed The Channel ^{Revolt in England} swarmed with sea-rovers From Portsmouth to Romney the south coast was ravaged by a fleet of French galleys In the north the Scotch were threatening Commerce and the finances were in bad condition There was much economic discontent and social unrest, and when parliament laid a poll-tax of twelve pence on every person above fifteen years of age, the eastern and southern shires blazed in the Peasants' Revolt (1381),¹ in which the accumulated popular discontent of the years since the Black Death found vent When the poll-tax was first imposed in 1377 the number of false returns was so great and so glaring that a Parliamentary commission was appointed, it found that 1,355,000 names had been returned, whereas there were not 900,000 persons in all England over fifteen years of age Ever since 1349 strikes and combinations of artisans and farm laborers had been continuous Corrupt politicians incited revolt Two aldermen of London actually admitted the peasant mob into the city

In the great towns there was jealousy of "foreigners," by which was meant not workingmen from abroad but from other towns Everywhere hatred prevailed against the rich abbots and their monks, in the countryside aggravating manorial exactions² still persisted, law courts were jammed with cases which had been there for years, the legal class, judges and lawyers, was hated, socio-religious fomenters like John Ball, a hedge-priest, travelled up and down the land along with radical friars and heretic Lollards It was not where serfdom was worst that the rebellion was most violent In London the mob of lower artisans and apprentices murdered the archbishop of Canterbury and the king's treasurer Wat Tyler, their leader, was condemned to death by the mayor of London The Peasants' Revolt was at last put down,

¹ This tax fell three times as heavily on the lower classes as the capitation tax of the previous year It demanded an equal sum from the poor as from the rich

² This explains why local tax rolls were seized and burned

but the "merciless suppression" is a myth. Court records of the trials show that not over one hundred and ten executions can be established.

Richard II had shown pluck in facing the mob in London, and the same may be said of his conduct in 1389 when he suddenly demanded of the council to know how old he was and declared that he no longer would be ruled. He was then twenty-four years of age. Richard II was not so much weak as vacillating. He had long lapses of indifference punctuated by furious spurts of energy. But much may be forgiven him. His uncle John of Gaunt intrigued to succeed to the throne¹ and to that end used his enormous wealth to purchase supporters in Parliament and, behind the scenes, fomented movements of popular unrest like the Peasants' Revolt and the Lollards (heretics) in order to increase the king's unpopularity. Again Richard wished to end the war with France which had languished but not lapsed. This explains why, after his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, died, he married Isabella, daughter of Charles VI of France, and made a twenty-five years' truce with France. England was left in possession of Calais and Bordeaux and the Biscay coast as far as Bayonne. All the rest of the great territory conceded to Edward III in 1360 England gave up. Lancaster inveighed against this peace policy as unpatriotic. In 1399 John of Gaunt died, his son Henry succeeded to his title and his purpose, and when the king was in Ireland, rebelled and claimed the throne. Richard II was seized on his return. The subservient Parliament deposed him, and Henry IV (1399-1413) was declared king. Richard II, like his hapless predecessor Edward II, died under mysterious circumstances in Pontefract Castle.

The reign of Charles VI of France (1380-1422) had striking analogies with that of Richard II. He, too, was a minor during the first eight years of his reign, under the tutelage of three unscrupulous uncles, the dukes of Anjou, of Berry, and of Burgundy. France was filled with economic discontent and social unrest—the aftermath of conditions in 1358—and these grievances were aggravated by the exactions of the regents, whose dishonest practices and wastefulness drove the people to desperation. The duke of Berry treated his government of Languedoc like a conquered country. In 1382 the storm broke. Languedoc and the Cévennes rebelled and bands of armed marauders, called the "Tuchins" because they "killed like dogs" (*tuer chiens*), devastated the towns and the countryside. Worse still was the condition of the north. Rouen rebelled in February. In March Paris exploded. The mob broke into the Hotel-de-Ville.

¹ The king was childless and in 1385 designated Roger, Earl of March, as his heir. He was the son of Edmund, earl of March, and Philippa, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. The Lancastrian "claim by blood" was dubiously derived from Edmund Hunchback, alleged elder brother of Edward I and Earl of Lancaster, who was set aside because of his deformity. Historians are agreed that the documents in the case were forgeries.

and seized twelve thousand mallets and hammers stored there — hence this rebellion is known as that of the Maillotins — sacked the city hall and other public buildings and private palaces. Everywhere the cellars were invaded, the wine casks broached while the rioters got drunk.

Rebellion also broke out in Flanders, especially in Ghent. It was a crudescence of the condition in 1345. The leader was Philip Van Artevelde, a son of that former tribune of the people. His political intention was to overthrow French domination in Flanders *Flanders* and to make a union with England. For family reasons, the French intervened. The battle of Roosebeke (November 27, 1382), where the French men-at-arms dismounted from their horses and fought on foot like infantrymen, and for the first time in hand-to-hand fighting bested the tough pikemen of Ghent, crushed the rebellion. The axe and the rope were used to punish the revolted towns. From the shambles in Flanders Charles VI returned to Paris. Frightened by the fate of Ghent, the Parisians sent a deputation to meet the king as he approached. Charles VI refused to see them and instead of passing through the open gate, breached the wall and entered Paris (January 11, 1383) as if it were a conquered city. Like Ghent, Paris was cruelly punished, the leaders were executed.

In 1388 Charles VI reached majority and a better day seemed to dawn. He recalled those who survived among his father's old ministers, restored the government of Paris, deprived the duke of Berry of the government of Languedoc. But within four years the king *Renewal of Civil War* lost his mind and to the end of his long reign had few recurrences of sanity. Until 1404 Philip of Burgundy was regent. When he died, bitter rivalry ensued between the mad king's brother Louis of Orléans and the new Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless. Each was equally corrupt, equally ambitious. But Louis's handsome figure, charming manners, gay and debonaire ways made him immensely popular with the Parisians, even though they knew he was fleecing them with taxes. On the other hand, Burgundy was hated for his sombre manners and his hollow pretensions to virtue. In November, 1407, Orléans was murdered and the guilt was fixed upon Burgundy. Civil war broke out. It was a war of partisans, but the sectionalism is important to observe. Southern and central France were Orléanist — or Armagnac, because these regions were headed by the count of Armagnac, while the north and northeast, where Burgundy's territories of Burgundy and Flanders were, adhered to John the Fearless. Paris, on the line where these two zones were tangent, was not clearly either way. The university professors, the upper bourgeoisie and better citizens hoping to effectuate a grand reform of administration, especially justice and finance, drew up an ordinance of 258 articles. But Burgundy's highhandedness ruined the program and in 1413 he and his partisans were expelled from Paris and the Armagnacs were called in.

Thus far the struggle in France had been one between parties. The alignment now became international. For Burgundy appealed to Henry IV of England for help, and offered to sustain him with soldiers and money and to put Flanders at his convenience if he would revive the war in France. Henry IV hesitated. He was like a man sitting on a powder keg. The Lancastrian dynasty had usurped the throne of England and reigned, not by hereditary right, but by act of parliament. The country was filled with discontent, political, economic, social, religious. For the Lollards were in full swing, so much so that in the last year of his reign Henry IV forced through a subservient parliament the notorious law for burning heretics (*De comburendo heretico*).

At this critical juncture the English king died and was succeeded by his son Henry V (1413-22), who had none of his father's hesitation. Indeed, he leaped at the chance to renew the war. Probably his motive was as much one of policy as of inclination. By reviving the war with France Henry V calculated to make himself popular with the nation and at the same time divert attention from discontent at home to events abroad. If he won, figured the king, he would return a hero like the Black Prince before him. It was a politically immoral purpose to which Henry V committed his country. Perhaps if he had not been able to rely on Burgundy's support, he might have hesitated.

After capturing Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine the English king marched eastward with the design of consolidating the territory between the lower Seine and the Somme with the Burgundian possessions. The great battle of Agincourt (or Azincourt) took place on October 25, 1415. As a defeat, it was a repetition of Crécy and Maupertuis. The English numbered about 9,000, the French about 50,000. The French chivalry displayed prodigious valor—and folly. The French loss numbered eleven thousand, among them a prince, a marshal and over a hundred high nobles. The English losses were less than one hundred! This was largely due to the steadiness of the yeomanry in the army, the longbowmen. Each of these had a sharpened post which he set obliquely in the ground, behind which he stood, confident that the stake would check the charge of any horse. Naked to the waist, barefooted, without armor, these English farm boys almost nonchalantly stood their ground and rained a hail of their terrible long arrows against the French. The élite of the English army, of course, were the nobles and their knightly retainers with whom Henry V fought—on foot, not on horseback—but it was not they who won the battle.

The field was heavy with mud. Knights and footmen got bogged down in it, and could only advance at a walk. When the English archers had exhausted their arrows they closed in against the French and, in the words of a contemporary historian, Monstrelet, "beat upon their armor with mallets and

hammers as though they were smiths hammering upon anvils" In some spots the French dead and wounded lay three deep When a false alarm was spread that French re-enforcements were approaching, Henry V ordered all the prisoners slain Many were stabbed, many knocked on the head before the order was countermanded It was a piece of English brutality equal to the Black Prince's massacre of the French prisoners, except nobles, after Maupertuis in 1356

After Agincourt the chaos in Paris was worse than that in 1356-58 The English armies rapidly overran the provinces in the north from the Somme to Brittany Henry V's conquest of Normandy "was not spectacular or chivalrous in outward seeming, like Edward *Conquest of France* III's great military progresses through the heart of France, but every year a solid block of territory was subdued" Every town was taken by siege and famine

In Paris the Armagnac government resorted to such terroristic methods that the Burgundians were introduced into the city (May 29, 1418), and a massacre followed France was now sustaining a foreign invasion from abroad and civil war within The nominal ruler *Murder of Burgundy* was the Dauphin, later Charles VII John the Fearless of Burgundy, by this time having grown perturbed by the astonishing development of the English power in France, began to have apprehensions lest England seek to annex Flanders, a plan as old as Edward III's first years, and made a tenuous overture to Charles for reconciliation An interview was arranged on the bridge at Montereau at the confluence of the Yonne with the Seine above Paris (September 10, 1419) Burgundy was all alone, the Dauphin had one attendant Suddenly the duke was killed by a dagger By whom? The Dauphin? No trial was ever held The murder of 1407 had thrown France into civil war The murder of 1419 narrowly missed destroying France In 1521 Francis I was shown the skull of Burgundy with a hole in it "Sire," said the priest who showed it to him, "c'est le trou par lequel les Anglais passèrent en France" — "This is the hole through which the English entered France"

The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip le Bon, after the senseless murder at Montereau, backed Henry V for the throne in order to prevent Charles VII from succeeding The English king, flushed with successes, insisted upon complete cession of all the French provinces *Henry V's exorbitant demands* north of the Loire River, even Paris — more than England had possessed in the time of Henry II — his own marriage to the French Princess Catherine and French consent to the provision that in event of a son being born of this marriage, he should be king of France This meant that the French monarchy would be limited to the central and southern provinces only The Treaty of Troyes (May, 1420) was the greatest humiliation in the history of France

But Henry V and Charles VI died in the same year in less than two months from each other (August 31, October 21, 1422) Henry VI, king of England and titular king of France, was less than two years old Henry V's will provided that his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, become regent in England and his brother John, Duke of Bedford, regent in France Gloucester was a bibliophile and patron of letters, but had no political discretion Bedford was both statesman and soldier, who accomplished wonders in rehabilitating the conquered dominions in France The Treaty of Troyes was so humiliating that enforcement of its terms was impossible The Scots' Brigade in the army of the Dauphin refused to abide by it, and on March 22 in the next year fought a furious engagement in Anjou at Baugé against the duke of Clarence In spite of defeat so heroic was the conduct of the Scots that the remnant was organized as the Scots Guard of the French kings which lasted until 1559 when the Scots were replaced by Swiss If the French had beaten the English at Baugé, Henry V's chances of enforcing the Treaty of Troyes would have been ruined, and the Hundred Years' War would have ended A second English victory in 1424 at Verneuil in Perche exhausted French military efforts for the next five years

Bedford was honest, just, capable But in spite of all his efforts he could not reconcile the conquered provinces to an alien rule The towns stubbornly held out and had to be subjugated one by one At last, after seven years, only a single city north of the Loire remained in French hands This was Orléans In the spring of 1429 the loyal city was laid to siege by the English, when lo, a miracle!

Jean Darc,¹ a peasant girl from Domrémy on the Meuse bordering on Lorraine, a religious mystic, imbued with the idea that she was inspired by "her voices" to come to the aid of her king, suddenly appeared at the French court at Chinon in Touraine The court was in a flutter—a peasant girl declaring herself to be divinely commissioned for a task which the French army could not achieve The French commander in chief, who was *not* at the front, protested, the ecclesiastics were shocked at what seemed to them defiance of their peculiar authority to interpret God's will Charles VII was filled with misgiving He was a weak, vacillating, frivolous king It is hard to say what persuaded him. Perhaps like a gambler, he "took a chance" At any rate he waived aside all objections, gave Jean a suit of armor, a horse, a body of troops, Du Guesclin's ring, and sent her forth to relieve Orléans. When she appeared in the beleaguered city, which was still open by the water-gate, the French soldiery, hardly more than a ribald, undisciplined gang, accepted her instantly either out of superstitious fear or mere desire of novelty In seven days Orléans was saved

¹ This is the preferred spelling of her name Joan of Arc is absurd No such village as Arc is known

(April 8, 1429) But this was only the beginning In the following year Jean drove the English out of all the territory between Orléans and Paris and carried her king triumphantly to Rheims where he was crowned It was an heroic, but futile feat For the English were given time to strengthen Paris and other towns in their hands Jean ought to have advanced against Paris, at once, and on down the Seine, by which a wedge would have been driven in between the English and the Burgundian possessions, after Charles VII's coronation, when she tried to do this, it was too late In May, 1430, she was captured near Compiègne and after a mock trial was condemned as a heretic and a witch, and was burned at the stake in the market square of Rouen on May 31, 1431 Her marvellous life had filled two years of history, yet her memory will live forever It is heart-breaking to read of her trial, to know that Charles VII made no effort to ransom her, even though the English never would have sold her

It seems a hard thing to say, but it is true that Jean Darc did not save France Her career was only a magic episode She did not fire France into flame The concept of her as having inspired France with the spirit of national sentiment is a modern interpretation of her France was yet too feudal to be national What saved France was Burgundy's desertion of the the English cause (Treaty of Arras, September 21, 1435) — for the price of Charles VII's cession of Auxerre, Macon, Peronne, and other towns along the Somme — and the death of the Duke of Bedford in the same year In the next year (1436) the English lost Paris

The war lapsed in the succeeding years, and this gave time for a loyal group around the king to institute a series of reforms which greatly strengthened the government The finances were restored by Jacques Coeur, a rich merchant of Bourges who had made an enormous fortune for those days in the Oriental trade and in mining in France Charles VII treated him shabbily, and he died poor His house in Bourges which he erected in the days of his prosperity is preserved by the French government as a national monument It is the finest example of a rich man's residence in the fifteenth century in France The other most important reform was the establishment of a permanent tax to be levied by the crown without reference to the States-General, either the national body or provincial estates, for the payment of regular troops

This act (Ordonnance of Orléans, 1439) created a small but effective standing army, and put an end to the old feudal levies, which had proved their total incompetence in the disasters of Crécy, Maupertuis and Agincourt The new troops cleaned out vagabond soldiery and bandits in the provinces so that agriculture and commerce again could be pursued without molestation Charles VII's "Twenty Companies of Ordinance" — five for the south, fifteen for the north of France were the first standing army in Europe The king nominated the officers

and paid the men, liberal rations were given. The soldiers were distributed in towns and cities as local garrisons, the chief duty of the troops was to suppress brigandage and "tuchins" and "écorcheurs" from which the peasantry had suffered for a century. They were well disciplined troops without local or personal attachments elsewhere. They were divided into companies, each with its own officers, and a mixed troop of light and heavy horse and mounted archers. In a few years batteries of cannon and siege-trains were added to each company. In addition, Charles VII organized the Francs Archers, a sort of territorial militia regularly equipped and trained every season, but only to be called out in event of actual war. They gradually passed out of use as the standing army was increased.

This was the dawn of the age of artillery. Gun-powder was a European, not a Chinese invention. They had long had incendiary compounds, as the

*Progress of
artillery*

Byzantines had "Greek fire," liquid bitumen and naphtha. There is no conclusive evidence that the Chinese devices were of an explosive nature. Cannon were known from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. A German army used them in 1331, a French fleet bombarded Southampton in 1338. The earliest form seems to have been made of several small tubes clamped together, so that the touch-holes could be ignited by one sweep of the linstock. In France this weapon was called a *ribauld* and was mounted on wheels. Larger tubes, real cannon, soon followed and rapidly tended to grow heavier. A difficulty which took long to overcome was the fixed position of these guns. Guns which could be elevated or depressed did not come in until the fifteenth century. By that time the bore had greatly increased so that balls weighing two hundred or even four hundred pounds could be fired. Such cannon were too cumbersome for field use and were employed in sieges in which they were fearfully effective. The first successful field artillery, or portable cannon, were made by the Bureau Brothers, Charles VII's gun founders. The siege-trains which they manufactured conquered Normandy and Anjou.

The last years of the war saw the slow but sure recovery of its lost provinces by the French crown. Town after town was taken or voluntarily went over to Charles VII. The English resistance melted like butter

*French recover
provinces*

in the sun. In 1448 Anjou and Maine succumbed, in 1449-50 Normandy was recovered. Sixty successful sieges were put through in 369 days. In 1450 Cherbourg was captured. In 1451 the invasion of Gascony was begun, where the last town to hold out, Bayonne, was taken on August 25. The pride of England rallied for a brief spell. Gascony was the last remnant of the once great Plantagenet empire. By 1452 England possessed only Calais and Bordeaux. The great Talbot was sent out as a forlorn hope. He was sixty-nine years old and had fought at Agincourt in 1415. The reorganized French army had batteries of cannon while the English army was still armed after the feudal manner! With the impetuosity

with which the French knights had once cast themselves upon the stakes and arrows of the English, so now the English at Castillon (July 17, 1453) threw themselves upon the French guns. It was a massacre. Blinded with sweat and blood, old Talbot flung one arm around his son's shoulder, the other around that of a friend, and together the devoted three fell dead. Years afterwards Talbot's sword was found in the Dordogne River, the very blade which Shakespeare lauded. With the death of Talbot the long English domination in France, which had begun with William the Conqueror, was ended. France was a united country under a revived monarchy. Charles VII lived eight years longer, blest by his people. He died in 1461, perhaps the meanest and the luckiest king who ever reigned.

What of England's history during these years so fatal to her power and pride? The second half of the fourteenth century and the whole of the fifteenth until the accession of Henry VII of the House of Tudor in 1485 was a grisly period. The brilliance of Henry V's conquests must not blind us to the folly in his reign in which mere "drum and trumpet" history was the only "glory." There was no constitutional progress in the Lancastrian epoch. Henry VI was guided by his ambitious and intriguing queen, Margaret of Anjou, actually a French princess but daughter of René, titular King of Naples. The marriage, which took place in 1445, was purely political, with the design to save Anjou, the cradle of the Plantagenets, to England, if only as dowry of the queen.

During Henry VI's long minority the regency of his uncle Gloucester was constantly opposed by Beaufort, a younger son of John of Gaunt, who was Bishop of Winchester, and in his late years papal legate and cardinal. Beaufort was an advocate of peace with France. The feud between him and Humphrey of Gloucester lasted until the death of both of them in 1447. In 1450 things came to a climax both at home and abroad. The Duke of Suffolk, the king's favorite, fell into disfavor owing to the reverses in France and was impeached and banished. So high was the hatred of the Londoners against him that he barely escaped to the coast. Even then he was overtaken, and to let a contemporary tell the tale:

"In the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat, and there was an axe and a stoke (block). And one of the lewdest of the crew bade him lay down his head, and he should be 'fair ferd wyth,' and die on a sword. And he took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes." Poor Suffolk, he was no man to hold the helm of England in those whirlpool times. "Sad is the rule and governance of England," complained the Earl of Oxford.

In the same year Jack Cade's rebellion occurred. Unlike the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, it was not predominantly a peasant nor even a bourgeois insurrec-

tion Many small gentry and even local constabulary took part in it Shakespeare has made it ridiculous in *Henry VI*, but it was no laughing matter then In the same year in which Talbot was sent out to Gascony Richard, Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, came over sea with an army and demanded the impeachment of Somerset,¹ now almost as unpopular as Suffolk had been Henry VI was verging upon insanity, York² was made protector, and Somerset rebelled In the battle of St Alban's (May 23, 1455) Somerset was killed and York was master of England The War of Roses had begun

Thus at the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War, while France had become a united kingdom, England was thrown into civil war

¹ He was an elder brother of Cardinal Beaufort and like him a son of John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III

² Richard of York was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III

*Jack Cade's
rebellion*

CHAPTER XXIX

CENTRAL EUROPE, GERMANY AND ITALY FROM 1250 TO 1493

After the later Hohenstaufen emperors removed the seat of rule from Germany to Naples and Sicily, and no king lived in Germany, local and provincial forces gained the mastery. The bishops became great feudal lords. Dukes, margraves, landgraves, counts multiplied in number, each striving to increase his territory and establish his political power. This process is described as the upgrowth of the *Landeshoheit* — the increase of territorial supremacy. Frederick II made only two visits to Germany in his long reign, leaving the kingly rule to be exercised titularly more than actually by his sons, Henry and later Conrad. He might have restrained the growth of feudal authority to some degree if he had favored the rising cities, but the experience in Lombardy had given him an antipathy towards independent municipalities, and accordingly he played into the hands of the great German bishops and nobles.

*Decentralization
of Germany*

The death of Frederick II was followed by the Great Interregnum (1250–73) when for twenty-three years there was no king in Germany. A contemporary monastic chronicler compared the state of things with that of ancient Israel in the time of the Judges, “when there was no king” and violence and anarchy prevailed. The resolution of the pope that he would have no other emperor, lest the conflict between emperor and pope be renewed, was primarily responsible for this condition, but it was aggravated by the ambition of the high German princes who wanted no king over them. Nevertheless, there were many aspirants, and since the Holy Roman Empire was an international state, most of these came from the outside. The most prominent of these were Richard of Cornwall, a son of Henry III of England, and Alfonso of Castile. Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis of France, played with the idea of becoming emperor, but finally abandoned the design for Naples and Sicily instead.

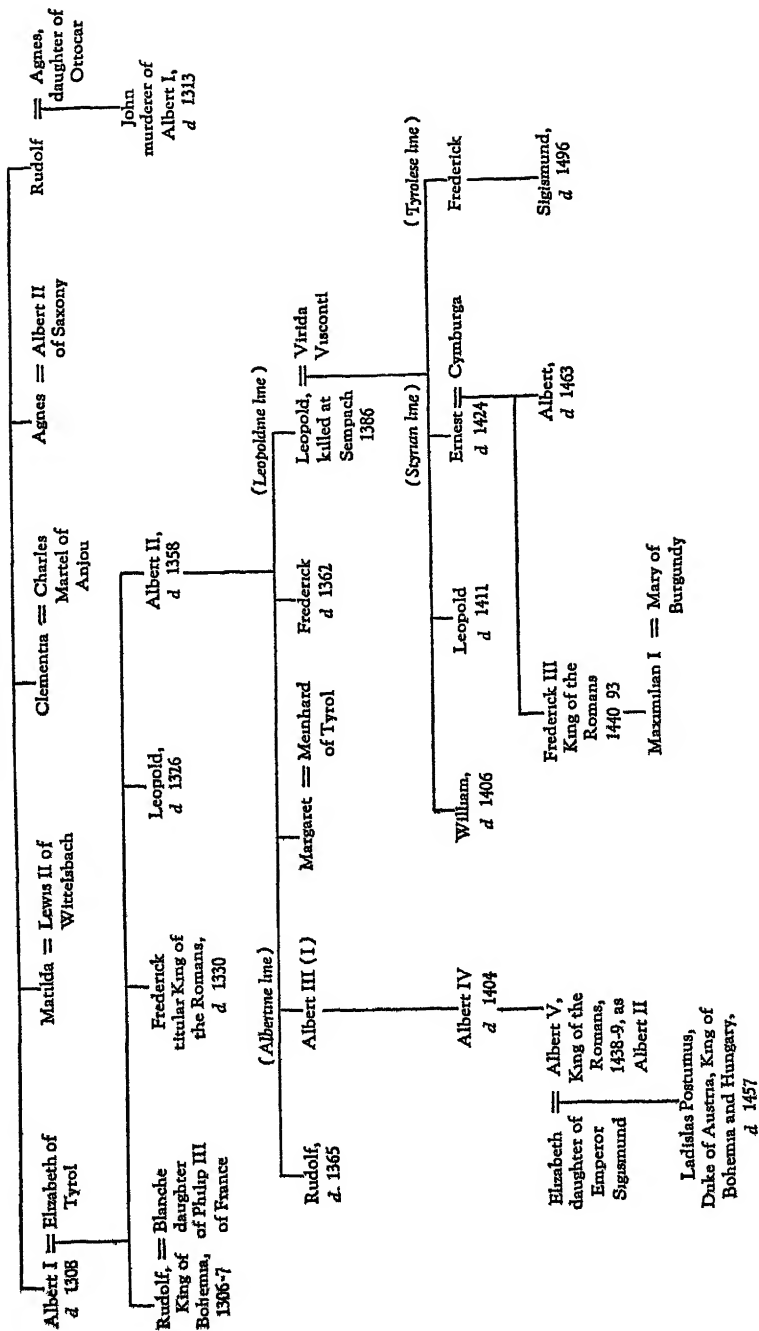
*The Great
Interregnum*

Meanwhile the violence and turmoil in Germany reached such an excess that at last the pope consented to the election of a new king-emperor, but stipulated that the new king must not be chosen from among the high princes of Germany lest his power be so great that he might revive the ancient conflict, and that he be loyal to the Church. The choice fell on Rudolph of Habsburg (Hawk’s Castle), lord of a castle the ruins of which exist today and are at present owned by an American millionaire, situated above the valley of the Aar northeast of

*Election of
Rudolph of
Habsburg*

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

RUDOLF I, 1273-91



Zurich The family came originally from Alsace and Rudolph was landgrave there, but his chief activity was as "advocate" or protector of several monasteries in Switzerland, where he also possessed the County of Zurich His name was practically unknown in Germany and many a noble when the news of his election to be king came, must have exclaimed "Who's Rudy?"

The election did not bring an end to the anarchy in Germany, which went on more or less for years But it raised one of the greatest houses not only of German but of European history, into the limelight The pope would have been glad to have the new king interfere in Italy in his support But Rudolph was too cautious He cared little for the imperial title and would not go to Rome to receive it He was even indifferent to German affairs Like other German princes, he was eager to increase his family possessions, to build up his house-power (*Hausmacht*), and was willing to use the authority of his new office when and how he could, to that end But he would not lift a finger for Germany Luck played into his hand In 1246 the Babenberg house in Austria and the adjacent lands, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria had expired Legally, land left without an heir escheated to the crown But Frederick II was in the death throes of his conflict with Innocent IV and could not "collect" the vacant fiefs Then came the Interregnum when there was no king Accordingly, Ottocar II, King of Bohemia, a country which lay next door to Austria, seized the Austrian lands and refused to give them up when Rudolph demanded that they be returned to the crown Supported by papal money and followed by many military adventurers who looked for good pickings, Rudolph in 1278 defeated and slew Ottocar in the battle of the Marchfeld By a stroke of the sword he became one of the richest and most powerful princes in Germany and was king to boot Henceforth Vienna was the capital of the Habsburgs for six hundred and forty years The Marchfeld was a far more important battle than is usually thought Ottocar of Bohemia had dreamed of creating a great Slavonic kingdom by compacting together Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, the half-Slavonized eastern marks of Germany, even Ruthenia, and extending his domination all the way to the borders of Italy Emperor Rudolph was in a tight place A good many of the German princes regretted the end of the anarchy of the Interregnum, by which numbers of them had profited, moreover, they resented Rudolph's cunning, force, and good luck He owed his triumph to a large contingent of Hungarians—for Hungary was fearful of Ottocar's ambition—supplemented by several thousand wild Cumans, who were horse-bowmen from the steppes of southern Russia and savage heathens.

The royal and imperial crown of Germany was an elective one, but by the middle of the fifteenth century the Habsburgs had succeeded in acquiring permanent possession of it In the intervals other ambitious dynasts held the title for a longer or shorter season. A few of them should be noticed. Rudolph died in 1291. One

Rudolph acquires Austria

The imperial crown

of his later successors was Henry, Count of Luxemburg (1308-13), who was partly French and whose language was French. Chance gave him opportunity to marry his son John to the heiress of Bohemia. It was a practical stroke, but Henry for the most part was an "idle dreamer of an empty day." His dream was to restore the Empire, although it had ceased to be a political reality and existed only as an idea, a lean and shattered phantom state, and as fictional in its nature as the Later Roman Empire had been in the fifth century. Accordingly when Italian imperialists, who were still fighting locally against Guelf and papal partisans, appealed to Henry VII to intervene in Italy, he lent a willing ear. "Lost causes" are proverbial in history for the mystical enthusiasm which has invested them. The greatest political mystic of that day was the poet Dante, who as the result of Florence, his native city, having become involved in strife with Boniface VIII, had been exiled. The event imbued Dante with a bitter hatred of the papacy and he was the most fervid advocate of the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. In promotion of this idea, whose grandeur was in inverse proportion to its practicability, Dante wrote one of the greatest political tracts of history, the *De monarchia*. In this pamphlet he visualized a new Europe under the aegis of the International Empire, much as many persons in these years of storm and stress since the World War have regarded the League of Nations.

Dante looked to Germany as the recreator of the Roman Empire in the Middle Ages, and correspondingly hated France as the great antagonist of Germany and assailant of the imperial idea. He had no admiration even for St. Louis and only mentioned him incidentally. To him Germany and Italy formed a natural unity. Germany was the political center of gravity of Europe, Italy the cultural center. For the pope of his day, Boniface VIII, he had hatred and contempt but the papacy he revered as a divine institution and divinely ordained to be a partner of the empire. When corrupted by evil popes it must be scourged into reform by the emperor, as Otto I and Henry III had done before. He felt for the ideal papacy as much reverence as for the ideal empire. But he repudiated as utterly abhorrent the claims of the popes to temporal supremacy. He condemned the temporal power of the Church in every form and shape, whether in assertion of universal jurisdiction, or of temporal sovereignty over a particular territory. Dante's fundamental principles in politics tinctured his religious beliefs just as his religious beliefs colored his political ideas. He believed in the divine authority of the Roman Empire. Even when it was a pagan empire he believed that it had been ordained by God. Indeed, he transfers the empire to heaven, representing the Roman Empire as having been a reflection of the political order of the heavenly kingdom. The people in heaven are repeatedly made to allude to God as "our emperor," and even Christ is called "a Roman" (*Purgatoria* xxxi, line 102). The only emperor whom Dante consigned to hell is Frederick II, whom no Catholic possibly

*Dante's political
ideals*

could defend In the *Paradiso* Dante devotes a whole canto to an outline of the history of Rome, put in the mouth of Justinian The Roman eagle is called the "bird of God" The medieval empire was a "Christian Commonwealth" (*respublica christiana*), an international commonwealth of nations

The real history of this time turns not on the central policy of the emperors, but on the new and teeming life which was developed in the particular territories Germany was too vast and too heterogeneous in its elements to be brought under the dominion of one constitution *German territorial struggles* such as was then, for example, growing into shape in England and France The territories of the different German princes were made up of fragments held by various tenures, and their power was continually checked by ecclesiastical immunities, free cities, and nobles who claimed to hold immediately of the empire Their common bond was the imperial authority which was no longer competent to discharge its function as the center of unity for this mass of dissimilar elements It was left to each prince to increase his possessions and form them into a state This was a work of violence and could only assume the shape of revolt against authority and disregard for law The immediate motive was greed, but there was a real need for some sort of order and efficiency It was one persistent struggle for political existence It was the "survival of the fittest"

The three most powerful houses in Germany at this time were the Austrian Habsburgs, the Luxemburgs,¹ and the Wittelsbachers of Bavaria, the one original duchy of Germany that had preserved its integrity through the storms of the Interregnum Now Ludwig *Election of Ludwig of Bavaria* of Bavaria (1314-47) — Ludwig IV as emperor — was chosen king-emperor, to the rage of Frederick of Austria Between Bavaria and Austria no love had ever been lost

The exception to this *Hausmacht* policy was the history of Switzerland, the rise and formation of which is now to be considered Only the German part of Switzerland will be discussed For *Switzerland* the nucleus of the Swiss Republic were the German cantons The history of French and Italian Switzerland belongs to modern history

The three cantons that made up the nucleus of Switzerland were Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden lying in the very heart of the Alps Feudalism had never been able to strike deep roots into alpine soil The primitive free German village still survived in the heart of the Alps, situated far up the tongues of the valleys or on the mountain slopes The people lived by cattle-and-goat-raising, dairying, lumbering, wood-working and very simple farming, and preserved their freedom because such regions were not worth subjugating by the feudality Feudalism obtained only on the floors of the valleys, especially along the lake shores, and the establishments there were

¹ The Luxemburgs and the Habsburgs alike had great good luck in placing scions of their house into fiefs which were empty because of failure of male heirs



principally monasteries and nunneries, like St Gall Chur was the most important of the few bishoprics. Rudolph of Habsburg had been the protector of these monasteries and nunneries, and naturally the Habsburgs tried to retain their hold amid the Alps.

But one must go back to some years before the rise of the Habsburgs for the inception of Swiss history. Emperor Frederick II in his vain effort to keep Germany and Italy together had seen the necessity for preserving control of the St Gotthard Pass, the only one *Beginnings of Swiss history* through the Alps which was not possessed by some other authority. It was the shortest and most direct route into Germany, although the highest and most difficult. It was opened in 1237 and it was a triumph of medieval engineering. As the St Gotthard slowly approached completion in 1231 Frederick II, with an eye to the future, took the canton of Uri under his immediate authority and granted the freemen in it a charter which released them from the control of the Habsburgs. In 1240 the emperor granted a similar charter to the freemen of Schwyz. In 1291, anticipating a "come-back" by the Habsburgs, now that they were well settled in Austria, these two cantons, with Unterwalden, united for self-protection. In 1309 this confederation was confirmed by Henry VII, who also wished to preserve control of the pass between Germany and Italy. The story of William Tell is ascribed to the years between 1291 and 1309, or more nearly to the years 1307-08. But the tale is pure legend. Tell has no historical existence.

We lose sight of Swiss history for six years until 1315, when there is record of the first battle for Swiss liberty at Morgarten (Moorgarden) where Leopold of Austria was beaten, this defeat was duplicated in 1322 at Ampfing. In the middle of the fourteenth century new additions were made to the three original cantons of Switzerland, *Swiss independence* and what is remarkable is that three of these were towns—Zurich, Luzern, and Bern—and that only two, Zug and Glarus, were rural or "forest cantons." By 1353 Switzerland may be said to have been formed. One battle more and Switzerland was free. In 1386 at Sempach, Austria made its last attempt to crush the Swiss. The Swiss peasantry fought without armor, with home-made pikes and in close, phalanx formation. The Austrian horsemen could not charge the bristling array, and could not break the solid squares.

The pike was an ashen shaft eighteen feet in length. "Before the line projected, not only the pikes of the first rank, but those of the second, third and fourth, an impenetrable hedge of bristling points." When *Swiss arms* the pikemen were on the march, the pikes, of course, were held vertically and gave the appearance of a moving wood. Above the heads of the pikemen floated the pennons and banners of the towns and cantons represented, the greatest among them being the standard of "The Ancient League of High Germany," the original name of the Swiss Republic, which

was a white cross on a red field.¹ Mixed with the pikemen were halberdiers. The halberd was a heavy blade like an enormous hatchet fixed on the end of a stout eight-foot handle on the back of which was a spike or hook. It was a two-handed weapon and could split a man from shoulder to groin. When Charles the Bold was killed by the Swiss at Nancy in 1477, "all his face was one gash from temple to teeth." The halberd could not be used, like the pike, to repel cavalry charges, for it required room for the bearer to swing the weapon. The pike lasted until after the musket became formidable in the second half of the sixteenth century. When the bayonet was invented it converted the musket into a sort of pike and its double efficiency put the pike out of business. "The musketeer became his own pikeman."

This account of the rise and formation of Switzerland has carried our narrative past other important events in German history, to which we must now give attention. Ludwig IV, like Henry VII before him, endeavored to intervene in Italy. This excited the anger of Pope John XXII — who though no longer resident in Rome but in Avignon, nevertheless still clung to Boniface VIII's policy of constant interference in Italian politics. Ludwig IV had been crowned emperor at Aachen. The pope, taking the ground that papal consent to election and papal coronation were necessary, denied the legality of Ludwig IV's claims and denounced him. What followed enables us to measure how far the spirit of Europe had changed since Boniface VIII. In 1338 the German diet met at Frankfort and by the law *Licet juris* declared that the German king was *ipso facto* emperor also without any papal confirmation, and that the pope's "false and dangerous assertion" was the work of the devil. As in the struggle between Boniface VIII and Philip IV a generation earlier, so now this incident called forth many pamphlets. The most eminent among these political writers were Marsiglio of Padua, an Italian lawyer who had studied at Paris, author of a tract entitled *Defender of the Peace* (*Defensor Pacis*), and William of Ockham, an English Franciscan, the last of the great scholastic philosophers, who wrote a work entitled *Eight Questions Concerning the Power and Dignity of the Pope*. Both tracts were based upon Aristotle's *Politics* and questioned the whole papal theory of the nature of the state and the office of government. The knell of papal supremacy was tolled in these documents. The old order was passing away. If Ludwig IV had been a great prince he might have ridden to fortune on this turn of the tide.

The struggle between pope and emperor in the Middle Ages strengthened the centrifugal forces within the empire. Yet other European states had struggles with the popes and still succeeded in consolidating their power. The real reasons why the German rulers failed to curb the disruptive tendencies of feudalism lay

¹ On one of the old bridges at Luzern there is a long series of quaint sixteenth-century battle pieces of this kind depicted.

in the confusion of the German kingship with the Roman Empire, with its distracting claims in Italy, and the fact that sovereignty was elective and had, therefore, often to be bought by concessions to the feudatory princes. In addition, the custom of the equal division of fiefs among all the sons of a baron aggravated territorial particularism, while primogeniture, as in France, tended to preserve the integrity of feudal territories. Instead of following the principle of primogeniture, as in France, and so preserving the unity of their house lands, the German baronage did exactly the opposite. The result was territorial and political decomposition. By the middle of the fourteenth century there were nearly three hundred principalities in Germany, few of which were of impressive size.

The violent efforts made by the Emperor Ludwig IV to increase his territories, especially in acquiring the Margravate of Brandenburg and its dependent lands, led to his deposition, and to the election of Charles of Luxemburg and Bohemia in his stead. *Charles IV* Charles IV (1347-78) was a very different man from his grandfather, the former Emperor Henry VII. He did not belong to that age of violence and mock-chivalry. In the fourteenth century progressive rulers were cabinet kings, and not warriors. It is customary to say that the modern type of king emerged in Louis XI of France and Henry VII of England late in the fifteenth century. This is not true. For Charles IV of Germany and his contemporary, Charles V of France, were cool-headed and sagacious men who perceived that the pen was usually mightier than the sword, and prevailed not by force of arms but by diplomacy and statecraft.

Charles IV attempted to arrest the evil of disintegration, or at least to save the largest states from further dissolution, and at the same time definitely to settle the manner of election of the king-emperor. The Golden Bull which he issued in 1356 became one of the fundamental *Reforms of Charles IV* constitutions of the German Empire. It provided for an electoral college composed of three ecclesiastical and four lay electors, viz. the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. The archbishops historically were respectively the grand chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, the three component realms of the Empire. The four lay territories were the largest in Germany. Bavaria was represented by the junior branch of the ducal family, the Count Palatine. It is to be noted that Austria was excluded though Austria was among the great territories, for there was too much jealousy of the Habsburgs. These four territories were forever to be indivisible and the succession was to be by primogeniture, the electoral title was to be higher than those of duke and margrave. It was unfortunate that Charles IV was not equally wise with regard to the composition of the German diet. He was perhaps more hostile to the bourgeois revolution than any other sovereign. He hated the cities. This newly risen

pushing burgher democracy seemed to him a tumultuous, revolutionary element which disrupted government and society. Accordingly, in Germany the third estate was excluded from the diet until 1469. This is what made the diet so different from the English Parliament and the French States-General. In conclusion it may be added that Charles IV made Prague the most intellectual and cultured city in central Europe and founded there in 1348 the first university north of the Alps. Germany had no university until Heidelberg was established in 1386.

Charles IV's weakness as a parent overcame his principles. Before his death, instead of preserving the union of his many territories, he divided them among his three sons. *Charles IV divides his lands* Wenzel (1378-1814), the eldest, received Bohemia, Silesia and Luxemburg, the last being distant from Bohemia by the whole breadth of the German kingdom, Sigismund got the Mark Brandenburg, which had escheated to the imperial crown some years earlier, and John, the youngest, received Lusatia. Wenzel was a wretched prince and was deposed as emperor in 1400. This was the period of the great schism in the Church, when there were two rival popes, two church systems, two obediences. If Wenzel had carried out his purpose of being crowned by Urban VI at Rome, the Church schism might have come to an end long before it was actually settled. Wenzel also estranged himself from Germany by his Polish and Hungarian policy. The throne of Hungary fell vacant in 1382 and that of Poland in 1386, and Wenzel strove to get one or both of them for his brother Sigismund. He was successful in the case of Hungary but failed in Poland where the princess Jadwiga (German, Hedwig), in 1386 married the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vladislav II Jagiello, and thus united Poland and Lithuania.

The last king of the Piast dynasty which had made Poland, Casimir the Great, died in 1370. Princess Jadwiga, who was born and brought up in Buda at the court of her father, was but eleven years old when in *Union of Poland and Lithuania* 1384 she was solemnly crowned "king," not queen, of Poland. At thirteen she married. Her new country, its customs and its language, were unknown to her, but she was a precocious child, and her Lithuanian husband proved sincere in his profession of the Catholic faith. Jadwiga died at the age of twenty-six, leaving behind her a memory still cherished by the Poles. The moral and political success of the union of Poland-Lithuania was due to her. She was the soul of Poland in its conflict against the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, although she did not live to see the Polish victory over them in 1410.

The eastward expansion of the German people against the Slavs, that merciless "Eastward Drive" which had been continued ever since the tenth century, had not been arrested by the political *German eastward drive* disintegration of Germany in the thirteenth century, and large tracts of territory along the Baltic east of the Vistula, originally inhab-

ited by Slavs and Letts, were Germanized Unlike previous expansions this one was in the nature of a crusade The Order of the Swordbearers was already established in Livonia when the Teutonic Knights, which had been founded during the Third Crusade, and who now had little to do after the loss of Palestine, were called in by Conrad of Mazovia to aid him in his struggle with the heathen and warlike Prussians¹ The conquest was rapidly pushed Germanization of the country proceeded vigorously By 1308 all Pomerania — or Pomorze, the "land beyond the sea," as the Poles called it — was seized by the Knights, thus cutting off Poland territorially and politically from the Baltic² Christianity was forcibly established by the Teutonic Knights and a rigid military regime was established in Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia, and Kurland The towns at the mouths of the rivers, such as Danzig, Reval, Riga, were almost wholly peopled by Germans Inland the population consisted of Slavs, Prussians, and Lithuanians, whom the Knights reduced to serfdom The country was too far away from Germany to tempt great numbers of the German peasantry Thus it came to pass that the German clergy, nobility, and burghers, needing a heavy laboring class, subjugated these natives and reduced them to the cruelest form of serfdom While everywhere else in Europe serfdom was becoming ameliorated, serfdom in Prussia was a throw-back to the harshest times of the Middle Ages The condition grew worse as Germany was becoming weaker and more divided The land bristled with castles, the greatest being situated at Marienburg, which still stands intact and is one of the most formidable examples of military architecture in Europe

In 1410 at Tannenberg the Teutonic Knights were disastrously beaten by the Poles By 1466 the grandmaster of the Teutonic Order remained in possession only of East Prussia, which was then a Polish fief

The history of Germany has been covered in the preceding pages from the beginning of the Interregnum in 1250 to 1410 But one important subject still remains, viz the history of the commercial leagues, especially the Hanseatic League

No country in Europe had so many cities as Germany in the later Middle Ages, nor were any others so free This was due to the absence of strong kingship or other centralized political authority In France the kings had restrained the cities from acquiring complete *German cities* independence In Italy the cities had lost their liberty and fallen under the domination of local despots

These free German cities stood in the same relation to the kingdom as the principalities They were city-states But instead of being feudal states, they

¹ The Prussians or Boro-Russians were not Slavs but kindred to the Lithuanians

² Poland did not recover Pomorze, with Danzig, until 1466 The territory was again lost to Poland and acquired by Prussia in the eighteenth century when almost all of Poland was partitioned by Prussia, Austria, and Russia The present "Polish Corridor" established in 1918 was meant as reparation for those events.

were burgher communities actively engaged in commerce and industry, in which the trade guilds — the industrial classes, not the laboring classes — controlled the local government. On the one hand stood the cities, on the other the princes, lay and ecclesiastical. The knightly body, half burgher, half rural, was divided, now leaning towards the cities, now towards the princes, or forming confederations of knights to carry out policies of their own. Feud was constant between the cities and the princes. Germany never clearly settled the question whether future political formation would build upon the princes or upon the cities, as took place in Italy.

Monarchy in Germany fell between these two stools. The kings themselves never could make up their minds with which group to throw in their lot. Moreover, the cities played a muddled policy.

The cities fell into four groups: (1) the Rhenish cities (Mainz, Cologne, Frankfurt, Coblenz, Strasbourg, Basel), (2) the Swabian cities, with Ulm and Augsburg at their head, (3) the Swiss cities — it must be remembered that Switzerland was a part of Germany and not an independent state — such as Zurich, Luzern, St. Gall. The Swabian cities were simple cities of the kingdom (*Reichstädte*) which strove to acquire complete independence. The cities of the Rhine, except Frankfurt, were *free* and took their oath to the king only as king, they paid no regular tax to the empire, but owed the empire only a contribution to its common burdens. (4) The cities of North Germany along the North Sea and the Baltic.

In the thirteenth century, even before the anarchy of the Interregnum, certain of the cities began to associate for the mutual protection of their trade. The tendency first appeared, as one might expect, among the cities of the Rhine. In 1226 Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basel formed a league to protect their trade up and down the river against pirates and robber barons. It was soon joined by other towns. Smaller combinations rapidly followed in many other regions — Basel and Muhlhausen (1246), Brunswick and Stade (1248), Cologne, Boppard, and Coblenz (1253), Munster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippestadt in Westphalia (1252). In 1254 these regional associations were combined into the League of the Rhine. This is the earliest instance of the burghers playing an important part in German history. In a similar way the Swabian League was formed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It included the chief cities in Swabia, and in 1353 was joined by the Swiss cities. The whole territory, therefore, from the Alps to the lower Rhine was covered by this network of cities.

It is not to be assumed that this development was without opposition. The feudal nobles, whether bishops or barons, bitterly contended against the cities. The Emperor Charles IV, as has been pointed out, was so hostile to the city leagues that he shut them out from representation in the diet in 1356 by the Golden Bull. The

*Independent
city states*

*Four groups of
cities*

*Associations of
cities*

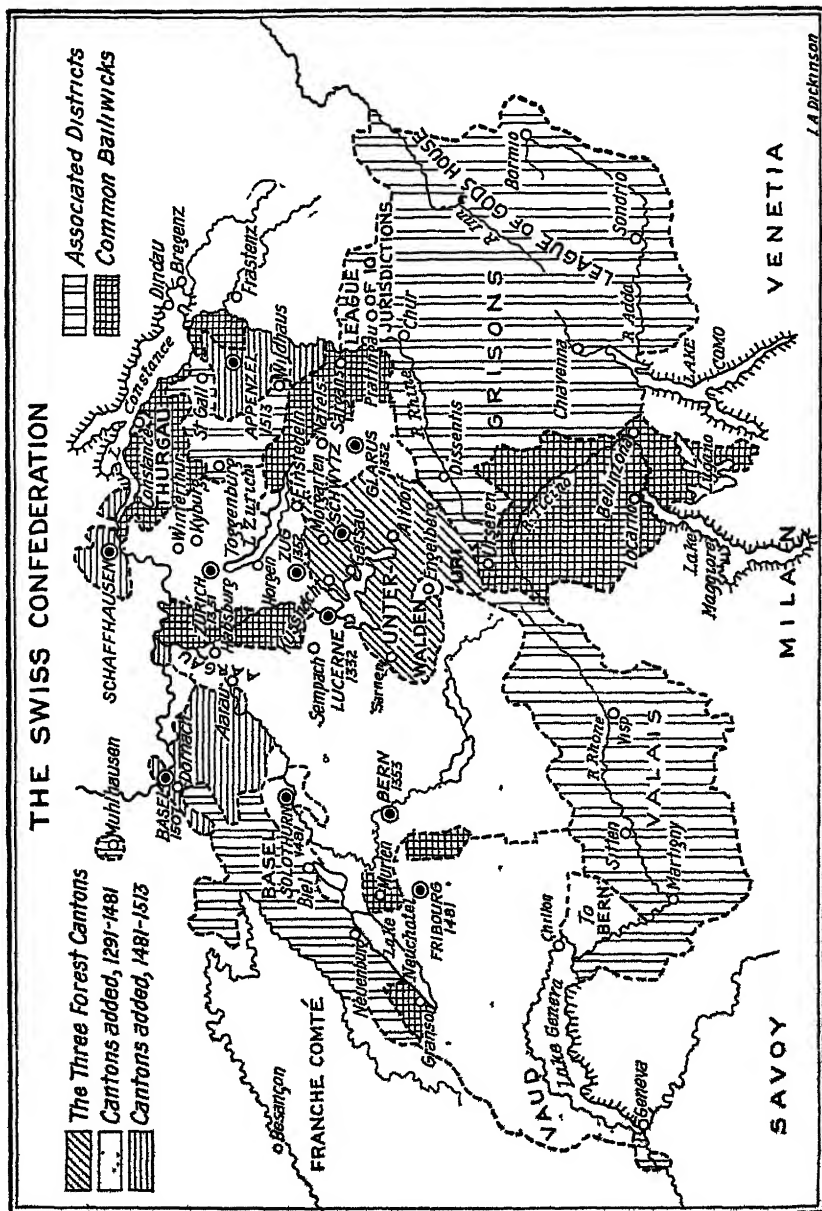
*Opposition to
cities*

The Three Forest Cantons
Cantons added, 1291-1481
Cantons added, 1481-1513

SCHAFFHAUSEN

Wülthausen

Associated Districts
Common Bailiwicks



(Reprinted from *The Middle Ages*, by James Westfall Thompson By permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A Knopf Inc.)

amusing opposition, however, came from small barons and robber-knights who had lived by rapine for years, and themselves formed counter-associations to "preserve their interests." Two of these were the Martinsvogel (named after the day on which the union was formed) and the Lowenbund (Lions' Club). In self-defence, the cities organized town militia, police patrols on the highways, and flotillas on the rivers to escort their merchants. These forces did good work in destroying castles which were nests of these gentlemen-brigands, and ridding the rivers of chains and weirs past which no vessel could go without paying tolls. Sixty-two such obstructions were on the Rhine alone, and as much as sixty per cent of a cargo might be taken as forced tolls.

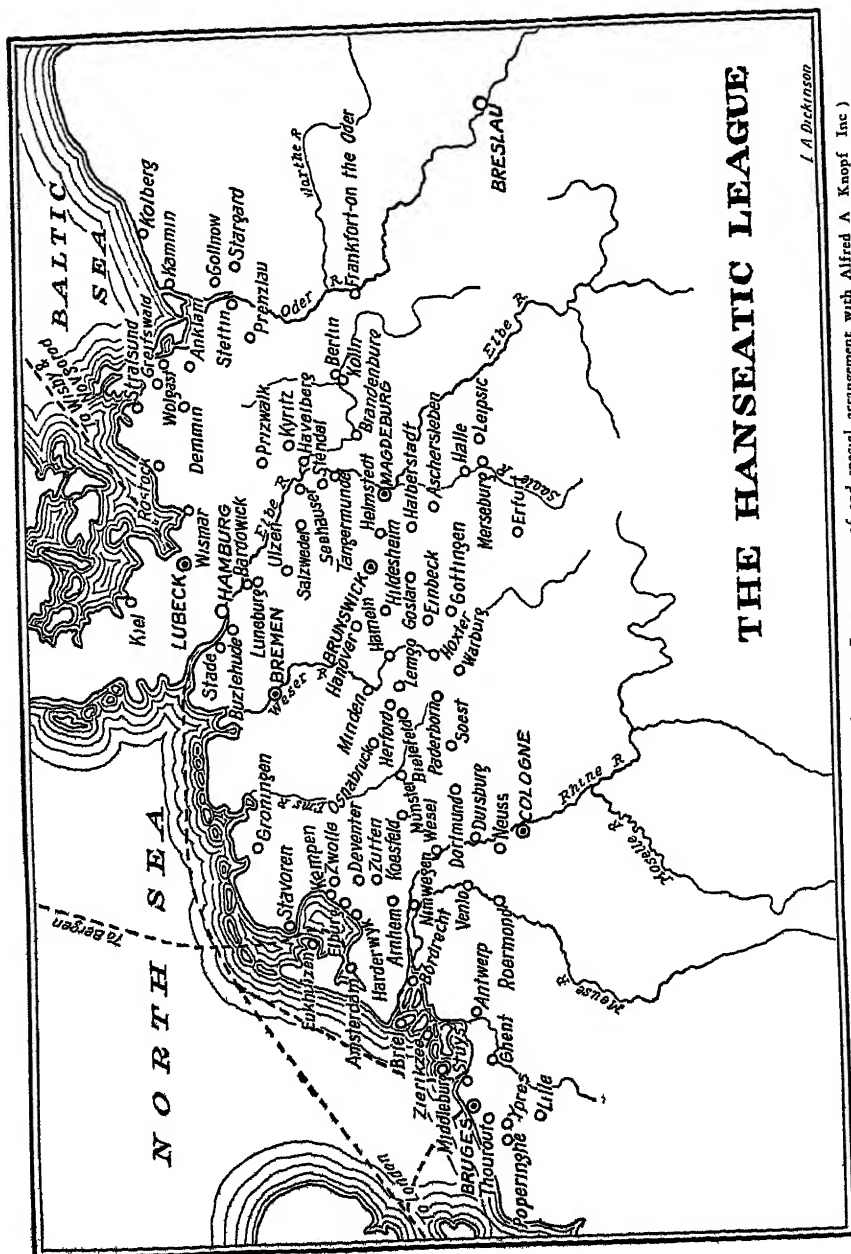
But the greatest league of all yet remains to be noticed. This was the Hanseatic League which at its height covered the whole of North Germany and even extended outside of Germany. This is evidence of the enormous commercial importance of the North Sea and *Hanseatic league* the Baltic, which rivalled the Mediterranean, that great waterway of commerce. The beginnings of the Hansa¹ were simple and are found in an arrangement made about 1230 between Lubeck² and Hamburg for protection of the transportation of salt from Luneburg, where were natural salt-springs known since the time of the Germanic migrations. Salt was a rare commodity throughout the north of Europe and could be obtained only where there were natural salt springs, whereas in the south of Europe salt was widely manufactured by evaporation of sea-water in shallow pans along the coast. When Lubeck had organized the herring fisheries in the Baltic, the lack of salt was severely felt. Unsalted herring could not be exported. While Luneburg developed the technical processes of production, the sale of salt was almost wholly in the hands of Lubeck merchants. Originally the salines belonged to the dukes of Saxony, but at this time the owners were some of the local families, who also controlled the town government. Another advantage soon developed. This was the short transit of trade across the Danish isthmus which separated the Baltic from the North Sea and saved the long and hazardous route around the Sound³—hazardous because of rocks and reefs and swirling tides and pirates who infested it. Bremen soon joined with Hamburg and Lubeck, and was rapidly followed by all the other cities at the mouths of the German rivers as far eastward as Danzig. Inland towns, as far south and west as Cologne, too, came into the League. By 1260-65 the Hanseatic League was half-formed.

"Half-formed" because they were colonies of German merchants abroad settled in Bruges in Flanders, in London (with several branches in other

¹ This was an old German word and originally signified almost any sort of combination of men together—a handful of men, a battalion of troops, a guild of workmen, etc. The older meaning gradually disappeared.

² Lubeck was founded by Henry the Lion in 1163.

³ The straits of Skagerrak and Kattegat.



places), at Wisby on the island of Gotland in the Baltic, and at Novgorod in Russia. All these colonies were older than the Hansa — the London colony antedated the Norman Conquest and the Wisby colony went back to the reign of Emperor Lothar II (1125–39).

From Wisby, German merchants had penetrated to Novgorod, following the old Varangian route of the Norse in Russia.

Only after all these colonies of German merchants abroad united with the Lubeck group, the “little” Hansa, was the Hanseatic League fully formed.

The Brugeois and London colonies came in voluntarily about 1282, but the Gotland colony refused to do so and was subjugated by Lubeck about 1299.

By 1370 there were seventy cities in the Hanseatic League, whose wide network spread from Russia to England and from Bergen, Norway, to Cologne, Germany. Each city preserved its political independence and local administration. But its commerce was ^{Hanseatic administration} governed by the League, the capital of which was at Lubeck, where sat the directors, who were all men of Lubeck. For purposes of administration the home-territory was divided into four circles (*kreisen*): (1) The Wendish¹ Circle, of which Lubeck was the center, (2) The Saxon Circle, of which Brunswick was the center, (3) The Prussian-Livonian Circle — the territory of the Teutonic Knights, of which Danzig was the center, and (4) The Westphalian Circle, of which Cologne was the center. All affairs of the League “cleared” through Lubeck.

London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod were known as “factories,”² each under the management of a “factor” who was sent out from Lubeck. In the fourteenth century Bruges was *the* international metropolis and Flanders the greatest commercial and industrial region ^{Hanseatic trade} of northern Europe. Here was the mouth of the Rhine, the most important trade route through Central Europe. Bruges was also the terminus of the Venetian galley route. It was the mart for Mediterranean and oriental goods. As for London, its chief trade was in German iron from the Ruhr valley — to this day Germany’s center of iron manufacture — which was exported *via* Cologne. For this reason the Hansa in London was known as the *Stahlhof* or Steel Yard, where English wool changed hands for German iron. Further north Bergen was a fish-market from which salted, dried or smoked fish were exported to nearly all Europe. Fish was “the poor man’s meat” in the Middle Ages. In the East, Novgorod collected and exported furs, the oldest and most important economic activity of Russia. Here beaver and

¹ Named from the Wends or Slavs who once dwelt there.

² This word is used in the original sense of a trading post. As late as the eighteenth century the trading posts of the British East India Company were called “factories,” as indeed, the posts of the Hudson’s Bay Company in Canada are still denominated.

marten skins circulated as currency, as they once did in Colonial America ¹

The Hansa sedulously endeavored to keep out of politics everywhere, and the fact that so many of the German cities were free city-states enabled it for the most part to do so. But the Hansa could not avoid conflict with Denmark, nor did it so wish. The Danish peninsula separated the Baltic and the North Sea and the Danish government controlled the Sund as well as threatened the trade route across the isthmus. The Danish king Waldemar III (1340-75) feared lest he might be sewed up in a bag by the League, and made war. The Hansa's fleet captured Copenhagen in 1370. By the Peace of Stralsund in that year the Hansa was given two-thirds of the revenues of Scania, free passage through the straits for all its shipping, and many other concessions and privileges, including the right to dictate who should be king of Denmark.

*Hanseatic conflict
with Denmark*

This was the high-water mark of the power of the Hansa. After that the tide began to ebb. The smaller cities fell away because the cost of maintaining their membership in the League was too heavy and many of them were in debt. The greater ones either had become strong enough to need no longer the League's protection or had lost their freedom and passed under the rule of some duke or margrave or other baron.

Decline of Hansa

¹ As the fur trade of Russia declined owing to extirpation of the wild animals, Siberia was penetrated for further exploitation. This occurred in the seventeenth century. Then "the state was the most important participant in the Russian fur trade. It acquired its furs by collecting tribute from the native and a tithe from the Russian enterprisers and by purchase. It sold many in Moscow and in the Russian export markets to merchants from Europe and Asia. It used the rest in place of money as salaries to state servitors, as gifts to various dignitaries, and as diplomatic bribes. It sought to monopolize the best furs from Siberia and the export of furs to Asia, but with partial success only, since complete enforcement was impossible and its own employees in Siberia participated illegally in the fur trade."

"Besides the state, a large number of individual enterprisers engaged in the fur trade, but corporate combinations of capital played no part in it. Participants came from all ranks of Russian society and ranged from wealthy merchant-capitalists to petty traders and hunters. Each spring an army of hunters, traders, and merchants' agents crossed the Urals to spend from one to five years hunting and trafficking in Siberia. Each fall another army of them returned with furs to Russia, to Ustug and Solvychegodsk, where the private fur traffic centered. Many furs were sold in the Russian domestic markets, but most of them were sold to the Dutch, German, and English merchants who visited Arkhangelsk in the summer. This private trade in furs was the principal factor in the development of an independent commercial class in Russia."

"Drawn from Siberia's immense supply and exported chiefly to Europe, but also to the rest of Asia, furs were Russia's principal export in the 16th and 17th centuries, as they had been in the days of Kievan Russia and independent Novgorod. Furs thus contributed the most to that commercial intercourse with more advanced European countries so essential to backward Russia." — From unpublished thesis of Raymond H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade Its Origins and Development to the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Univ. of California, 1937)

The union of Lithuania-Poland in 1386 and the new kingdom's expansion towards the Baltic gradually dispossessed the Hanseatic colonies in Riga, Reval, and Pskov and left the League access into Russia only through Novgorod. In 1478 this city was seized by the Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III the Great, the founder of the czardom. In Scandinavia the Union of Calmar, by which Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were united, made a combination too strong for the League to withstand. In Flanders, the commercial policy of the dukes of Burgundy (1380-1477) was ruinous to the Hansa. The turmoils in Flanders during the Hundred Years' War, and war and piracy on the sea throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries jeopardized sea-borne commerce too much to make it profitable. By 1500 the Hanseatic League had shrunk to its original dimension and its original members, Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen.

The epilogue of German history in the fifteenth century is a tale soon told. The most important events were attached to church reform, the Hussite heresy, and religious unrest which were symptomatic of the Reformation in the next century. These subjects are con- <sup>*Rise of
Hohenzollern*</sup>sidered in another chapter, so that political history only is dealt with here. Chief among these events are the rise of the house of Hohenzollern and the permanent acquisition of the imperial title by the Habsburgs. Frederick of Hohenzollern, the founder of the house, was a cousin of Rudolph of Habsburg and had a hand in his election. In 1415 the Emperor Sigismund invested another Frederick — a favorite name in the Hohenzollern house — with the Mark Brandenburg, the electoral vote, and the office of archchamberlain, all as a reward for his assistance in securing the imperial title for him. It made the fortune of the Hohenzollerns, the last ruling member of this dynasty, Kaiser William II of Germany, did not leave the throne until 1918. In 1423 Sigismund also invested Frederick the Warlike (of the house of Wettin), Margrave of Meissen, with the electoral Duchy of Saxony (Wittenberg). A century later these two houses (Hohenzollern and Wettin) were destined to play an important rôle in the Protestant Reformation. "Sigismund was a man of parts. He looked a king from top to toe — tall and slender of stature, with fresh complexion, dancing eyes, and a long forked beard. Though no great general, he was a bonny fighter in both real and mimic warfare. He was, moreover, a keen sportsman, both by land and by water. But though very proud of his knightly accomplishments, he showed a genial bearing towards men of all ranks, and was usually much liked by burghers and peasants who had dealings with him. When he visited England in 1416 he was popularly regarded as a good fellow — a fit companion for King Henry V, whose youthful indiscretions were still remembered. He had been well educated. He was a first-rate linguist, speaking Czech, French, German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, and Latin with fluency. While not really a religious man . . . he had a loathing of heresy. (But) his activity

degenerated into restlessness He had far too many irons in the fire His financial incapacity was amazing His devotion to women was even greater than Wenzel's to wine More serious for Europe at large were the treachery and promise-breaking of which Sigismund was often guilty No one trusted him"¹

The third important political event was the permanent and final acquisition of the imperial crown by the Habsburgs. The event was owing more to good luck than good management. Albert died of the plague within two years, after an unsuccessful campaign against Frederick III, the Habsburg who came to the throne in 1440, ruled for over half a century. For twenty-seven years he did not set foot outside of Austria. But his enormously long reign — longer than that of any medieval ruler except Henry III of England and Louis IX of France, and they were boys when they came to the throne — fixed the Habsburg grip upon the imperial title for as long as the empire lasted (1806).

*Final imperial
triumph of
Habsburgs*

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| 1256-73 | | 1347 | Charles IV of Luxemburg |
| 1273 Sept | Rudolf of Habsburg | 1378 | Wenzel (deposed) |
| 1292 | Adolf of Nassau | 1400 | Rupert of the Palatinate |
| 1298 Aug | Albert I of Austria | 1411 | Sigismund |
| 1308 Nov | Henry VII of Luxemburg | | |
| 1313 | { Lewis IV | | |
| | { Frederick of Austria | | |

HOUSE OF HABSBURG

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|------|------------|
| 1438 Mar 18 | Albert II of Habsburg | 1493 | Maximilian |
| 1440 Feb 1 | Frederick III | | |

¹ This remarkable character-sketch is by the late W. T. Waugh, *A History of Europe from 1378 to 1494*, pp. 159-60.

CHAPTER XXX

EASTERN EUROPE AND FARTHER ASIA MONGOLS AND TURKS

From even before the fifth century B C Europe was in constant contact with the nations of western Asia, but not until the thirteenth century did the nations of Farther Asia come into direct contact with Europe

This does not mean, however, that Europe was entirely without knowledge of the Far East in the Middle Ages Nestorian missions had been active in central Asia and China since the seventh century, and scraps of information were carried into the West *Contact with Asia*

The Nestorian Church was originally that branch of Christianity which spread into the countries east of the Roman Empire, the Parthian (Arsacid) and later the Persian (Sassanid) Empires This Church was founded by missionaries who reached the East through Edessa *Nestorian church* about the end of the first century It was therefore of apostolic origin and had more than twenty bishops In 225 A D the Sassanid dynasty displaced that of the Arsacid and established a new Persian Empire which lasted until its destruction by the Mohammedans in 640 A.D Zoroastrianism was the state religion of Persia but Christianity was tolerated, so that the number of Christians was materially increased by refugees fleeing from the persecutions of the Roman government in the third century In the many intermittent wars between the Roman and Persian Empires in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the Nestorian Christians in Persia suffered greatly Then came the Moslem conquest The substitution of Islam for Zoroastrianism was advantageous to the Christians For the modern conquerors were desert tribesmen, unable to run a political administration, and they needed the Christians' services Most of the under-officials and often the chiefs of bureaux in every department of the Moslem civil service were Christians Medicine and education were likewise largely in Christian hands The Nestorian schools at Nisibis and Seleucia became the instructors of the Arabs in Greek culture, science, and philosophy

Nestorianism wisely avoided antagonism with Islam by refraining from politics and making no endeavor to convert Mohammedans Its religious zeal found expression in a missionary expansion into the heart of Asia

When the Jesuits arrived in China in 1580 they found the faint memory of Christianity once having been there, a body of "cross-worshippers" who had been known as the "figure-of-ten" folk, because a cross is the symbol of that number in Chinese script. But they were a memory, and no more. Christian-

ity is known to have reached China by the year 600, and perhaps before. The Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, Mas Aba, dealt apparently with Chinese

Christians in 533, and the famous monument of Hsi-an, inscription of Singan-Fu, is proof of the existence in 778 of an organized Nestorian Church in China. It taught the worship of the Three-in-One and of the Messiah (Mi-shih-he), it followed "the rule of the eight conditions," probably the beatitudes, and had its monasteries. The evidence of tombstones shows that the Christians were then fairly widespread. But there seems no sign of Christianity in China after 1000. Then in the thirteenth century Christianity began to reappear in China after the Mongol conquest of it by Kublai Khan (1259-94). When Marco Polo was there, he found Nestorian churches in all the ten provinces of the Celestial Empire.

Among the Tartars of central Asia also Nestorianism created a unique state. The "Realm of Prester John" is better known to romance and legend than to history. But the existence of a Christian dynasty of Tartars, whose kings were called by the name of Ung Khan (Syriacized into Yukhanan or John) is an established fact. The first of them was converted about the year 1000, and the tribe, of course, followed their chief. The Christian principality thus founded lasted for about two hundred years until it was destroyed by Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror, in 1187.

Who was Temujin? — for that was his real name. Let another answer.

"Temujin was born in 1156, in that wild and rugged country east of Lake Baikal which had cradled first the Huns and then the Turks before they flooded southward and westward in their great migrations. He was born of noble stock, as such was reckoned among the Tatar nomads, and had his father lived he would have inherited a precarious overlordship over some thousands of black tents. But his father was slain in one of the incessant petty feuds that then distracted the land, leaving his eldest son an orphan of thirteen. The family retainers deserted to more prosperous masters, and the two widows with their children were reduced to the extreme of poverty. In the hard school of danger and privation Temujin learned to hunt and trap, to track horse thieves for days, to ward off raiders and to take refuge in swamp or forest till danger was overpast. As the boy grew to manhood his mother, Hoelun — one of the immortal mothers of history — never ceased to preach to him the duty of avenging his father's death and recapturing a position of importance among the clans. He was an apt pupil.

"Though others of his brothers surpassed him in physical strength and brute courage, he combined with adequate courage and strength remarkable cunning in conserving both, skill in organizing and guile in outwitting. In ones and twos at first, adherents gathered round him, then groups of clan chieftains found it worth their while to make him their 'Khan,' or leader, for chase or foray, till in time he found himself the first among the Tatar chiefs, and a *kuriltai*, or tribal council, formally proclaimed Temujin Khan their elected lord and changed his name to Genghis Khan. It was

about this time that the now-united Tatar clans began to style themselves collectively 'Mongols'

"Genghis Khan immediately set about organizing his followers four picked men formed a bodyguard, four others were appointed his messengers, three were put in charge of food supplies, one was set in command of the camp and one in authority over the serving folk, while two were deputed to train the horses and three to guard the herds. Whether from innate generosity or from calculated policy, Genghis Khan displayed from the first unexampled liberality towards all who served him well. The loyalty thus won enabled him to show himself, also from the first, ruthless in enforcing discipline. Soon, more distant chiefs took cognizance of his qualities and growing power and rallied to his nine-tail banner.

"The first campaign that blooded the young confederacy was undertaken in alliance with the Chinese, who enlisted Genghis Khan's help in a punitive expedition against some border tribes — hereditary enemies of Temujin's — who had been harassing their frontiers. The Mongols won distinction and Genghis the Chinese title of 'Commander of the Frontier'. Further successful forays followed, and by degrees Genghis Khan perfected the organization of a standing army which he used with consummate skill in surprise attacks, now in this direction, now in that, till all the peoples of Mongolia, from the Great Wall to the Altai Mountains, acknowledged his suzerainty.

* * *

"To his dying day Genghis Khan never learned to read or write, or to speak any language save his own, but he realized the importance of experienced administrators for his empire, and after the Maiman conquest he took into his employment the Uighur ex-Chancellor, named Tatungo, to whom he entrusted a new possession of which the uses had just been explained to him. His seal Tatungo was the first of many excellent statesmen and civil servants whom he annexed and knew how to value. Whether they were Chinese or Persian or Uighurs of Tatar blood, whether they professed Islam or Buddhism, Manichaeism or Nestorian Christianity, he cared not one whit, displaying all his life a complete racial and religious tolerance rare in any age.

"A great *kuriltai* on the banks of the Onon in 1206 proclaimed Genghis lord of all those dwelling in felt tents, and he, now a man of fifty, perfected the organization of the Mongol feudal state. The needs of his empire and the rise in the standard of luxury demanded by his nobles and officers made peaceful trade along the great caravan routes between East and West a first necessity. It was no lust of conquest but sheer economic pressure that drove him first into war with China and later into war with the heirs of the Seljuks, the Shahs of the Khwarizm Empire. Before his death in 1227 the Mongol Empire stretched from the Yellow Sea to the Caspian, and when it was rounded off by his sons and grandsons it ruled one-half the then existing human race. Against the haunting memories of the slaughter and destruction that accompanied the sack of great and lovely cities like Samarkand and Bukhara, Merv and Herat, it is fair to set the fact that under the Mongols reigned the 'Nomad Peace,' and that traders were able to travel

from China to Europe in such security as they had ever known before, while throughout Genghis's immense dominions the person of the postal courier was sacred"¹

The Mongol expansion was not arrested by Genghis Khan's death. The Mongol armies were organized on the decimal system, in battalions of ten, companies of a hundred, regiments of a thousand, brigades of ten thousand. Iron discipline prevailed. In case of cowardice or failure, one-tenth of a battalion or company was executed. They wore leather armor, reinforced with steel plates or discs fastened on it, their weapons were bow and arrows and sometimes curved scimitars, but not lances, every man carried an axe and a rope at his saddle bow. To cross rivers—and what rivers central Asia possesses!—they had big sheets of leather pierced with eye-holes around the edges, all sorts of gear and supplies were piled in the center of these sheets and the whole shirred up. This pontoon then was rafted or towed across tied to the tail of a horse. Their huge lumbering wains, covered with a felt tent and drawn by as many as two dozen oxen, were floated across the rivers. The warriors swam their horses over astride, or clinging to the horse's tail. On the plains the only effective way to stop them—and that only temporarily—was to burn the grass on which their horses and cattle subsisted.

They entered Europe through the Caspian Gate before they fell upon the Baghdad Khalifate. In 1240 Kiev was destroyed, and its trade gradually passed to Moscow. The trade of Kiev declined with the gradual extinction of fur-bearing animals in the territory roundabout, and the center of gravity of the fur trade shifted to new and wilder areas in the north where Novgorod became the new base in the eleventh century. As fur-bearing animals again began to diminish, the fur hunters looked for new fields of exploitation and in the thirteenth century the region of the North Urals began to be penetrated as far as the Ob River. This was Sibir or Siberia, the name of which first appears in 1407. Meanwhile, in the Kievan region a change to an agricultural economy had ensued with its familiar medieval concomitant—feudalism. This transition had fully developed before the destruction of Kiev. The Mongol Golden Horde occupied southern Russia until its expulsion in 1480. But the Mongol horsemen, however, could not permanently occupy a marshy or wooded or mountainous country. This saved Novgorod from their attack. In 1240–41 Genghis Khan's grandson Batu invaded Poland and Hungary, but in spite of the utter defeat of an army of Poles, Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians at Wahlstaet (1241), the Mongol armies retired.

¹ The quotation is from a review of Mr. Ralph Fox's *Genghis Khan* in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 14, 1936. It is so masterly an account that I make grateful acknowledgment to the anonymous reviewer, so competent in a field the sources of which are a closed book to me.

This gigantic raid of the Mongols in 1240-41 also destroyed the Third Bulgarian Kingdom. The Third Bulgaria, with Tîrnovo as its chief city, was established in 1187, when the Byzantine Empire was in hard straits. It included nearly the whole of Serbia, Macedonia and Thrace, and possessed the mouths of the Danube — the Dobruja¹ — but did not reach to the Aegean and the Adriatic. The period of its greatest expansion was after the fourth crusade when the Byzantine Empire was ruined. Between 1218 and 1241 this Third Bulgaria was the strongest power in southeastern Europe. The Mongol invasions disrupted it into three parts, all of which fell an easy prey to Bajazet in 1393.

*Destruction of
Bulgarian
kingdom*

In western Asia there was no great state to oppose the Mongols. The Baghdad Khalifate was in the condition of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century. The emirs had seized the power in their provinces, the central government was a rope of sand. Khalif after khalif was stabbed, poisoned or strangled. "There was no warder at the eastern gate of Mohammedan civilization." In 1258 Baghdad was taken and sacked — a catastrophe from which western Asia has not yet recovered. The wonderful system of irrigation was destroyed and the land given to nomadism, as it had been in the days before Babylon. But it was left for the furious and fanatical Bibars of Mohammedan Egypt to destroy the last vestiges of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as we have seen, in 1291. Together these two events constituted a revolution in the Levant.

*Destruction of
Baghdad
Khalifate*

There was plenty of Christianity among the Mongols. Many of the princes and princesses of the dynasty founded by Genghis Khan were Christian. The great Khan Hulagu had a Christian general, a Nestorian named Khutboga, who very nearly gave back Jerusalem to the crusaders. In the West the hope was entertained that the Mongols might be converted to Christianity and give aid against Mohammedanism. In 1245 Innocent IV sent John of Plan-Carpin, a Franciscan friar who had known St. Francis, to find Batu, khan of the Kiptchak, as the territory of the Golden Horde on the lower Volga was called. Batu sent him forward to Karakorum, the capital of the Mongol Empire in Mongolia. At the same time the pope also sent four Dominicans to the camp of the Mongol commander in Persia. As far as we know no European had ever before accomplished such a colossal journey as that of Plan-Carpin. At about the same time Louis IX proved his saintliness. When at Acre in 1252 he met a Belgian Franciscan named William of Ruysbroeck whom he commissioned to go all the way to Karakorum. The official *Relations* of these two are classics in the history of the penetration of Asia, and were written almost fifty years before

*Christians among
Mongols*

¹ The Dobruja, which like Lorraine, takes its name from a man, was first a frontier of Christianity against the pagan Cumans and Pazinaks, and later a frontier against the Moslems. It was then over-run by the Turks, and with the Tartar colonists introduced by them, became a Mohammedan Asiatic frontier against European Christianity. Today it is a Roumanian frontier against the Bulgarians.

Marco Polo's famous *Travels* (1293) These two intrepid friars were the pioneers in a Franciscan missionary movement for the conversion of central Asia and China, the history of which is as interesting as that of the Jesuit missions in North and South America in the seventeenth century The organizer of it was an Italian Franciscan named John of Montecorvino who was sent out by Pope Nicholas IV in 1283 After stopping in Armenia and Persia, he was in India for a long time founding missions there, and did not reach China (by sea) until 1298 John was cordially received In 1304 he sent word to the pope that he had made five thousand converts He translated the New Testament into Chinese, founded ten bishoprics, and was himself archbishop of Peking One of these bishoprics was at Zayton, an important port north of Canton, where some Genoese merchants were settled in 1326 In 1330 John of Montecorvino returned to Europe, old and worn, and made his report to the pope at Avignon — another classic in the history of discovery in central Asia and China

The Nestorian Church, however, was not one to abandon its work in the Far East in the face of Franciscan competition It had twenty bishoprics of its own in China Its patriarch was a Christian Chinese named Jabatha III, who in 1290 sent his chaplain, another full-blooded Chinese named Soma as his ambassador to Pope Nicholas IV, with whom he had audience in Rome and celebrated the Mass in his own liturgy (*taksa*) From Rome he went to France and had an interview with Edward I of England who was then in Gascony en route from Palestine This fascinating history of Nestorian and Franciscan missions in China came to a tragic end in 1362 when the Ming revolution overthrew the dynasty of Kublai Khan and all Christianity in China until the Jesuits appeared in 1580

In 1300 the Nestorian Church stretched from Damascus to Peking In 1552 only one bishopric survived and outside of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan it had ceased to exist Today the Nestorian Church is known as the Assyrian Church

The great westward drive of the Mongols had swept thousands of Turcoman nomads into its wake About 1300 one of their chieftains named Ottoman I (or Osman I) gathered around himself a motley force of these warlike horsemen in Anatolia in central Asia Minor,¹ and rapidly aggrandized his power at the expense of the Byzantine Empire, which had never wholly recovered after its restoration in 1261, and at this juncture was suffering terribly from the ravages of Roger de Flor and his Catalan Company In 1328 the Turks took Nicomedia, in 1330 Nicaea, and their galleys began to harass the islands of the Aegean in spite of the efforts of the knights of Rhodes against them In 1341 for the first time the Turks set foot in Europe and in 1354 occupied the Gallipoli peninsula For the next ninety-nine years the Turks made little effort to take Constantinople but extended their sway over the Balkan peninsula, thus cutting

¹ Angora, the present capital of the Turkish Empire, is in Anatolia

the great city off from Europe Murad I (1359-89) took Adrianople and Philippolis In 1365 he captured Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, and in 1366 he seized Bulgaria Murad's death in 1389 did not deter the Turkish advance In 1393 the Serbian kingdom was destroyed by Amurath II in the battle of Kossovo Hungary was now the bastion of Europe

The early history of Serbia was less spectacular than that of Bulgaria The nucleus of the Serbian government was the *zupa*, or village As villages associated together, clusters of villages were formed, which developed into loosely agglomerated states The Grand Zupans *History of Serbia* or Bans, as the chiefs of these federations were called, at one time numbered thirteen, and at another seven But the principal Banates were two, those of Desnica and of Rascia From the latter was developed the Kingdom of Serbia The reign of Stephen Dushan (1331-55) was the golden age of Serbia He ruled from the Danube to the Corinthian Gulf and included Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace in his dominions His son Lazar, the last "Czar" of Serbia, fell in the first battle of Kossovo on June 15, 1389 when a combined army of Serbs, Croats, and Hungarians was defeated by the Turks, and Serbia was obliterated from the map for centuries

Just at this time the war between France and England ceased, a truce for twenty years having been made between Charles VI and Richard II Europe was full of soldiery without employment, which joyfully enlisted for a "crusade" against the Turks It was an interna- *Turkish victory at Nikopolis* tional host which advanced down the Danube in 1396 upon

Nikopolis in Bulgaria The Sultan Bajazet was in Asia Minor when he learned the news and hastily returned to Europe to lead his army He protected his troops by sixteen rows of sharp stakes on which the horses of the "crusaders" were impaled The tactics of the Christians were worse even than at Crécy and Maupertuis The Emperor Sigismund and the French Marshal Boucicaut escaped — the latter to be captured at Agincourt and to die in an English prison The most distinguished French captive was John, son of the duke of Burgundy, who got his sobriquet, "the Fearless," at this time for not turning pale when ten thousand prisoners were slaughtered before his eyes The rest of the prisoners were sold into slavery (September 28, 1396) The Turkish victory was largely due to the Janissaries, "the most efficient wielders of the bow that Eastern Europe knew" These were Christian children who had been captured, brought up as Mohammedans, and rigorously trained Like the Knights Templar they lived in quarters and could not marry ¹

¹ Originally the sultan's body-guard, they became an army division In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries many of the grand viziers were Janissaries After the time of Suleyman II the Magnificent (1520-66) they acquired immense power, like the praetorian guard of the Roman emperors, and the decline of the Turkish government in modern times was partly owing to their tyranny In 1826 Mohammed II, after a mutiny, had all the Janissaries massacred and the corps was abolished

By 1396 almost the whole of the Balkan peninsula, except Constantinople, and the coast of the Adriatic, was in Turkish possession. Many Christian writers have deplored the conquest of the Balkans by the Turks, and it is the fashion of Slavonic historians for race-national reasons to join with them. But the Turkish administration was not inferior to, and in some ways it was distinctly better than, the former Byzantine administration. It was not brutal as is usually believed, and we must discount Western and Christian prejudices. The old social distinctions which had existed for centuries and were a heritage from the Middle Ages were abolished. The Christian population was divided into four classes according to the assessment of the poll-tax (*kharaj*). The land, which had formerly been the exclusive property of the nobles, was transferred to the peasants. Those who for centuries had been bound to the soil were now, on payment of a small sum, made its possessors, with right of succession for their descendants. Thus the Turkish conquest put an end to serfdom. The chief impost levied by the Turks was the tax of a nominal third of the crops in kind. This, with the *kharaj*, and a further sum of six piasters each to secure the free exercise of their religion, formed the Christians' sole contribution to the Turkish government.

After the Turkish victory of Nikopolis Europe was given a breathing space. The capture of Constantinople, which perhaps should have followed Nikopolis, was deferred for over a half-century.

In western Asia a second Mongol Empire came into being much like that of Genghis Khan before, except that the Mongols had now become Mohammedans. The founder of it was Timur (or Tamerlane), who had enthroned himself as sultan of Samarkand in 1369 and rapidly carried his all-destroying sword over the whole of western Asia. At its widest extent, his empire stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Volga, from the Ganges to the Hellespont. The cities were smoking ruins — Kandahar, Delhi, Ispahan, Shiraz, Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad (which the Mongols had destroyed in 1258), Smyrna, and human skulls marked the roads of Timur's advance. Timur's atrocities staggered even the fourteenth century, one of the most brutal periods in the whole Christian era. Sultan Bajazet soon trembled for the safety of the Turkish provinces in Asia Minor. In 1402 he was defeated and captured at Angora. Timur's cruel treatment of the sultan himself and his other Turkish prisoners "far exceeded anything that Bajazet had ever managed in the line of massacre."¹ All Asia Minor was conquered, Smyrna destroyed. Eastern Europe was threatened with a new Mongol invasion more terrible than that of 1240. It was saved by Timur's decision to the effect that China offered more spoil for him than either India or Europe. He died in February, 1405, as he was preparing to invade China. That winter saw a terrible storm in Europe, and

¹ C. W. C. Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, II, 354

popular belief both in Mohammedan and in Christian lands was that it was on account of the terrific struggle which Timur put up against the devil, who seized his soul

The Turkish conquests in the Balkan peninsula were resumed in the fifteenth century and pushed steadily. They made no attempt to capture Constantinople, although they took every other city, notably Salonika. Poland and Hungary were now the forlorn hope of Christian Europe. In 1444 the Turks crushed a Polish army at Varna. In 1448 a second battle on the field of Kossovo destroyed the last remnants of Serbia, and checkmated John Hunyadi, king of Hungary, the last hero of resistance to the Turks. The doom of Constantinople was near. For fifty years the city of Constantine had been cut off from Europe except by sea. In the spring of 1453 Mohammed II drew an iron ring around it. Pope Pius II called for a crusade, but could assemble neither an army nor a fleet. A congress at Regensburg indulged in much rhetoric, but did nothing. The Turkish army was as full of Christian soldiers-of-fortune as was Constantinople. But the great walls of Constantinople, which had withstood so many sieges, could not endure the fire of the Turkish artillery. Never before had Europe known such huge guns. Perhaps the sultan had heard of the French siege train. At any rate he imitated it on a massive scale. His gun-founder was an Hungarian who cast him a siege-train of seventy pieces, including a "Big Bertha" named "Basilica" which cast balls weighing eight hundred pounds. Eleven other guns cast five-hundred pound balls. There were fourteen batteries of middle-sized cannon. After two months' siege, on May 29, 1453, Constantinople was captured by the Turks. The last page of medieval history was written.

*Turkish capture
of Constantinople*

Pius II's failure in 1461 to arouse Europe into another crusade against the Turks probably suggested to him the singular idea of trying to convert Mohammed II to Christianity. In his letter, the pope, after enlarging on the virtue of the Christian faith, pointed out to the sultan the temporal advantages which would accrue to him if he embraced Christianity. "Were you to embrace Christianity there is no prince on earth who would surpass you in glory or be your equal in power. We would acknowledge you as Emperor of the Greeks and of the East. As our predecessors Stephen, Hadrian, and Leo summoned Pepin and Charlemagne to assist them, and transferred the empire from the Greeks, so should we also avail ourselves of your help. What a fulness of peace it would be! If you were to join yourself with us, the whole East would soon turn to Christ." Whether the papal letter ever reached the sultan is uncertain.

*Pope invites
Sultan to become
Christian*

All the Balkan Slavs except the Croats were converted to Greek Christianity. The Croats followed the Latin rite, having been converted in the ninth century by missionaries from Italy and Dalmatia, instead of from Byzantium. But in Bosnia, through which the dividing line between the two creeds passed,

neither form of Christianity prevailed. The Bosnians were Manichaean heretics. The extension of this oriental sect from Asia Minor to Europe was due to the transplantation by the Emperor Copronymus in the eighth century of a colony of its adherents from Armenia into Thrace. They were then known as Paulicians. Their doctrines spread rapidly among the Bulgarians, whence came the label "Bulgarian heresy." Another name was "Bogomil," probably derived from the Bulgarian words, *Bog z'milui*, or "God have mercy," a Slavonic rendering of their Syriac name "Massalians," meaning "those who pray." Introduced from Bulgaria into Bosnia between 925 and 950, this heretic belief took such deep root that Pope Gregory VIII in 1075 voiced alarm. The heresy, as we have seen, spread into Lombardy, where its votaries were called Patarenes, and to southern France where they were called Catharists. Over these western branches of the sect the Bogomil pope in Bosnia seems to have had some authority, or at least they looked to him for instruction in the tenets of their religion. A war of extermination was waged unsuccessfully in 1238 against the Bosnian heretics by the king of Hungary, and Franciscan missionaries appeared among them in 1260. The Bogomils, however, continued to flourish and the Council of Basel in 1433 was attended by four Bogomilian or Patarene bishops from Bosnia. In 1440 the lord of Zachlouma, a petty principality in Bosnia, with good reason fearing a crusade against him and his people as heretics, had transferred his allegiance to Austria, and the title Duke of St Sava acquired for his territory the name of Herzegovina, meaning *the Duchy* (*Herzog* is the German word for "duke").

Persecution fell on Bosnia and lasted from 1443 to 1461. Emigration assumed such proportions that the Franciscans remonstrated with the Hungarian ruler against his severity. Forty thousand Bosnians found refuge in Herzegovina. Many others fled to Russia, and it is not impossible that some of the strange sects found in modern Russia sprang from this migration. In 1463 the Bosnians turned in desperation to Mohammed II for protection. Bosnia was converted into a Turkish province by the voluntary action of its inhabitants. Most of the people embraced the Moslem faith, which explains the mosques still found there and Mohammedan manners and customs. From the date of the Turkish occupation the Bogomils are no longer heard of in history, but it is estimated that two thousand of these heretics are still in existence.

The present kingdom of Yugoslavia, which is a Greater Serbia, divides a kindred people and language between two creeds and two alphabets. A third creed is professed by the Bosniaks, who, while they have the same language, are in religion Manichaean. They are descended from those Armenian colonists who, as Bogomil heretics, were so persecuted by the Latin and the Orthodox Greek Churches that they welcomed the Turks as a relief from their misfortunes, and adopted Islam.

*Manichaean
heresy*

*Turks occupy
persecuted Bosnia*

*Background of
modern
Yugoslavia*

The last unconquered remnant of Slavonic peoples in the Balkans survived in the gorges and fastnesses of the Country of the Black Mountain (Montenegro) This was the seat of the ancient Albanian or Illyrian race from which the military Roman emperors of the third *Montenegro and Albania* and fourth centuries had sprung The heroic ruler of Montenegro-Albania was Scanderbeg, a name derived from his Turkish appellation *Iskender beg* He was a native Albanian who had been captured in his youth by the Turks and was made a Janissary when Albania was reduced to a Turkish province In 1443 he escaped and until his death in 1467 fought to liberate his country But his prodigious valor was without avail He died a refugee on Venetian territory

GREEK EMPERORS RESTORED

| | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------|
| 1261 | Michael VIII, Palæologus | 1282 |
| 1282 | Andronicus II | 1328 |
| 1328 | Andronicus III | 1341 |
| 1341 | { John V, Palæologus | 1391 |
| 1347 | { Cantacuzenos (joint-Emperor) | 1354 |
| 1391 | Manuel II | 1425 |
| 1425 | John VI | 1448 |
| 1448 | Constantine XI | 1453 |



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THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EXPANSION OF THE TURKS (1261-1453)

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FRENCH PAPACY THE GREAT SCHISM HERESY AND THE REFORMING COUNCILS

After the fall of Pope Boniface VIII at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was no longer safe for the popes to dwell in Rome The enmity and violence which prevailed there was too great It is not true to say that King Philip IV of France compelled Pope Clement V to remove the papal court to Avignon in 1309, although it is a fact that the king profited by the change Avignon was on French soil, although technically speaking it was papal territory It was a

*Papacy moves to
Avignon*

IN AVIGNON

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|
| 1305 June | Clement V | 1314 April |
| 1316 Aug | John XXII | 1334 Dec |
| 1334 Dec | Benedict XII | 1342 April |
| 1342 May | Clement VI | 1352 Dec |
| 1352 Dec | Innocent VI | 1362 Sept |
| 1362 Sept | Urban V | 1370 Dec |
| 1371 Jan | Gregory XI | 1378 March |

forfeited possession of the counts of Toulouse which, after the Albigensian crusade, was given to the Holy See in 1274

Until 1378 the popes — all of them French — reigned in Avignon in a tranquillity in strange contrast to the violence which was found elsewhere in Europe A mild climate, a fertile soil, geographical accessibility, a benevolent government made Avignon the most prosperous and happy community of the time Here the Jews too lived tranquilly The condition of the Jews in Avignon was happier than in any other part of Europe They were not annoyed by their Christian neighbors and the papal legislation towards them was most liberal So far as the practice of their religion and the management of their schools were concerned, they enjoyed absolute freedom; and the Jews were loyal to the papal government

*Prosperity of
papal Avignon*

The immense ecclesiastical revenues which once had flowed to Rome now poured into Avignon, and were enormously increased by the changed conditions Just as Philip IV and Edward I invented new sorts of taxes in order to tap the augmented commerce and industry of Europe, so the papacy utilized its prerogative to

*Huge papal
resources*

increase its resources. Having no temporal subjects, it capitalized its ecclesiastical authority. Fees for the appointment of bishops and abbots greatly increased, and the fee-system was extended to almost every other office in the Church. Pluralities were lucrative sources of revenue. According to canon law a churchman could hold only one office. The pope by "dispensation" could waive this prohibition, and since very many ecclesiastical benefices were richly endowed, there was an ungodly sale of pluralities. The reverse of this abuse was papal appointment (for a price) of several persons to the same office, only one of whom was the actual holder, the others being merely titular. Many a titular bishop was not even in holy orders. The popes also enormously extended the appellate jurisdiction of the Holy See, so that cases which heretofore had got no further than the bishops' courts now were remanded to the *Curia*, in which the fees exacted were of a staggering magnitude. Ecclesiastical lawyers had rich pickings, the practice of church law was a lucrative profession. The administrative system at Avignon was a bureaucracy, a maze of red tape and seals and fees. The prodigal circulation of indulgences was another source of revenue. All in all, the court at Avignon was a place of luxury and not a little immorality, though it is to be said that this was probably no more excessive than in the royal courts of the time. Nevertheless, public opinion was more shocked because clergy were supposed to be more moral than secular persons. The popes themselves, however, may be exonerated from this charge. They were far better men morally than some of their successors during the Italian Renaissance.

Contemporary ecclesiastical writers who condemned the corruption of the Church did not attack the office of the pope or impugn his authority or governing power, but protested against the corruption and abuses in the papal practice. If Europe had been ripe for *Protest against papal abuses* revolt against Rome, the fifteenth century was as provocative of secession as the sixteenth century.¹ Except for the Wyclifites and Husites, most people of Europe wanted to get rid of papalism, but were not hostile to Catholicism.

If the French popes had refrained from playing politics they would have encountered less hostility. But thus they would not do. They sustained the kings of France during the Hundred Years' War, even loaning them money which the faithful in England paid into the papal coffers. Benedict XII became embroiled with the Emperor Ludwig IV to his own discomfiture. Thus the moral, economic, and political grievances of Europe against the papacy augmented until in 1378 when the Great Schism began. It was precipitated by the accident that Gregory XI unexpectedly died when he was on a visit to Rome.

The condition of the Eternal City in the middle of the fourteenth century

¹ See Gascoigne's *Theological Dictionary, Illustrating the Condition of Church and State* (1403-58), ed. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881).

was one of anarchy. The popes always had had difficulty in restraining the Roman nobles. In the absence of the popes, the papal vicar was almost impotent. The States of the Church were invaded and patrimonies, towns, even provinces were seized. Rome and the Campagna bristled with fortified strongholds. Some of these were strange architectural improvisations. The Colosseum, the arches of Titus and Severus, the theatre of Marcellus and other ancient imperial structures were converted into castles and garrisoned with hired soldiery. Rome was almost in ruins. "St Peter's was falling to decay, St Paul's had already for years lain on the ground, the Lateran had been devoured by fire in 1360. Almost all the basilicas and convents were deserted. Swamps and rubbish took the place of squares and streets, where shattered towers, burnt houses, and ruins of every kind furnished a terrible chronicle of all the wars from which the city had suffered in the fourteenth century. The Clergy, formerly so numerous, had vanished."¹ For some years the romantic Cola di Rienzi had established a Roman Republic, but his success degenerated into excess and "the heroic player in the tattered purple of antiquity" was slain in 1354 by the furious populace. Far more effective, if less spectacular work was done by the great Castilian Cardinal Albornoz, who was Innocent VI's and Urban V's papal legate in Italy for fourteen years. Albornoz saved the States of the Church from dissolution. He was soldier, statesman, and priest in one.²

The medieval popes were never popular with the Romans, but the people appreciated the value of the papal office to them. Rome was not a city of commerce or trade. It lived on the business brought to it by the Holy Office and on the pilgrims who came in droves to visit the shrines there. All this prosperity vanished when the popes removed to Avignon. Accordingly when Gregory XI died in Rome the municipal officials clapped the cardinals who had accompanied him into prison and declared that they must elect a pope who would restore the papacy to Rome. A mob from Trastevere, where the lower working class lived, invaded the residence of one of the Italian cardinals, to whom the leader said "Since the death of Boniface VIII France has been gorging herself with gold. It is time that we Romans had a chance." The frightened cardinals were in a flutter of apprehension. They were so divided that they could reach no agreement. Of the sixteen cardinals, six were Italians, and only four were pro-French. No party was strong enough to command the eleven votes required to elect a pope. If all the French cardinals had combined together, they probably would have carried the election, but the Limousin cardinals were eager for the elevation of a native of their own province and two others were neutral. The clamor of the people of Rome who wanted a Roman, or

Roman anarchy
Roman coercion
lects Pope

¹ Gregorovius, *City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, VI, II, p. 437

² For an account of Albornoz see J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 292-94.

at least an Italian, became so violent that the cardinals were terrified into a hasty election and chose the bishop of Bari, a subject of the half-French Angevin dynasty of Naples, who was not even a cardinal. He took the name of Urban VI. As soon as released, the frightened cardinals, except five who remained in Rome, fled for their lives. The new pope himself remained in hiding for some time. This election was speedily followed by the succession of thirteen cardinals who assembled at Anagni, and after declaring Urban VI's election invalid as having been under compulsion, proceeded to elect Robert of Geneva who took the name of Clement VII.

The religious and ecclesiastical allegiance of Europe was thus divided between pope and anti-pope, although which was which no one could determine. One pope reigned from Rome, the other from Avignon. Since neither pope would abdicate, the simple solution would have been that when one of the rivals died, his partisans would have recognized the other as pope. Instead, each party continued to elect successors, and so the schism was prolonged for years, and Europe was split into two ecclesiastical obediences. The reason for this unfortunate result was politics. The influence of Charles V of France was so great that he drew most of the Latin nations — as well as Scotland, — to the side of Clement VII. England, since she was at war with France, adhered to Urban VI, as did also the Emperor Charles IV and most of the German princes.

*Counter election
causes schism*

Sincere Christians felt wounded in spirit and were sorely distressed over their salvation. Which sacramental system was effective? For each pope declared the other to be anti-Christ. The rival ecclesiastical systems, for each pope had his machine, milked the pence out of the pockets of the people. Urban VI died at Rome in 1389.

*Continuation of
schism*

The schism ought then to have been ended by both parties agreeing to accept Clement VII on condition that he transfer his residence from Avignon to Rome. But the Roman cardinals lost no time in electing the cardinal-bishop of Naples as Boniface IX. Five years later the door to a settlement again opened when Clement VII died (1394). At the instigation of the University of Paris, Charles VI of France sent a message to the cardinals of Avignon asking them to suspend the election of a new pope until some measures could be adopted in the interest of reunion of the Church. Unfortunately, Peter de Luna, Cardinal of Aragon, had already been elected. Benedict XIII and Boniface IX faced each other as rival popes and the schism was continued. Boniface IX's pontificate was one of shameless covetousness and traffic in church offices. His successor, Innocent VII, made a gesture for the termination of the schism to Benedict XIII but neither took a step towards its accomplishment. When Innocent died in 1406 the Roman cardinals made a half-hearted overture to the French cardinals with a view to composing the differences. The agreement provided that the new pope should be bound to

resign in event of the two colleges of cardinals demanding it in order to promote the concord of the Church. On this condition Gregory XII was elected. Savona, near Genoa, was chosen as the place for conference. In 1407 the anti-pope (if he was anti-pope) arrived there, but Gregory XII refused to come.

By this time the deadlock had prevailed so long, and the issue was so intense that the University of Paris proposed that a General Council be called to settle it. In 1409 a self-constituted synod which called itself a "Council,"¹ met at Pisa, declared the deposition of both popes and elected Alexander V, the Cardinal of Milan, who was an old man. He died within a year, and was succeeded by John XXIII.² There were now three popes, "One for each Person of the Trinity," it was said by a blasphemous Italian wit. The faculty of the University of Paris, led by its noble-minded and scholarly rector, Jean Gerson, had long been arguing that the sole solution of the schism was for a General Council to be convened. But who could call it? Since Gregory VII's time only the pope had authority to summon a General Council. But among three popes, which one was *the* pope. Until that question was settled, no Council could be said to have legal validity. This had been the defect with the "Council" of Pisa. The Emperor Sigismund settled this trilemma by himself calling the Council, grounding his authority to do so on the action of Constantine who had called the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. It was good history and good ecclesiastical law before the Age of Hildebrand.

The Council of Constance (1413-17) has always been reckoned as the seventeenth General Council. Its first act was to depose John XXIII,³ and Gregory XII, who had been deposed at Pisa, abdicated. There remained Benedict XIII, who refused to submit to the Council, but was deposed. He retired to his ancestral château at Luna in Aragon and when he left Avignon he took nearly one-half of the rich papal library with him. He died in his ninetyeth year (1424) game to the last, still claiming to be pope and so signing his letters, and still with a few cardinals around him.

¹ It was dubbed the "Hole-in-the-corner-Council" (*angulari concilio*). An owl got into the church where the council sat, perched on a crossbeam and hooted, and could not be driven out, to the merriment of wits and scoffers.

² "The new pope was an active politician of good family and long experience, a Neapolitan about fifty years of age with plenty of life in him yet, but a man of the helmet rather than the tiara. Keen after money, hard, shrewd, unbending, merciless, he had been a pirate in the Mediterranean." J. H. Wylie, *History of the Reign of Henry IV*, III, 392.

Having thus cleared the boards, the Council chose the Cardinal Otto Colonna, great-grandson of that Sciarra Colonna who had conspired with Philip IV of France to pull Boniface VIII from the papal throne, to be pope. He took the name of Martin V (1417-31). With him the papacy was removed to Rome—the Rome of the Renaissance.

Papacy removes to Rome

The Council of Constance next turned to the matter of heresy. The corruption of the Church, the scandalous financial practices of the papacy, the profligacy of the upper clergy, and the schism had so relaxed ecclesiastical authority and brought the whole Church into such disrepute that heresy raised its head amid the turmoil.

Council deals with heresies

The fourteenth century was an age of intense and varied manifestations of religious emotionalism. Not since the crusades were there so many fervid preachers, so many popular revivalistic movements, so many hysterical excesses such as the Flagellants and the Dance of Death, such earnest searching of hearts, such deep conviction of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. It was the age of Raymond Lull and San Vincente Ferrer and St. Catherine of Siena.¹

Two heresies were of great importance, that of Wyclif in England and that of John Huss in Bohemia. John Wyclif, who died in 1384, was an Oxford man who leaped into fame in 1366 as both a religious and political reformer. His first collision with the papacy was on political and patriotic grounds. The occasion was

Wyclif heresy in England

Urban V's demand for the payment by England of thirty-three years' arrears of the tribute to the pope promised by King John. This demand from a French pope in the midst of England's war with France was insufferable. Combined with this opposition to the papacy was a strong anti-clerical feeling. The nobles were jealous of the political influence of the bishops. The commons demanded taxation of church property. The monastic orders were envied for their wealth. The parish priests disliked the friars who intruded into their cures. The Oxford and Cambridge professors who were not mendicants were jealous of the popularity among the students of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Finally the bishops regarded both monks and friars as papal garrisons in England, because they were not subject to episcopal jurisdiction, but subject directly to the pope. In 1366 Parliament repudiated Urban V's claim and in the next ten years presented a series of petitions to the crown—legislation was still in the petitionary form—requesting dismissal of the clergy from the great offices of state, protesting against papal exactions, demanding rigorous enforcement of the Statutes of Provisors and of Praemunire.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, put himself at the head of this movement of discontent, not for patriotic reasons but because of opposition to the crown,

¹ It would be well for the student to read about these three in some encyclopedia.

his aim being to undermine and then overthrow the Plantagenet house and secure the succession of the House of Lancaster. He did not live to see this ambition realized in himself, but, as we have seen, his son succeeded in deposing Richard II in 1399. Wyclif was the chief spokesman for John of Gaunt, and by tongue and pen, especially the latter, contributed to the agitation. The mendicants — the inhabitants of "Carm's Castle"¹ were the special object of his invectives. He was a theologian and a constitutional lawyer. His writings were widely circulated as political pamphlets. Undoubtedly the immunity which Wyclif enjoyed from persecution or arrest was due to the protection of John of Gaunt. Wyclif was so prudent and sagacious that he lived to die in his bed.

In 1377 five bulls were issued from Avignon condemning Wyclif's teachings, but not yet accusing him of heresy.

So far Wyclif had not attacked the validity of the Catholic faith. But in 1378 he broke away from the Church on matters of doctrine and became a heretic. It was the year when the Great Schism began.

The papal authority having been annulled by the Schism, Wyclif found the seat of authority in "God's law." True Christians were all, whether priests or laymen, who strove to "kunne (know) and kepe Goddis lawe." His immediate purpose was to restore the quality of Christian living particularly through the ministry of "symple prestis," popularly called "Lollards," who were not responsible to episcopal authority. There is no doubt that the Lollard preachers contributed to the agitation which found expression in the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.

The official list of Lollard heresies supplies us with instructive evidence as to the attitude adopted by the English Church in the fourteenth century.

Lollard heresies The bishops thought it to be heresy to believe that the Roman Church could do without a pope or cardinals, or that a pope of immoral life had no divine authority, or that scriptural authority was above that of the Holy See. The University of Oxford denounced the Lollards for denying that the pope could tax the Church, or grant indulgences and absolutions, or summon bishops to Rome, or to punish them by sentences of excommunication.

Wyclif held that Church and state are independent, that each is supreme in its sphere, and the Church had no right to lord it over the state. The Bible was the fundamental source of the Church. There was no warrant for the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy in the New Testament. Canon law and tradition were without authority. For use by his Lollard preachers and in

order to make the Bible an open book to the people, Wyclif translated the Vulgate into English. His language is of rugged simplicity, homely and uncouth, but a monument of medieval English prose as Chaucer is of English poetry of the same time. In character Wyclif was hot-tempered, impatient of contradiction, prone to argument, crabbed, irascible, intolerant, obstinate. He anticipated most of the extreme characteristics which characterized fanatical Puritans in the seventeenth century.

Wyclif's teachings spread to Bohemia, but not elsewhere on the continent, through the connection between England and Bohemia established when Richard II married a Bohemian princess. Then embassies passed back and forth. John Huss, rector of the University of Prague, which the Emperor Charles IV had established in 1348, was inspired by Wyclif's writings and preached his theological and political doctrines. He added only one new demand to Wyclif's teachings — that the laity should have the right to partake of the wine of the communion service, and not the wafer only. This was known as the Utraquist doctrine, or communion in *each* (*uterque*-each) element of the Mass. As in England, political and social conditions made the Hussite doctrines popular. The government of Bohemia was German, the upper classes were German, guild monopoly prevailed in industry with its concomitant of economic resentment. The weavers especially were violent agitators.

When the Council of Constance met, Wyclif was dead, Henry IV had suppressed the Lollards, and elsewhere heretics were burned. But the Hussite movement was alive in Bohemia and the Emperor Sigismund was anxious to have his turbulent subjects brought to book. Unlike Charles V, who kept the word of the safe-conduct which he gave to Luther in 1521, Sigismund broke his promised word to protect John Huss from violence. The Bohemian reformer was tried by the Council after long and cruel imprisonment and burned alive, along with his disciple, Jerome of Prague. A portion of Wyclif's tombstone and Huss's memory are still venerated in Bohemia.

The martyrdom of Huss threw Bohemia into the flame of civil war. The Bohemian people found a leader of military genius in Ziska, who invented a new system of tactics. This was the *Wagenburg* (Wagon-burg) or *Laager* (in Czech it was called a *Gulagorod* or Moving Town). Ziska adopted the practice of enclosing the army's baggage in a circle of wagons, but made the *Laager* a moving one instead of an encampment only, as it had previously been. The wagons were protected by huge shields affixed to the sides. When at rest, the horses were enclosed in this kraal, munitions and food were in the wagons. Ziska made astonishing raids into Bavaria, Silesia, and Hungary. The emperor's lands were nowhere safe. The weapons of these troops, most of them peasants, were pikes, halberds, and war-flails. Clumsy cannon were used later.

Huss in Bohemia

Council burns Huss

Revolt in Bohemia

Hussite War continued until 1436 when Sigismund, in the year before he died, at last made peace, redressed some of the worst grievances in Bohemia and, *with the consent of the Church*, permitted the administration of the sacrament of communion in both kinds. This Utraquist settlement lasted until the Thirty Years' War (1618). Indeed, it was the abrogation of this religious right by the emperor that precipitated that long conflict.

The Council of Constance closed the Schism, it "scotched" but it did not permanently suppress heresy, it failed to reform abuses in the Church. The failure to reform the Church in the fifteenth century was, indeed, the primary cause of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. All the prosecutions for heresy after 1416 (Jerome of Prague) of which there is record, ended in recantation.

Something remains to be said about the form of organization of the Council of Constance and the way in which business was despatched. The clergy at Constance were grouped according to "nations" after the manner of the universities at that time — Italians, French, Spanish, German, and English. An odd dispute arose whether the English were entitled to recognition as a "nation" and vote in the Council. The question was raised by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, who thought it for the interest and honor of France to disparage England. It was unjust, he argued, that England should vote as a separate nation equal to France and Italy and Spain and Germany, for England was merely a "branch" of Germany. Moreover, France greatly excelled England in size, in number of provinces, archbishoprics, bishoprics, universities and monastic and collegiate foundations. It was contrary to justice that so small a part of Christendom should have a voice equal to that of France, much less to Germany, Italy and Spain. The English carried their point, however, having the influence of the emperor on their side. Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, made the clinching argument that Britain had been Christianized by Joseph of Arimathea, an argument so venerable that it silenced all opposition.¹ The bishop must have been familiar with the legend of the Holy Grail.

The number of the Italian clergy was so great that, to nullify their preponderance, voting was done by "nations." As to procedure in the Council, business was done in committees, or "deputations," as other parliamentary bodies then did, and still do. The Council was presided over by a "speaker of the house," who was not so called, but actually was such an officer. In fact, the Council of Constance was an international parliament,² for there were laymen who were ambassadors of their governments, in it, side by side with the clergy.

The whole matter of church reform was shelved in subsequent councils.

Council fails to reform church

Organization of Council of Constance

Voting by "Nations"

After the restoration of the papacy to Rome, Pope Martin V and his successors labored to recover all the temporal and spiritual power which the papacy had lost since the fall of Boniface VIII. The Councils which met in the fifteenth century, at Pavia, Siena, Basel, were instruments of the popes. For the preponderance of Italians in these Councils was secured by the abolition of the former practice of voting by "nations," and counting the votes individually (*par tête*), or "by noses." In the fifteenth century the papacy, as never before, became an Italian institution. There had been Italian and French and German popes — and even one English pope. But every pope, except one, since 1415 has been an Italian. The papacy became an Italian monarchy, trying to convert Italy into a papal kingdom and at the same time to direct, if not immediately govern, a declining universal system. The popes waged war, had their own ambassadors abroad at foreign courts and at peace congresses, abused their spiritual authority for base and worldly ends.

There were sincere Christians and honest reformers in every generation in the fifteenth century, cardinals like Nicholas of Cusa and preachers such as Wessel Gansfort. But there was no reformation movement. Neither Wyclif nor Huss had any influence upon the sixteenth century Reformation. To use a vernacular phrase, The German Reformation "started from scratch." It is a mistake to link the so-called Pre-Reformation with the Reformation.

THE GREAT SCHISM

ROME

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------------------------|--|------------------|
| 1378 April | Urban VI | 1389 Oct. | In 1409 the Council of Pisa deposed both Gregory XII and Benedict XIII and elected | |
| 1389 Nov | Boniface IX | 1404 Oct | | |
| 1404 Oct. | Innocent VII | 1406 Nov | | |
| 1406 Nov | Gregory XII | { 1409 (dep) 1415 (res) } | | |
| | | * | 1409 June | Alexander V |
| | | | 1410 May | John XXIII (dep) |
| | | | | 1410 May |
| | | | | 1415 |

AVIGNON

| | | |
|------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1378 Sept. | Clement VII | 1394 Sept. |
| 1394 Sept. | Benedict XIII | { 1409 (dep) 1417 (dep) } |
| | † 1424 | * |
| | | |
| | * | |
| 1424 | Clement VIII | 1429 |
| 1439 | Felix V (Duke of Savoy) elected by Council of Basle | 1449 |

*Italian papacy
fails to reform
church*

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE (1414-17) DEPOSED JOHN XXIII,
INDUCED GREGORY XII TO RESIGN, AND ELECTED

| | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| 1417 Nov | Martin V | 1431 Feb | 1605 April | Leo XI | 1605 April |
| 1431 March | Eugenius IV | 1447 Feb | 1605 May | Paul V | 1621 Jan |
| 1447 March | Nicholas V | 1455 March | 1621 Feb | Gregory XV | 1623 July |
| 1455 April | Calixtus III | 1458 Aug | 1623 Aug | Urban VIII | 1644 July |
| 1458 Aug | Pius II | 1464 Aug | 1644 Sept. | Innocent X | 1655 Jan |
| 1464 Aug | Paul II | 1471 July | 1655 April | Alexander VII | 1667 May |
| 1471 Aug | Sixtus IV | 1484 Aug | 1667 June | Clement IX | 1669 Dec |
| 1484 Aug | Innocent VIII | 1492 July | 1670 April | Clement X | 1676 July |
| 1492 Aug | Alexander VI | 1503 Aug | 1676 Sept | Innocent XI | 1689 Aug |
| 1503 Sept | Pius III | 1503 Oct | 1689 Oct | Alexander VIII | 1691 Feb |
| 1503 Nov | Julius II | 1513 Feb | 1691 July | Innocent XII | 1700 Sept |
| 1513 March | Leo X | 1521 Dec | 1700 Nov | Clement XI | 1721 March |
| 1522 Jan | Adrian VI | 1523 Sept | 1721 May | Innocent XIII | 1724 March |
| 1523 Nov | Clement VII | 1534 Sept | 1724 May | Benedict XIII | 1730 Feb |
| 1534 Oct. | Paul III | 1549 Nov | 1730 July | Clement XII | 1740 Feb |
| 1550 Feb | Julius III | 1555 March | 1740 Aug | Benedict XIV | 1758 May |
| 1555 April | Marcellus II | 1555 April | 1758 July | Clement XIII | 1769 Feb |
| 1555 May | Paul IV | 1559 Aug | 1769 May | Clement XIV | 1774 Sept |
| 1559 Dec | Pius IV | 1565 Dec | 1775 Feb | Pius VI | 1799 Aug |
| 1566 Jan | Pius V | 1572 May | 1800 March | Pius VII | 1823 Aug |
| 1572 May | Gregory XIII | 1585 April | 1823 Sept | Leo XII | 1829 Feb |
| 1585 April | Sixtus V | 1590 Aug | 1829 March | Pius VIII | 1830 Nov |
| 1590 Sept | Urban VII | 1590 Sept | 1831 Feb | Gregory XVI | 1846 June |
| 1590 Dec | Gregory XIV | 1591 Oct | 1846 June | Pius IX | 1878 Feb |
| 1591 Oct | Innocent IX | 1591 Dec | 1878 Feb | Leo XIII | |
| 1592 Jan | Clement VIII | 1605 March | | | |

CHAPTER XXXII

THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance — and it was not wholly an Italian movement — was a transition epoch, for it was both the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. It was at once an epilogue and a prologue. At the end of the Middle Ages life and thought had become so rich in variety and content that it could no longer flow in the old channels. The Renaissance cannot be sharply bracketed between two terminal dates but broadly speaking, it may be said to have included the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The fall of the medieval papacy in 1303, the sack of Rome in 1527, or the extinction of the liberty of Florence in 1530 — if dates be required — may be taken as the temporal limits of the Renaissance.

Two cautions must be given at the outset in the use of the word "Renaissance." In the first place, the word is an unfortunate one, for it was coined to characterize only one phase of the epoch, viz. the rebirth of interest in ancient Roman and Greek literature and art, for which the proper term is the "revival of classical learning." The traditional view of the Renaissance portrayed it as a sudden outflowing of thought, a sudden awakening of art, a sudden shining light thrown upon the darkness of the Middle Ages. This is a myth. There was no suspension of intellectual life in the Middle Ages.

We must look backward into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the changes which paved the way for the Renaissance. These have been described in previous chapters and need only be summarized here. They were: the great development of commerce, trade, and industry, the rise of the towns and the formation of the bourgeoisie, first in Italy and later in Flanders, Germany, France, and England, the increasing secularization of Europe, e.g., the spread of Roman law to the detriment of both ecclesiastical and feudal law, the revolution in education wrought by the rise of the universities; the prevalence of a secular literature written in the vernacular, whether Italian, French, German, English or Spanish instead of in Latin, which for centuries had been the sole literary language, just as the sole literature was clerical in spirit and content.

Fundamentally the Renaissance was a bourgeois movement. It was initiated and sustained by townsmen long before the clergy and nobles became interested in it. This explains why it originated in Italy instead of in France,

Italy was a land of free cities, whose number, population, and wealth bred a strong, numerous, and rich bourgeois class. The free cities were in the hands of the rich merchant class, or patriciate. Thus the cities were democratic when contrasted with the previous feudal or clerical regime, but not democratic in a larger sense. For the common people in the towns, small traders, artisans, craftsmen, etc. were ineligible to municipal offices and deprived of the suffrage. The great merchants were organized in guilds—rich capitalistic corporations which “ran” the local government, controlled prices, regulated wages, hours of work, etc. Accordingly, nearly every Italian city was torn by political, class, and economic strife between the patriciate and the common people.

During this stormy period many of the cities of Italy ran the gamut of political change from aristocracy through oligarchy to democracy. Only Venice, a rich commercial and naval power, whose wealth was drawn from the Levant and the islands of the Aegean and Mediterranean which still remained to her as spoil of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, preserved her stability through the domination of a rich oligarchy of merchant nobles. It would be an error, however, to criticize these turbulent towns, even though they failed to preserve their liberties. For it is to be remembered that their inhabitants were but a few generations removed from medieval serfdom, and that the experiment of self-government was entirely new to them. Trial and error was the only method to solve the problem created by the necessity of modernizing the legacy of the Middle Ages and establishing new institutions adapted to new conditions.

In the fourteenth century independent town government broke down almost everywhere, and the towns passed under the despotism of some politically strong adventurer, who constituted a new type of ducal authority wholly different from that of the feudal age. Thus arose the Visconti (1277–1450) and later the Sforza (1450–1499) in Milan, the Medici in Florence, the Este in Ferrara, the Malatesta in Rimini, the Gonzaga in Mantua, the Bentivoglio in Bologna, the Baglioni in Perugia. Sometimes the despot might be a local magistrate who seized the power, sometimes the head of a local family of influence and affluence. Many despots were soldiers of fortune (*condottiere*), captains of companies of hired mercenaries who sold their military service to some town in territorial or commercial rivalry with a neighboring town, and afterwards seized the government. All pretended to a ducal title and converted the territory which they ruled into duchies. In this way Milan became the most powerful duchy in the north, Florence the strongest duchy in central Italy. Only Venice and Genoa remained republics. In Florence a particularly gifted people rose to such a height, and exhibited such a variety of genius that this city must be regarded as one of the primary sources of modern culture.

spiritual head of the Church as well as a territorial prince in central Italy, administering justice, coining money, making war upon his neighbors, precisely like the other great Italian nobles. The only difference between him and the others as a ruler was that he could not establish an hereditary dynasty in the duchy of Rome since he was a priest who was elected to the papal office by the college of cardinals.

Uniqueness of Rome

It would be tedious and unnecessary to relate the political and military history of these Renaissance principalities. It is a tangled skein of court intrigue, secret diplomacy, onerous taxation, warfare, conquest or defeat, relieved in intervals of peace by Gargantuan banqueting, gorgeous pageantry, sumptuous revels, and staggering indulgence. The better side of this life is found in promotion of culture by these great princes. For cruel and worldly though they were, some of them were cultivated men genuinely interested in literature, art, and architecture, and even those who were not, pretended to be so for reasons of ambition and display. It was the fashion for these great princes to collect "tame" scholars, artists, writers, for the ornament of their courts.

Lavishness of the princes

The first sponsors of the Renaissance had been those rich merchants and bankers who erected palatial homes which they lavishly decorated and adorned and where they kept sumptuous court. They gave employment to architects, sculptors, painters, poets, musicians, as well as haberdashers, milliners, merchants, craftsmen, gardeners, and a vast retinue of servants. As the princely government of the despots rested upon this bourgeoisie, rich and poor, and the commercial and industrial prosperity of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was enormous, this promotion of art and literature passed into a system of patronage, a practice which had both its advantages and disadvantages. For while it promoted art and literature by supporting artists and authors and musicians, it also led to flattery and servility. The high quality of the literature and art of the Renaissance epoch, however, is universally recognized.

Bourgeoisie supports Renaissance

Portraiture was almost an evocation from the patronage of art by the Renaissance. Princes, popes, cardinals, rich merchants all wanted to have their portraits painted. But the evolution of portraiture in Italy was different from its development in northern Europe. In the North the art of portraiture originated in the illumination of manuscripts and was a perfect medieval expression. In Italy its primary source was the commemorative medal, which set the fashion for sculptured profile portraits in low relief, from which the step was made to portrait-painting.

Portraiture

The most significant feature of the Renaissance was the new outlook on life. Medieval society was relatively homogeneous, each individual living

ITALY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



within his own class or status. Society in the Renaissance was infinitely diverse in its composition and the dividing lines between classes were not so fixed as in medieval society. Moreover, in the Middle Ages men were sensitively aware of their membership, so to say, *Spirit of the Renaissance* in a group, whether that group was a people, a class, or a gild. In the Renaissance, with the decline of feudalism, the rise of towns, and the lessening of ecclesiastical authority, the former combinations and social units lost their force and individualism emerged. The medieval chrysalis burst and gave birth to a new sort of man, self-conscious not group-conscious, with a sense of personality detached from previous associations, free from the inhibitions and traditions of the past — in a word an intellectual and spiritual individual, unreceptive of authority, making his own standards, thinking as he pleased and what he pleased, objective in his outlook on life, realistic instead of idealistic in his philosophy, secular-minded, not religious-minded.

The very principle of despotism was a violent and exaggerated form of individuality. The frequent party changes or revolutionary outbreaks also gave opportunity for individual initiative, and where the government was so firmly established that opposition to it *Individualism* was dangerous or impossible, the political impotence did not prevent vigorous expression in other fields of activity. The large number of names of prominent persons which historians of the Renaissance mention indicate this expression of individualism, and the many biographies of famous personages which were then written are evidence of it. Again, the cosmopolitanism, at least of the élite of society is an evidence of a high stage of individualism. The universality of the spirit and culture of the Renaissance made men feel at home almost everywhere, no matter whether they were merchants or artisans, artists or men of letters, burgher or noble, layman or secular.

The new appreciation of nature, too, ministered to this feeling of detachment and self-dignity. When Dante was exiled, much as he loved Florence and his beloved Church of St. John, he could exclaim "What does it matter? Cannot I everywhere see the light of the sun and the stars? Bread will not fail me." Here is an appreciation *Appreciation of nature* of the universality and beauty of nature, and the universality of the culture of Italy in the fourteenth century. A person of mind and feeling could live as and where he pleased.

Although religious motives played a part in the Renaissance, they were not a determining factor; indeed, Italian humanism was characterized by a more or less marked alienation from religion. From the time of the last Hohenstaufen, Frederick II and Manfred, a *Religious skepticism* strong tendency towards rationalism prevailed in Florence which sometimes went as far as atheism. One of Boccaccio's characters in the *Decameron* is made to argue that there is no God.

There is a noble word which is used to characterize the culture of the Renaissance. It is *humanism*, derived from the Latin *homo humanitas*. A humanist is one who is interested in and to some extent has mastered the elements of the culture of his age. The Middle Ages had been dominated by the principle of authority and a unified intellectual, philosophical, and religious system. But when scholasticism admitted the element of reason (*ratio*) as a determinant of thought, the door was opened to a world of new ideas. Henceforth reason as a source of knowledge advanced rapidly and ultimately dared to claim superiority over faith.

The knowledge of ancient Roman literature was widely diffused in Florence towards the end of the thirteenth century. Giovanni Villani, the first eminent Florentine historian, was acquainted with Sallust, Livy, Vergil, Lucan, and on one of his business trips in France he visited the site of Alesia where Caesar had overthrown the Gauls. One of the priors in 1311 was reprimanded because he read Latin classical literature so constantly that he neglected the public business. Dante relates that women in the twelfth century, while spinning, told tales of Troy and ancient Rome. As early as the ninth century ancient classical names such as Caesar, Nero, Brutus, and Domitian appear in baptismal registers.

The earliest humanists were Petrarch (1304-1374), the first modern poet, Boccaccio (1313-1375), the first modern novelist, and Giotto (1266-1377), the first modern painter. Petrarch was the "morning-star" of the Renaissance. His literary reputation rests upon his sonnets, exquisite in sentiment and felicitous in language. He was equally distinguished as a classical scholar. Indeed, he may be said to have initiated the classical revival and established the New Learning. He passionately searched for classical manuscripts, his greatest find being Cicero's *Letters*, and carefully edited the texts of many ancient Latin authors. The breath of the Revival of Learning is exhaled from his famous *Letters to Classical Authors*. Petrarch's influence upon education was great. He condemned the use of theological and scholastic matter in the schools and the abuse of dialectics and labored to base education upon the classics. The fruit of this movement which was taken up by others, notably by Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446), was the creation in the Renaissance of the long-established classical curriculum, which was not materially changed until the late decades of the past century.

Petrarch's admirer Boccaccio, who had sent the poet a transcript of Dante's immortal trilogy, together with some works of Cicero and Varro, and thus established one of the most famous literary friendships of history, equalled his master in enthusiasm for the ancient Latin literature and culture, but was not of so critical a mind. His own copy of the plays of Terence is still preserved in Florence, he discovered lost writings of several Roman authors and especially admired Livy and Tacitus,

the greatest ancient Roman historians Boccaccio was the first humanist familiar with the latter, and the famous manuscript of Tacitus's *Histories* and the latter part of the *Annals*, a unique example, now in the Medicean Library at Florence, were found by him in the half-ruined monastery of Monte Cassino. The sloth and indifference to learning of monasticism in the later Middle Ages is exemplified by Boccaccio's experience there. It is related by his pupil Benvenuto

"Being eager to see the library which he had heard was very noble, he humbly besought one of the monks to do him the favor of opening it. Pointing to a lofty staircase the monk answered stuffily 'Go up, it is already open.' Boccaccio mounted the stairway with delight to find this treasure house of learning destitute of any door or any kind of lock, grass was growing on the window-sills and dust lay thick upon the books and book shelves. Turning over the manuscripts, he found many rare and ancient works, with whole sheets torn out or with the margins ruthlessly clipped."

Boccaccio has the further eminence of having been the first modern man in western Europe who knew Greek, and thus became the father of the Hellenistic Renaissance. He learned Greek from a Byzantine scholar who had come to Venice from Constantinople—the commercial and cultural relations between these two great cities were old and intimate—about 1360 Boccaccio at once invited him to Florence where he dwelt for three years in his house, teaching him the Greek language and translating Homer into Latin.

But Boccaccio's chief title to fame rests upon his prose stories in the immortal *Decameron*, or *Ten Days*, a collection of a hundred tales written between 1349-1353. It is the earliest modern fiction. Some of these tales hark back to classical times, some are of oriental *The Decameron* origin, Syrian, and Hindu, which probably first came into the West during the crusades, some have a distinctly medieval tinge. But all are told with astonishing vivacity. Although some of the tales will hardly bear repeating today because of their salaciousness, they have an historical value as realistic reflections of the manners and spirit of the age. Chaucer and Shakespeare, and even Browning and Tennyson, drew upon the *Decameron* for themes and plots. The persons in these tales represent a cross-section of Florentine society in the fourteenth century—priest and noble, merchant and peasant, soldiers and ruffians, ladies and harlots. The tales themselves are now comic and now tragic, and wit, humor, satire abound in them. The frame-work in which they are set is an ingenious one, and shows Boccaccio's great art as a story-teller. A merry group of young men and women are represented as having fled from the plague in Florence—the Black Death in 1349—to the country villa of one of the number, where for ten days they beguile their time by telling stories, ten each day. Boccaccio was too consummate a literary artist to make a direct causal connection between the plague and the

enchantment of his stories Yet the wonderfully dramatic and subtle association of the horror of the plague with beauty in the introduction is unmistakable The effectiveness is all the greater because of the very absence of explicit statement In the stories themselves the immoral, or rather unmoral conduct of the characters arises from their intelligence, they act as they do and say what they say because they are types of the Renaissance It is curious that the first three stories of the first day should take a fling at the Catholic Church not in the matter of its doctrines but in the matter of its practices These are the tales of the wicked Chapelet who succeeded in getting himself revered as a saint, the story of the Jew who was converted to Christianity by seeing the corruption of Rome because a religion which could survive such corruption must be from God, and the equally famous story of the three rings

Another important type of prose literature during the Renaissance was history The old medieval annals and chronicles, which had been the dominant form of historical narration for eight centuries (400–*Writing of history* 1300), had waned by the fourteenth century The rise of the towns, the development of the bourgeoisie, the decline of ecclesiastical authority, the increasing secularization of Europe, gave rise to city chronicles which stressed secular interests, were written in the vernacular instead of in priests' Latin, and were modern both in form and spirit Florence was as supreme in the writing of history as she was in poetry, fiction, and the arts The line of historians begins with Giovanni Villani, who died during the Great Plague (1348), and ends with Guicchiardini in 1540 In these two centuries Florence alone produced twelve historians of eminence and at least two — Machiavelli and Guicchiardini — who approached genius Statistical science may be said to have originated in Florence and Venice The histories of the Renaissance abound with information in regard to population, revenue, taxation, commerce and trade, markets, banking, public improvements, salaries, wages, prices, hygiene, etc For the first half of the sixteenth century no state in Europe possesses a document equal to the magnificent account of Florence by Varchi Machiavelli (died 1527) traced the operations of political forces with a masterly hand in his *History of Florence* His *Prince*, one of the greatest treatises on government, analyzes and interprets the enlightened absolutism, prevailing about 1500, primarily in Italy but to some degree also in the great monarchies of France and Spain, and his *Discourse on Law* is a penetrating series of essays on the theory and nature of government Guicchiardini (died 1540) was the author of a *History of Florence* and a *History of Italy*. The latter is a history of Italy in its relations to Europe at large, and the first work of that nature Guicchiardini broke with localism and particularism and had the universal view

Some writers wrote in Italian and others in Latin This is an evidence of the influence of classicism The greatest historians, however, wrote in the

native tongue and thereby contributed a magnificent prose to the body of Italian literature. Another evidence of the influence of antiquity upon the form of historical writing was the habit of dividing an historical work into portions of ten books in each in imitation of Livy's "decades." Even more important was the influence of Polybius, the ancient Greek historian, upon the political thinking and historical evidence regarded as significant by historians of the age. As Petrarch created modern poetry and Boccaccio created modern fiction, so these historians of the Renaissance created modern historical writing.

*Influence of
classicism on
historiography*

A subordinate but important type of historiography is found in the many biographies of the Renaissance, sometimes a series of them like Platina's *Lives of the Popes*. In part this vogue was an expression of the individuality of the Renaissance. It was an age of strong men. In part it was an imitation of antiquity. For in the late Greek and imperial Roman period biography was a widespread type of literature. Suetonius's *Lives of the First Twelve Roman Emperors*, and Plutarch's *Lives* were the models. Much "occasional" poetry was composed under the literary patronage which prevailed, and many works on archaeology and antiquities were written by sedulous students. The literature of the Italian Renaissance was altogether voluminous and varied.

Biography

We now turn to a consideration of painting, sculpture, and architecture in the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages these arts were wholly employed for the Church, and the subjects were of a religious and devotional nature. The Romanesque and Gothic art of the feudal age inclined to pass away along with the universal change which characterized Europe at the end of the thirteenth century. The first signs of the awakening were crude attempts at nature study in faces, motions, and drapery. The first great modern painter—indeed a genius—was the Florentine Giotto (1276-1337), who was also a great intellect and inventor. He used the traditional fresco technique, i.e., applying the liquid colors to a plastered surface while it was still wet. Unless the wall were exposed to the weather, as in the case of cloisters and colonnades, such a painting would last as long as the wall. Unfortunately many of Giotto's pictures were in the open air and so have been badly damaged or ruined. Giotto painted frescoes illustrating New Testament lives and lives of saints with a masterful simplicity which has never been surpassed. One not only sees, one *feels* the faces and knows the character of the subject; and these effects were secured in spite of Giotto's inability to handle perspective or to represent landscape well. Classical influence in him is found in the figures of the soldiers stationed to guard the sepulchre after the crucifixion, which are manifestly modelled according to ancient Roman sculpture. Giotto founded the Florentine School of Painters under whom "Byzantinism," with its heaviness and moroseness of spirit disappeared (the last representative of this style had been Cimabue [1240-

Giotto's paintings

1302²]], and nature study, portraits, and knowledge of form introduced a new style, new methods, and new themes

But Siena also shares in the honor of emancipating Italian painting from slavery to Byzantine tradition. In 1311 Duccio di Buoninsegna completed his altar-piece for the cathedral of Siena, a holiday was declared and the picture paraded through the streets, while the people fell on their knees and the church bells rang in jubilation. This work, with that of Giotto, marked both the end of Byzantine influence and the beginning of an authentic Christian art in the West.¹ The long and famous line of the Florentine painters includes Masaccio (1401-1428), Verrocchio (1435-1498), Ghirlandajo (1449-1494), Botticelli (1446-1510), and culminates in Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and Michelangelo (1475-1564).

Although less than fifty miles distant from Florence, Siena became the seat of a school of art which was of a very different nature. Neither the revival of antiquity nor the new interest in nature influenced it. Florentine art was robust and technically skilled in drawing. Siena's art was graceful, wistful, almost pathetic, intensely religious in the emotional sense of that word. Many Sienese pictures seem like large and brilliant manuscripts. The greatest representative of the Sienese school was Fra Angelico (1387-1455), after him painting degenerated into excessive sentimentality.

The medieval religious tradition continued long in Umbria, and a talented group of artists was found at Perugia in the fifteenth century, they were attracted by the loveliness of the landscape—gently rolling hills, charming little valleys, and clear air. Florence influenced Umbrian art in technique, Siena in sentiment. Perugino (1446-1524) originated the "Perugino type"—the sweet but slightly melancholy faces, the local landscape which made him paint friendly trees, and the golden brown atmosphere hanging over the hills. Perugino was the master of Raphael (1488-1520), whose pictures have an unrivalled sense of balance and proportion, suave lines, gem-like coloring, and serenity. Umbrian sentiment and Ferrara (Mantegna [1431-1506]) method influenced the school of Bologna. Exceedingly interesting is the Paduan-Ferrara school. The University of Padua was the leading medical school of the age and the union of classical and anatomical studies gave Paduan art a statuesque characteristic which in the early work of the school was sometimes hard, stringy, and anatomical.

We are now approaching the time of the High Renaissance, but before passing on we must consider some of the important changes which Italian painting had experienced. Technical improvement as in drawing, brush-work, and perspective has been mentioned. More significant was the introduction of landscape and a feeling for nature,

the decline of religious sentiment manifested in the conventionalization of medieval subjects, the vogue for portraiture, the triumph of Hellenism, the influence of paganism. The work of Fra Bartolommeo (1475-1517) exemplifies this struggle between religion and nature, devotionism and paganism. The genius of Raphael harmonized these variant and sometimes antagonistic elements, and it is perhaps because of this that his pictures are admired most of all, even though the observer may be unable to explain exactly why he prefers Raphael to any other painter of the Renaissance.

Most of the painters by the first quarter of the fifteenth century yielded to the tendency of the age. In Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), called "the faultless painter," there is little religious feeling though he depicted religious subjects.¹ He did not look deeply enough, and although skilled in technical excellence and the best painter and colorist of all the Florentines, there is nevertheless something lacking in him. In Correggio (1494-1534), the Faun of the Renaissance, we see the consummation of the nature motif, his religious or classical subjects were merely an excuse for the painter to picture exuberance of spirits and the beauty of material life. He painted a picture just to show a scheme of light and shade shot through with color. In Correggio one sees the beginning of "art for art's sake."

*Decline of
religious motif*

Two great artists, each a vigorous personality in this age of transition, exhibited an independence which was genius. These were Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and Michelangelo (1475-1564). Leonardo was one of the world's great figures,—painter, architect, sculptor, engineer, inventor, scientist, and one might add, psychologist and philosopher. Though Florentine by birth, his life was spent in the service of the Sforza dukes of Milan until the French conquest of the Milanese, when he entered the service of Francis I in whose arms he expired. Leonardo spent his life in seeking the hidden and striving for the unattainable. He had strong esthetic sense and remarkable technique, yet there is an elusive characteristic about all his paintings, a sort of wizardry or mystery which defies analysis or definition, but which one nevertheless feels. Perhaps it may best be termed "psychology." The famous Mona Lisa is the most striking example of this quality, but it appears also in Leonardo's Head of Christ. Leonardo was, perhaps, too pronouncedly intellectual. The faces in his portraits show exclusively refinement, tenderness, culture, and subtle thought.

Leonardo da Vinci

Michelangelo was a man of different mould and different personality. He had a rugged individuality and united a grand style with themes of grandeur. Technically he was a great draughtsman and a sculptor, as the great Sistine frescoes show. He was an Hebraist, not an Hellenist. His subjects are taken preferably from the Old Testament, not

Michelangelo

¹ Read Browning's poem on *Andrea del Sarto*

the New He was interested in portraying the Hebrew prophets and the figures of classical mythology, like the sibyls. When he dealt with Christianity he did so theologically, not devotionally, see, for example, his terrible picture of the Last Judgment.

The reader who has come so far may have wondered when Venetian art would be mentioned. The reason is that the Venetian school was the last to emerge. Hardly an artist in it painted before 1500. The Venetian art founder of the school was Giovanni Bellini, who died in 1516. The Renaissance in Venice differed greatly from the movement elsewhere in Italy. The Venetians were not humanists or scholars like the Florentines, but a materialistic, splendor-loving people. The long commercial relations with the Byzantine Empire and Egypt not only enormously enriched Venice, it profoundly influenced her civilization and necessitated a rich, luxurious art to correspond. The color instinct in Venetian art, which was derived from Byzantium, is its most pronounced characteristic. Color was the significant expression, compared with which line and form were almost negligible. Color was to be seen on walls and in buildings, in mosaics, decoration, the skies above and the waters around Venice. The introduction of oil mediums accentuated this richness of color. Another Venetian painter was Carpaccio (died 1522), who was fond of oriental and chivalric subjects, and even invested his pictures of saints with realism, e.g., those of St Ursula and St George.

The Venetians took their religion lightly. There is nothing of the intense emotionalism, nothing of the devotion and spirituality found in Sienese and Florentine art. Religious subjects continued to be painted, but the religious spirit was gone, and in Venetian art sensuousness finally triumphed over everything else save color. Artists of this nature were Giorgione (1478-1511), Tintoretto (1518-1592), Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), and above all, Titian (1477-1576). Tintoretto was famous for his rapid work, furious style, and technical powers, Veronese was the culminating point of Venetian art as color and decoration, Titian was the greatest colorist the world has ever known. He was the last and greatest among Venetian painters. When he died the Renaissance everywhere in Italy was in a state of decadence. Two important cities in Italy were not influenced by the Renaissance spirit. Neither literature nor art, neither humanism nor the classical revival affected Genoa and Naples. No important author or scholar or painter or sculptor is to be found in either of them.

It has been said that as sculpture was the principal medium of art among the Greeks, so painting was the chief form of art expression during the Renaissance. This merely means that in the Renaissance there were fewer sculptors than painters. In sculpture the earliest evidence was Niccolò Pisano's (died 1280) reliefs in the baptistery

at Pisa depicting scenes in the life of Jesus. Pisano's models were some remains of Roman sculpture found in Tuscany, notably a bacchic vase, and some ancient sarcophagi in Pisa, the reliefs of which he imitated. His son and two of his pupils carried on his work. The greatest sculptors of the fifteenth century were Ghiberti (1378-1455) and Donatello (1386-1466). Ghiberti's door of the baptistery of Florence is famous, it is a picture in bronze, for the figures are grouped as in a painting and placed in a landscape copied from nature. Donatello's close study of anatomy in the medical school of Padua is faithfully reflected in the figures he executed, he exerted a great influence upon Italian sculpture and is justly regarded as the precursor of Michelangelo. Equally famous as painter and sculptor was Andrea Verrocchio (1435-1488), the master of Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci and Lorenzo di Credi, his equestrian statue of Colleone, the famous military captain of Venice, which he made for the republic, is perhaps the most magnificent equestrian statue in the world. At no other time, and nowhere else do we know of so many marvellous figures of men on horseback. These sculptors excelled in bronze and marble. Lucca della Robbia (1400-1482) gave his name to glazed reliefs in terra-cotta exquisitely depicting angels, saints, and especially children. His "babies" are among examples of the most cherished art in the world.

Architecture was another important manifestation of the Renaissance. In character it exhibits a return to Roman — not Greek — antiquity, that is to column and lintel and arch, though it must be remembered that Roman architecture was deeply indebted to the three *Architecture* classical types of architecture: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and that only the arch and the dome were peculiarly Roman. It is strange that an architecture so beautiful as the Romanesque and the Gothic could have become outmoded, but the clustered pier, pointed arch, ribbed vaulting, piercing spires vanished away with the waning of the Middle Ages. The cathedral of Milan is unique in being the only structure of Gothic form erected in all Italy during the Renaissance, and even it is not "pure" Gothic.

It is significant of the secular spirit of the age that most of these new buildings were civic and not ecclesiastical, erected by the municipalities, or else palaces of the rich. Striking examples of these secular structures are the palace of the doges in Venice, the Palazzo *Secular structures* Vecchio in Florence, originally the seat of the signoria, the governing body of the city, with a magnificent array of battlements and an imposing tower 308 feet high; the palaces of the Pitti, Riccardi, and Uffizi families, the Loggia dei Lanzi, a magnificent vaulted hall open to the air on one side, in Genoa a single street possesses nine of the most imposing *palazzi* to be found in all Italy, Rome was crowded with the palaces of papal families, of cardinals and nobles and bankers who made fortunes in the fiscal service of the pontiffs.

Ecclesiastical architecture is distinguished by two striking features —

towers and domes. Technically the former are campaniles or bell-towers of churches. Some places like Fiesole near Florence, and Rome, seemed a forest of bell-towers. The three most famous campaniles were that at Venice, which collapsed some years ago and has been rebuilt in identical form, the leaning tower at Pisa, and most beautiful of all, the exquisite campanile of the cathedral in Florence, designed by Giotto, though he did not live to see its completion. It is 292 feet in height, divided into four stories, richly decorated with colored marbles. The most impressive feature is the windows which increase in length according to the height so that the eye is carried upward, giving a "soaring" effect to him who gazes, the illusion is almost that of the Gothic *flèche* (arrow) or spire piercing the sky. These windows are filled with tracery which again gives an impression of Gothic.

The other striking feature of ecclesiastical architecture in the Renaissance, the dome (*duomo*), was so impressive and so universal that the word *duomo* in Italy has come to signify a cathedral. This design was borrowed from the great dome of St Sophia in Constantinople which the Emperor Justinian erected in the sixth century. Its adoption is an illustration of Byzantine Greek influence in Italy. The initiator of this early medieval rather than post-classical architecture was the Florentine Brunelleschi (1377-1446), whose dome matches Giotto's campanile in impressive beauty. The greatest dome not only in Italy but in all Christendom is that of St Peter's in Rome which was designed by Bramante (died 1514) but executed by Michelangelo.

Michelangelo (died 1564), Titian (died 1576), and Benvenuto Cellini (died 1571) were among the last geniuses of the Renaissance. Cellini was a goldsmith, enamel-worker, sculptor, and writer. His figure of Perseus in Florence is one of the great examples of bronze statuary in the world. In his *Autobiography* he gives a vivid account of the difficulty found in casting it. This *Autobiography* — a classic of its kind — is the confession of a pronounced individualist, who incarnated much of the best and worst characteristics of the time, a man who stopped at nothing, who could commit murder and crime merely for the thrill of the experience, who was not immoral because he was without moral sense. He is one of the most picturesque and fascinating rascals in all history. No single book, perhaps, so reveals the "atmosphere" of the Renaissance as this memoir. In a word, Benvenuto Cellini was a healthy and intelligent savage. He learned drawing from Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, letters from the writings of Petrarch and Boccaccio. He was a talented artist, a truculent soldier, a courteous gentleman when he wished to be, a bravo — one character is as proper of him as another.

The last literary lights of the Renaissance in Italy were the poets Ariosto (1474-1533) and Torquato Tasso (1544-1595). Both of them represented a

type of literature hitherto strange to Italy, but familiar to the rest of Europe, namely, romantic poetry. For all their varied talents, the Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been too realistic to be romantic. In Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516) the hero of the epic poetry of medieval France, Roland, returned with an alienated glory to literature once more. In *Jerusalem Delivered* Tasso celebrated with romantic fury the history of the first crusade. In both of these long poems everything is in excess — incident, thought, feeling, expression — and both must be regarded as symptoms of the decline of the Renaissance.

The Italian Renaissance is so universally thought of as a literary and artistic movement that few realize how a revolutionary change in economic conditions also transpired in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The rise of the towns since the twelfth century and the formation of a bourgeoisie were primarily due to the enormous expansion of commerce and the development of industry, with the attendant growth of banking. Venice since the crusades had controlled the Levantine trade and had "quarters" in Constantinople, Alexandria, Syria, and in the Black Sea ports. Her chief competitor in this lucrative commerce was Genoa. The volume of this commerce from the East was so great, however, that much of it found its way up the Po River where the Lombard cities waxed rich as middlemen engaged in transporting it over the Alpine passes to northern Europe.

The interior cities of Italy though, especially in Lombardy and Tuscany, were more engaged in industry and manufacturing than in commerce. The making of woollen goods was the greatest industry. The slopes of the Alps above Milan and the rolling hills of Tuscany were huge sheep pasturages. But enormous quantities of foreign wool were imported, especially from England and Spain, which were the chief producers of raw wool. But neither of these countries had the skilled artisans to work the raw product into cloth. Flanders only rivalled Italy in this, but even Flemish workmanship lacked the technique in dressing, dyeing, and weaving wool which Florence, in particular, possessed. Here the *Lana* or woollen manufacturing gild, and the *Calimala* or woollen merchant gild, were powerful companies with branches over almost all Europe and the Orient.

The international exchange resulting from this far-flung commerce in turn gave birth to banking, notably in Florence, Venice, Barcelona, and Bruges. Florence ranked first, with eighty banking houses in the first half of the fourteenth century. The enormous capital in Florence was increased by the papal revenues — tithes, annates, Peter's pence — which the popes invested in these banking houses. Double-entry bookkeeping, loans, insurance, joint-stock companies, credit, exchange, foreign and domestic drafts, etc. all originated at this time in Italy, whence these practices were gradually diffused all over Europe.

In the intricate pattern of ideas which constituted the Renaissance it is curious to observe the interlocking of interests which one might think were far apart. For example:

"The main impulse for the study of mathematics came more and more from the direct and indirect requirements of commerce and the related needs of the growing cities. It came from seafaring, bookkeeping, cartography, and astronomy. Cartography was stimulated not only by the sailor, but also by the centralizing state and the city and by the needs of warfare and of administration. Astronomy was cultivated not only among geographers and the seafaring part of the population but also among large numbers of people interested in astrology — a growing need felt in those revolutionary days full of uncertainty. Additional causes were the geometrical interests of the painters and other artists, the steadily growing requirements of architecture and engineering, such as drainage, dyke and windmill-building, city hygiene and manufacture. All these different factors led the study of mathematics into rapidly expanding channels, a fact which compelled the Latin schools and the university to reconsider their curriculum and to devote an increasing amount of time to mathematics and related sciences."¹

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Renaissance in Italy was in a state of decadence so great that it may be said to have expired. In compensation, however, the spirit, the forms, and the practices of the Italian Renaissance had by that time spread to the other countries of Europe. Of all these countries, France was the most intimate heir of the scholarship, the literary spirit, the art tradition of Italy.

*Decline of
Renaissance
in Italy*

The Renaissance movement outside of Italy, sometimes called the "Northern Renaissance," i.e., Germany, France, Flanders, Holland, and England, owed nothing to antiquity. Medievalism in form and spirit persisted longer beyond the Alps than in Italy, and feudalism and chivalry died a long and lingering death. Except for Flanders and Germany, the burgher class was not numerous, and great cities were few in number. On the other hand, religion was taken seriously in these countries, though much of it was "pietistic" rather than orthodox, whereas in Italy it was taken lightly or paganized or not at all. A natural art and a literature in the language of the people, whether German, French, or English were the chief media of expression. Ecclesiastical architecture languished because the religious spirit of the age was given to the formation of sects and support of heresies; but civil architecture flourished in the Flemish and German cities, many of whose city halls, guild halls, warehouses, still stand as memorials of their past history.

*Northern
Renaissance*

Flanders and then Germany were the pioneers of northern art. The artistic Renaissance began in the former country at the end of the four-

¹George Sarton, in *Law* XXV, pp. 46-47.

teenth century with the brothers Hubert and Jan Van Eyck. Together they painted the magnificent picture of *The Adoration of the Lamb*, now in the cathedral at Ghent. The younger Van Eyck is celebrated for discovery of the art of painting in oil, which even the Italian painters soon came to use. Northern art

Art flourished under many forms in Germany — painting, wood-carving, wood-engraving, printing, art metal work, for which Nuremberg was famous. The first eminent German painter was Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), but the greatest were Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) of Nuremberg and Hans Holbein (1498-1554) of Augsburg, known as the elder, to distinguish him from his son Hans Holbein, who was also eminent. In vigor and technique both of these equalled the best artists of the Italian Renaissance, and both excelled in portraiture. The elder Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII, Anne of Cleves, Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus are world famous. The first example in Germany of popular literature was Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* (1494). The purpose of this curious and amusing work was to ridicule the follies and vices of every rank and profession of society under the allegory of a ship freighted with fools a-sail on life's troubled sea. The humor and sometimes pity in the subject struck a chord in the popular heart. The doggerel verse was illustrated by a famous series of woodcuts which made its meaning clear even to those unable to read. It was translated into French, Flemish, English — and strange to say, into Latin. German art and literature

The first great humanist outside of Italy and greater than any Italian humanist, except possibly Petrarch, was Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536). The extension of the classical Renaissance is primarily due to him. He was educated at the University of Paris and at Bologna. Francis I vainly endeavored to persuade him to take the chair of classical studies in the Collège de France, which the king founded for the promotion of humanistic studies — a reflection on the University of Paris because of the stress it laid upon theology and its indifference to the humanities. Erasmus was at home in France, England, Italy, and Germany, and finally settled down at Basel where his friend, the great printer Froben, was established. Erasmus's edition of the *New Testament* is the first great critical study in the Greek language and inaugurator both of modern Greek studies and of modern Biblical research. Better known and more interesting to the general reader are his *Praise of Folly*, a series of satires on the time, his *Colloquies*, intended as a manual of polite manners and conversation and his *Letters*. Erasmus was the first writer of international renown and the first who was able to make a living by his pen, without needing to resort to the Church. Erasmus

If it had not been for the invention of printing Erasmus would have been unable to do this. For thousands of years all books had been written upon

papyrus or parchment or paper, the last of which, however, was not made before the late thirteenth century, and the use of which did not begin generally to obtain until the next century. Then, quite suddenly, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the device of movable metal type was invented. No revolution in history wrought by a mechanical means — neither the steam-engine nor electricity — is comparable to the influence of the printing-press on civilization. It was the first machine capable of quantity production. Henceforth books could be produced by hundreds and thousands, instead of a few score painfully written by hand in ancient and medieval *scriptoria* (writing rooms). Hitherto the only mechanical form of multiplication had been crudely cut wood picture blocks, with or without a short inscription. The earliest example of a wood block is dated 1418. But it is certain that xylography or wood-engraving, at least for printing pictures and for capital letters, was practiced in the medieval monasteries as far back as the twelfth century for the production of pious souvenirs printed on leaves of parchment, and as such sold to pilgrims.¹ It seems strange that it required two hundred years more before it occurred to any one that by breaking up such a block inscription into its elements — the letters which formed it — letters might be combined to form other words and sentences.

Neither the claim that John Gutenberg of Mainz in Germany invented the art of printing with movable type about 1454, nor the popular belief that the so-called Gutenberg *Bible* was the first printed book is substantiated. Four examples of printing have been found which antedate the earliest printed Bible, no one of which can satisfactorily be attributed to Gutenberg. These are a *Calendar* of the year 1447, now in the museum at Wiesbaden, a fragment of *Donatus* (27 lines) probably also of the year 1447, a *missal* now in the Stadtbibliothek at Constance in Switzerland, and the *Speculum humane salvationis* or *Mirror of Human Salvation* found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, both certainly printed before 1450. There is ground to believe that the art of printing was actually known and practiced as early as 1430, but kept secret because of fear of the jealous opposition of the guilds of the scribes and copyists which were closely allied with the Church and the universities and that it finally "leaked out" and became public knowledge.

Neither Gutenberg nor any of his contemporaries may be said to have been the first printers nor to have invented the art. *In great likelihood their contributions were technical improvements of an art already known*, though not widely used before 1455. The earliest type seems to have been made of lead, cast in sand moulds. But there were two defects in this kind of method. In the first place, a new mould had to be made after every casting; in the second place, lead type was too soft and

¹ For examples of these see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, XXXI, 1258 bis.

the face soon became blurred Gutenberg seems to have substituted a metal mould Beginning with a wooden mould he first cast a *brass type* which he hammered into *sheet lead*, thus getting a more durable mould or matrix Another man, Schoeffer, apparently improved upon this by hammering steel-cut type into copperplate instead of lead and thus got a still more durable matrix

Next to Germany, Italy was the country in which printing was most widely diffused The first press outside of Germany was set up by Pannartz and Sweynheim at Subiaco near Rome in 1465 Interesting calculations have been made as to the quantity of books *Number of early printed books* printed before 1500 Years ago a census of books printed between 1455 and 1499 gave ground for the belief that at least six million books were printed in the fifteenth century Later students have advanced good arguments for thinking that the number in that period was about one-half greater Preliminary estimates based upon a new survey now under way give ground for believing that perhaps a total of nearly nine million books were printed in the first fifty years of the printing press¹ Of this enormous output less than 40,000 have survived Some of these early books (*incunabula*) are worth their weight in gold

Germany's contribution to the epoch of the Northern Renaissance, however, is not yet concluded There were a number of scientists Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) was the son of a poor boatman on the Moselle River who became the most distinguished physicist *German scientists* of his day and died a cardinal of the Roman Church His chief interest was in hydrostatics, but he was also a keen astronomer From long observation and without a telescope—for it had not yet been invented—he came to the conclusion that Venus and Mercury revolved around the sun, and that the same motion was probably true of the other planets, though he could not be as sure of these because Venus and Mercury were inside of the earth's orbit, while the others were not Thus Cusa anticipated by a century the heliocentric nature of the universe which Copernicus established in 1543 In organic nature Cusa made the enormously original suggestion that probably the various forms of nature had been simple in the beginning, and that newer forms of life might have developed later by a process of "unfolding" (*explicatio*) and "evolution" (*evolutio*) The anticipation of Darwinism is clear The greatest mathematician of the Renaissance epoch was Georg Peurbach, who was a professor in the University of Vienna and died in 1461. He was the master of Regiomontanus and Albert Brudzewo The former, whose real name was Johannes von Mueller, which he latinized as Regiomontanus, compiled an elaborate series of *Astronomical Tables* based upon ancient Greek and especially Arabian observations, giving latitudes and longitudes on the earth's surface to a far greater extent than ever before; he ascertained and predicted eclipses from 1475 to 1530 His work became the handbook

of every progressive navigator in the late fifteenth century Columbus, Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan owed their achievements in part to this man. Albert Brudzewo, Peurbach's other pupil, became professor of mathematics in the University of Cracow in Poland and was the teacher of Copernicus, whose epoch-making work, *De Revolutionibus Orbis Terrarum* (1543), overthrew the Ptolemaic explanation of the movement of the planets and proved that the earth and all the other planets revolved around the sun. In this same year (1543) Vesalius, a Fleming of Brussels, founded modern anatomy by his *Fabrica Corporis Humani* (Structure of the Human Body).

England, France, and Spain in the later Middle Ages when the life of Italy and Germany was so rich, contributed nothing new to European cul-

ture except in literature, and that is limited to the work of one author in each country. The greatest of these was the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400). He was a copious writer, but we shall here mention only his versified *Canterbury Tales*, the spirit of which is that of Boccaccio — Chaucer was in Italy in 1372-1373 and may have met him — though the scenes and setting are English. Chaucer was England's greatest story-teller and the real creator of the English language as a literary tongue. As the pilgrims leisurely travelled from London to Canterbury they beguiled the time by telling stories. The persons in these tales, the people whom they met on the road, the scenes and incidents, the landscape, all together make a pageant of medieval life at the close of the Middle Ages, and yet one also feels on the threshold of the modern era.

Fifteenth-century French literature produced a masterly piece in the *Farce of Master Pathelin* (the author is not known), an uproarious skit depicting the experiences of a shyster lawyer. The cream of French literature in the fifteenth century is found in the lyrics and ballads of François Villon (1431-1465?). An ex-University of Paris student with a smattering of Latin and theology, vagabond, roisterer, thief, perhaps even murderer, Villon combined an amazing vigor and sincerity with felicity of expression. There is scarcely to be found in any other poetry so haunting a refrain as the recurrent line "Where are the snows of yesteryear?", and the "Ballad of the Hanged" (*Ballade des pendus*), for the sense of moral and physical horror conveyed, can never be forgotten.

The first literary artist in Spain was Juan Manuel, author of the *Book of Patronio*, or *The Count Lucanor* (1282-1347). He was a nephew of Alfonso the Learned, the scholar-king of Castile. He wrote twelve works, a Spanish chronicle, a treatise on equitation and hunting, a collection of poems, etc. Most of his works are lost and only *El Conde Lucanor* has been printed. It comprises forty-nine stories after the oriental manner, with a moral sentence in verse at the end of each tale. This work has been translated into several other languages, and is an im-

portant example of the literary influence of the East upon the West. Slightly younger was Juan Ruiz Hita who died in 1351, a jovial archpriest who was imprisoned by Albornoz, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. Captivity did not dampen his disposition or clip his poetical imagination. He wrote all sorts of poetry — hymns, pagan and Christian legends, stories, fables, allegories, romances of love and chivalry, indeed almost every type of literature known to the Middle Ages, but all of them tinctured with a modern, realistic cast of thought. It is unfortunate that his writings have not been translated into English.

From this survey of the Renaissance outside of Italy it will be perceived that as a whole, the movement was natural, spontaneous, and largely independent of Italian influence. Neither Latin nor Greek scholarship touched western Europe until very late in the fifteenth century by which time many changes in northern Europe could already be noticed.

*Independence of
Northern
Renaissance*

Great as had been the changes wrought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nevertheless the effects were neither as deep nor as broadly felt as one might think. Each event and each transformation in the Renaissance interested or concerned only a particular class or group. Erasmus is a case in point. He died in 1536 and was certainly a towering figure. Yet, as his latest biographer has written

*True effect of
Renaissance*

"Erasmus cared little for the inventions and discoveries of his age, he was not even aware of the main economic and political changes. The most glorious artists of the whole world — Leonardo and Titian, Michelangelo and Raphael, San Gall and Bramante — were his contemporaries, and he had opportunity to see their works, but not once, I believe, does he mention any of them in his pages. Again, a new world was discovered during his life-time. But Erasmus, though he met the son of Columbus in 1520, hardly let an allusion to the New World pass his pen."

At Florence Erasmus was at the very heart of the Renaissance. But Erasmus has not mentioned the Duomo or the Badia, Santo Spirito or Santa Maria Novella, the Campanile or the Baptistery. At Venice, as at Florence, Erasmus was blind to the wonderful art of his contemporaries, Bellini, Carpaccio, Giorgione, Palma Vecchio and Titian, none of whom he seems to have met and whose works he never mentions."¹

A great many of the popular impressions of the Renaissance are wrong or at least require to be modified. The great German artist Albrecht Durer spent more than a year in Venice, but in none of his letters does he state or imply that the beauty of the city appealed to him. On the people at large the Renaissance had hardly any influence. In the cities the pageantry of it appealed to their eyes.

*People unaffected
by Renaissance*

¹ Preserved Smith, *Erasmus*, 3, 34, 104, 109, 112.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The Renaissance was the discovery of new thought, of new ways of living, of some new things such as the printing press. But there was another and quite different form of discovery which took place at this time, and that is over-sea discovery and exploration of new lands and new continents. The physical expansion of Europe by the discovery of America and the passage to India and the Far East around Africa corresponded abroad to the intellectual expansion at home.

*Discovery and
expansion*

The student must be warned in advance against the erroneous idea that there had been no curiosity about unknown lands and no discovery of new lands before the fifteenth century. While the discovery of America and the establishment of direct contact between Europe and the Far East certainly opened a new epoch in world-history, in another sense these events may be regarded as the climax of an expansion which had been episodic all through the Middle Ages. The Norsemen in the ninth century had lifted the whole of northern Europe above the horizon and discovered and settled Iceland, Greenland, and discovered if not colonized the northeast coast of the American continent. The crusades had stimulated curiosity in new lands, new peoples, new customs, new languages, new culture, and the information was enlarged by Latin translations of the works of Arabian geographers in which something about the interiors of Africa, India, Ceylon, Malaysia, and China was revealed. Again in the thirteenth century the union of all Asia except India by the Mongols, who destroyed the Baghdad Khalifate in 1258, greatly promoted Europe's knowledge of Asia and the Far East. When Asia was closed to European intercourse, the idea arose that if it could no longer be penetrated by land, it might be reached by sea. The result was finally to change the front of Europe to the westward, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

*Medieval origins
of exploration*

The most immediate and impelling motive of discovery was trade. For centuries—from even before the Greeks—Europe had got luxuries like silk, spices, jade, pearls and other precious stones, dyes, perfumes, jewelry, ivory, lacquer ware, from the Orient. Now they were unprocurable except at exorbitant prices.

*Trade motive
of exploration*

About 1400 the ambitions of the Portuguese who had but lately been liberated

from their Moorish conquerors and united under John I, the son-in-law of John of Gaunt, the English Duke of Lancaster — this is the beginning of that Anglo-Portuguese alliance which still exists — were of necessity turned towards trade and expansion in lands outside of Europe. The Mediterranean swarmed with the ships of the rich cities of Italy and Catalonia, but the Portuguese had the Atlantic, Portugal was already trading with England and Flanders. Through their long contact with the Moors, however, the Portuguese possessed a special knowledge of the geography, the peoples, the products of North-West Africa. In 1412 the initiative was taken by Prince Henry the Navigator, third son of King John I of Portugal, who brought the resources of the government, all the geographical knowledge he could amass, the use of the compass (if not for the first time, at least for effective navigation) and a spirit of daring enterprise to bear upon the solution of navigation. Before he died in 1460, the Canary and the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered, Sierra Leone settled, in 1484 the mouth of the Congo River was found, in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope and well named it, for he had found the tip of Africa. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, and set his sails for Calicut in India, the first European ever to penetrate the Indian Ocean. The all-sea route to India and Cathay (China) was open. Today Portuguese West Africa, East Africa, Goa in India, Macao on the coast of China, are the remnants of the once great colonial empire of Portugal in the East Indies founded by the viceroy Albuquerque (1504-1509). In 1502 a papal bull created the king of Portugal "Lord of the navigation, conquests and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India."

Although Prince Henry defrayed the cost of many early expeditions, the African discoveries soon paid for themselves, and astonishing wealth came to Lisbon after the foundation of trading posts at Argum, El Mina, and Benin. After 1450 slaves also came in considerable numbers, for, although the Arabs had long carried on a regular slave trade in Africa, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to do so. In many of their enterprises they were aided by Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Flemings, and Florentines, who flocked to join in the lucrative voyages, lent money, and helped to colonize the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. Both Martin Behaim and Columbus became sailors and geographers in Portuguese service.

*Discoveries pay
for themselves*

Of all the momentous consequences of the Portuguese discoveries in West Africa, the revolution they effected in the economic outlook of Europe was by far the most important. The Portuguese colonies in Africa initiated the era of adventurous capitalism which has since changed the face of the world.

Meanwhile, a discovery of less immediate importance than that of Vasco da Gama, but of world significance by the next century, had been made by

Columbus in 1492 Columbus was a Genoese by birth and had been a sugar buyer in the employ of a Genoese firm, the Centurioni Brothers, in the Cape Verde and Canary Islands. How he became imbued with the idea that by sailing westward across the Atlantic he might eventually reach India is uncertain, though he knew, of course, that the earth was a sphere. Columbus was something of a student and his own annotated copy of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago mundi* is preserved, in this book the argument is set forth that China and India might be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic, and that a huge continent lay between Europe and Asia. He thought the westward voyage would be shorter than that around the Cape. He never knew that he had discovered a new continent and believed the American coast was the coast of Asia. Columbus was encouraged by some information which he had learned in the Western Islands from a Spanish captain named Pinzon, who had picked up vague word that some Portuguese seamen had found a big island which they called "Antillia," far west of Madeira and the Azores. Columbus and Pinzon struck a bargain. Columbus was to be the promoter, Pinzon the navigator of the expedition. The aid of Queen Isabella of Spain made his fortune and Spain's. Columbus made four voyages, in the third of which he touched the continent. But a Florentine named Americus Vespucci, in the service of Portugal in Brazil, by the irony of history, was destined to have his name given to the double continent, North and South America, by a German geographer.

Alonso de Ojeda on his first voyage in 1499 saw the coast of what is now Venezuela, Columbus on his fourth voyage in 1502-1503 visited it and the coast of Central America. Permanent settlement began in 1510, at Cartagena, at Uraba in the Gulf of Darien, and at Colon. About this time there arrived Vasco Nunez de Balboa, and his policy was to make friends with the natives, and particularly their chiefs, and to learn from them all he could about the country and its products. Having heard a good deal about the great sea which lay one hundred miles southwards over the mountains, and wanting to do something which would bring him into the favor of the king of Spain, he surmounted all difficulties of disease and hostile tribes and discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513. As soon as a boat could be built at Panama, the first voyage was to the Pearl Islands in the Gulf of Panama. Balboa's full account of his discovery was received by the king of Spain early in 1514; and during that year the discovery of the "South Sea," as Balboa named it, "was the talk of Europe."

But the true nature of the two Americas though was not discovered until

there, only a remnant of his fleet and crews survived to return to Spain

The courage and heroism which sustained these hardy mariners in the Age of Discovery are beyond praise. Their vessels were small, their quarters crowded. Scurvy decimated their number. The reefs of the west coast of Africa made it one of the most dangerous coasts in the world to navigate, and rounding Cape Horn was the severest test known for a sailing vessel.

Navigation in dangerous seas

Bristol seamen whaling in the North Atlantic in the late fifteenth century heard vague rumors of the existence of a large island west of Ireland which some hardy Portuguese sailors probably had found in 1489, but the information was concealed, for the Portuguese government had as much as it could then handle of exploration along the African coast. This mysterious island, like Antillia, was alleged to have seven rich cities in it — an alluring legend. It was to safeguard the rights of Portugal to this mysterious island that Pope Alexander VI in 1493 drew the famous line of demarcation of the globe by a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores. All land west of that meridian was to pertain to Spain, and all east of it to Portugal.

In 1496 England entered the race for exploration. John Cabot and his son Sebastian — it is not known whether they were of Genoese or Venetian birth — obtained letters-patent from Henry VII to seek for the Indies by a north-west route. They sailed from Bristol in two ships in 1497. They may have touched the Labrador coast and certainly discovered Newfoundland, which they christened St. John's Island, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, but it is uncertain how much farther south they voyaged. In the next year Sebastian made a second voyage, with doubtful results. In 1512, since Henry VIII showed no interest in exploration, Sebastian Cabot entered the service of Spain, for whom he explored the La Plata country in South America (Paraguay and Uruguay) which had been first seen in 1515, returning to Spain in 1530. In 1553 he was again in England as navigator for the Willoughby-Chancellor Company, organized for trade with Russia through the White Sea, and to find, if possible, a northeast passage to the Far East via the Arctic Ocean.

Voyages of the Cabots

Thus three of the four maritime powers of Europe participated almost simultaneously in the discovery movement. The exception was France, for Verrazzano's alleged survey of the North American coast from 34°N to 50°N in the service of King Francis I rests solely upon his own letter of claim and is not substantiated.

France's participation

Exploration of the New World was well on its way before Jacques Cartier's two voyages (1534, 1535) in which he discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and advanced up the river to the site of Montreal. He brought to Europe the first information of the Great Lakes in North America.

Meanwhile, Spain alone advanced from discovery to occupation, from occupation to conquest, from conquest to colonization, and thus became the

possessor of the first colonial empire in the New World. The earliest Spanish settlements on the mainland were made on the Isthmus of Panama (which Balboa crossed and so discovered the Pacific in 1513) and the territory directly adjoining on each side. But when tidings came of a people called Mayas in Yucatan, where rich and populous cities and an advanced civilization were said to be, and that beyond Yucatan in Mexico lay the great empire of the Aztecs under a ruler named Montezuma, Spanish appetite for further conquest was whetted. Within two years (1519-1521) Hernando Cortez achieved the subjugation of Mexico, one of the most daring, spectacular, and successful military expeditions in recorded history. A little later Francesco Pizarro, who had heard of the Inca Empire in Peru when he was with Balboa, explored down the west coast of South America, found that the report was true, and conquered the country as spectacularly as Cortez had conquered Mexico (1531-1533). In 1548 the Spanish crown assumed direct rule of Peru as it had already done with Mexico.

Spanish domination extended along the western coast of Mexico up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Rio Colorado and by 1540 California was proved to be a peninsula and not an island as had been previously thought. In the next two years, 1540-1542, Coronado was sent out by the viceroy of Mexico, he crossed the Rio Grande River, traversed the Texas and Oklahoma of today, and reached the Osage River in Kansas before returning to winter at Zuni among the Pueblo Indians. As if to round out Spain's gigantic empire in the two Americas, while Coronado was in the Texas country, De Soto, governor of Cuba, occupied Florida, penetrated Georgia, made his way westward to the Mississippi which he explored to the confluence of the Ohio. He died on the way, and was buried in the Mississippi, the remnant of the expedition, 311 men, reached Panuco in September, 1543.

These great discoveries struck the imagination of Europe, opened careers to hundreds of soldiers of fortune and adventurers, tempted several thousands of settlers, almost all of them Spanish, to wrench a hard living from new and hostile lands, and inspired the Church with a new missionary zeal. The discoveries also ruined the trade of Venice and Genoa to the profit of Lisbon, Seville, and later Amsterdam and London. Spain's great success during the next two centuries, in the fields of discovery, conquest, colonization, literature, and art was inspired by her grandiose sense of universalism — one empire, one language, one faith.

Spanish colonization of America

Grandeur of Spanish Empire

PART III

EARLY MODERN HISTORY

CHAPTER XXXIV

EPILOGUE TO MEDIEVAL HISTORY PROLOGUE TO MODERN HISTORY THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL MONARCHY

The concurrence of a striking series of events in the second half of the fifteenth century prepared a change sufficient to justify this period as marking the transition from late medieval and Renaissance history to that of modern times. These events were (1) The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, (2) The end of the Hundred Years' War between France and England in the same year, (3) The restoration of the French monarchy by Louis XI (1461-1483), (4) The union of Aragon and Castile (1469), (5) The establishment of the Tudor monarchy in England in 1485, (6) The discovery of America in 1492, (7) The French invasion of Italy in 1494, (8) The discovery of the southwest all-sea passage to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. To these events may be added the invention of printing, and the use of gunpowder, which though known in the fourteenth century did not become of effective importance until the end of the fifteenth century.

Until the later fifteenth century there was something which may be called a European order of things, a general European state of mind, a synthesis, however much it may have been diversified by national and local conditions. But that synthesis was shattered in the second part of the fifteenth century and has never been recovered since. The break-up of Europe was most largely due to two forces working simultaneously — the rise of the spirit of nationalism and the formation of strong national monarchies in France, England, and Spain. Nationalism was the sentiment, monarchy the agency of this great change. For in Italy and Germany there was neither sense of nationality nor strong monarchy.

National feeling, however, was not the only new component in monarchy. There was a new theory and a new working principle in it. This was absolutism. The way was led by Italy, where the Visconti in Milan, the Medici in Florence, the Baglioni in Perugia, and other princes elsewhere, had established local tyrannies or despotisms. The restored papacy was the pioneer in this movement. Eugenius IV (1431-39) had paved the way for Louis XI of France, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Henry VII of England. With these sovereigns the concept of "rights and duties" of the feudal age passed away, and there was no public opinion strong enough

to enforce them. Political morality and personal morals were entirely separated. The great Florentine publicist Machiavelli formulated this political philosophy in the famous book, *The Prince*, which he dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici in 1515. The cynical nature of this famous work, which became the handbook of kings, was controverted by Erasmus, the great humanist scholar, in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, which was written for the young prince who afterwards became Emperor Charles V. It is a commentary on the times that it never had the influence of Machiavelli's work.

By 1453 France emerged out of the war with England with a restored kingship, a reformed administration, and a national spirit. Louis XI (1461–

*Emergence of
France*

83) built on these foundations to such good effect that France at the end of the century was the foremost nation in Europe. The "King Spider" of romance and legend is not the historical Louis XI. That sinister reputation for cruelty, double-dealing, avarice, attributed to him rests upon the testimony of his discomfited enemies. Actually Louis XI was an intelligent, hardworking, and honest ruler, except towards his enemies, and with regard to them he was no more dishonest than they, only more successful in beating them at their own game.

The first fifteen years of Louis XI's reign were filled with intrigues and coalitions of nobles against him. These were feudal reactions against the monarchy. Then ensued thirteen years of triumph, of progress,

Louis XI

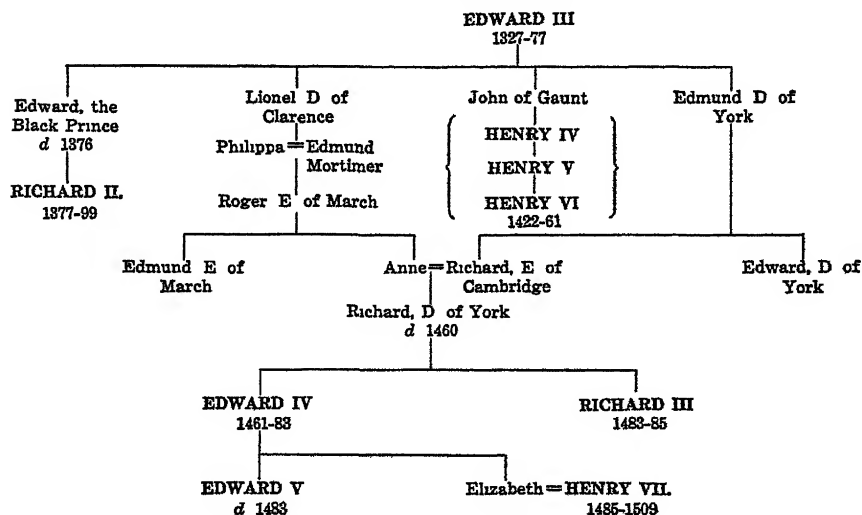
of increase of royal power, of territorial consolidation. The soul of the coalitions against Louis XI was Charles the Bold, the last of the dukes of Burgundy. The Burgundian "state" was a huge agglomeration of dominions united by the fact that the duke of Burgundy was lord of every one of them. It was the ambition of Charles the Bold to consolidate all the territories into a kingdom. If he had succeeded Europe would have seen a new "Middle Kingdom" between France and Germany, such as had existed in the ninth century. The Emperor Frederick III and King Louis XI were naturally opposed to this design. And yet, curiously, it was the Swiss who defeated it. Charles's ambition was to rule all the territory between the Rhine, the Saône, the Meuse, and the Jura Mountains, and from the Alps to the sea. The Swiss took alarm when he seized Alsace. It was too close to Switzerland for comfort. A Burgundian army was beaten by the Swiss pikemen in 1474 at Héricourt, near Belfort, a place of great military importance which commands the passage between the Vosges and the Jura known as the Trouée de Belfort.¹ Charles furiously retaliated but was beaten again at Granson (1476), and finally lost his life in the battle of Nancy (January 4, 1477).

Thanks to swift couriers whom he had stationed along the road, Louis XI

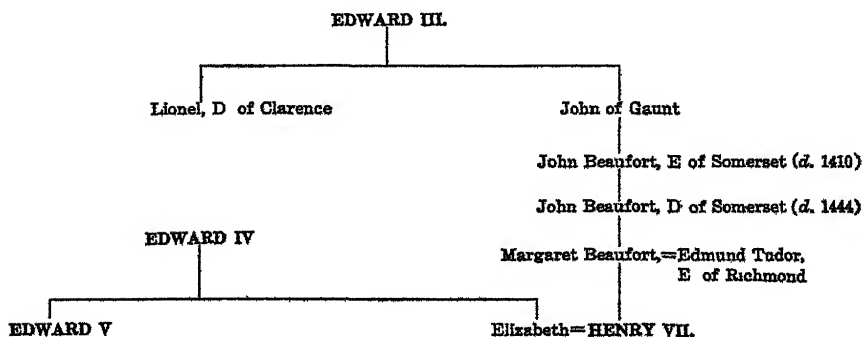
¹ Three battles were fought here during the Thirty Years' War, 1632, 1634, 1636. In 1814–15, in the Hundred Days of Napoleon, Belfort successfully withstood the allies who did not obtain possession of it until after peace was made. The same result attended the siege by the Germans in 1870–71, which lasted from November 3 to February 16. Héricourt is famous for the battle fought on January 15–17, 1871.

learned of Charles's death on the next day and promptly occupied the Duchy of Burgundy. In the next few years he annexed the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Provence (1480) through the extinction of the House of Anjou when "King" René, the last of the dynasty, died, and the annexations of Alençon, Perche, and Guienne followed. The "splendid hexagon" of France

HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER



GENEALOGY OF HENRY VII



was being both rounded out and consolidated, though the process was not completed until his son Charles VIII married the duchess

Two years after Louis XI died, leaving a new France to his son, England

emerged out of the War of the Roses, when Henry VII Tudor became king in 1485. The War of the Roses,¹ which broke out in 1455, was a civil conflict between the rival houses of Lancaster and York each of which claimed the throne of England.

*England War
of the Roses*

Thousands of soldiers, who were used to battle and plunder and knew no other forms of livelihood, had returned to England from the French wars. They were available for both antagonists. The great nobles among the Red and White contestants surrounded themselves with ex-soldiers who wore the livery of some outstanding partisan and were sustained by him. "Livery and maintenance" were evils of the time. Small nobles and knights also became so attached. It was a degraded form of feudalism. The royal castles were seized, old castles repaired, new ones built, and manor-houses and country villas converted into walled and moated granges. It is not necessary to relate details of this conflict in which victory and defeat alternated for twenty years, and eleven fierce battles were fought. The War of the Roses was less destructive to England than one might think. The nobles mercilessly destroyed each other but they did not molest the people, who were too cautious or indifferent to take sides, and farming and commerce and industry continued as before. Conditions were not easy for the common people, but they might have been much worse. But the cruelty of the contestants toward their foes was terrible. No quarter was given in battle. John Tiptoft, a graduate of Baliol College, Oxford, a humanist who had studied in Italy, and delivered a Latin oration in the presence of the pope, a patron of Caxton and the first English translator of Caesar's *Commentaries*, was created Earl of Worcester in 1449 and Constable of England by Edward IV. In the latter capacity he committed many cruelties. In 1462 Sir Ralph Grey and twenty of the duke of Clarence's followers were captured at sea and hanged and impaled. The reign of Richard III (1483-85) and the murder of the "Princes in the Tower" by him — if it was he who did it — closed this period.

The victory of Henry, Earl of Richmond, on Bosworth Field in 1485 ended the War of the Roses, and inaugurated a new epoch in English history. Henry's claim to headship of the Lancastrian house was a pretty thin one.² Soon after his accession Henry VII was prudent enough to marry Elizabeth of York and thus reconcile the two long-warring dynasties.

The man who helped Henry VII win the throne was John Morton, who was rewarded by being made Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been a member of the privy council in the time of Henry I. The famous scene between Morton and Richard III immortalized

John Morton

¹ A red rose was the heraldic emblem of the Lancastrians, a white rose that of the Yorkists.

² His mother was Margaret Lancaster, a great-great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, who in 1455 had married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was a son of Owen Tudor and Katherine of France, the widow of Henry V and mother of Henry VI.

by Shakespeare, which ended in Morton's confinement in the Tower, is historical. He narrowly escaped execution. When Richard III was killed at Bosworth, Morton played a leading part in bringing Henry, Earl of Richmond, over from Ireland to claim the throne. The pope made Morton a cardinal. He acquired notorious odium by lending himself to Henry VII's extortionate measures. "Morton's Fork" passed into a proverb. Nevertheless, Sir Thomas More, who in his youth was a retainer in Morton's household, held him in high esteem and immortalized him in his *Utopia*.

The modern history of England begins with Henry VII's accession in 1485. After the battle of Bosworth the field was clear for a new king unhampered by factional strife. Never entirely safe on the throne and never popular, Henry VII, in the words of a contemporary, *Henry VII* was "The patron of peace and primate of prudence" (Barclay). Abroad he preferred diplomacy to arms. At home, he executed some, imprisoned others, and crushed by fines and exactions the rest of his enemies. He abolished the practices of "livery and maintenance", he got his hands on all the artillery in the kingdom, he promoted commerce, and patronized learning. He was so economical that he left £1,800,000 in gold, besides plate and jewels.

In 1485 England entered upon a new epoch. Everywhere the national outlook was widened. At home it marked the end of a long period of dynastic warfare. Abroad Henry VII's appearance as mediator between France and Brittany in 1488 placed England again in the forefront of the European nations. The aim of the first Tudor king was to "set a brazen wall around his realm." England was independent but not isolated. In the intellectual sphere the reign introduced England to the "new learning" of Italy.

Feudalism was dying. The old nobility had been destroyed in the civil wars. A few, like the duke of Norfolk, survived as connecting links between Tudor and Plantagenet England. But the future of the country was in the hands of a new nobility just rising into prominence, men who were servants of the crown. *Changes in England* The constitution was out of gear. The new nobility, instead of seeking to restrain and to limit the growing absolutism of the monarchy as their predecessors had done, saw in its extension an increase of their own power, and Parliament, so far from being the expression of the popular will, existed only for registering the wishes of the crown. Everything inclined to throw all the powers of government into the king's hands. The royal supremacy was a fact before it was ordained in the law.

But though politically restored, England's condition was not one of happiness, economically or socially; this is especially true of the lower classes. This is amply revealed in a book entitled *The Governance of England*, written by Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of the King's Bench between 1471 and 1476, it is the earliest treatise in English on constitutional history. *More's Utopia* The evils which Fortescue discusses could not possibly

be remedied in a single reign More vivid and more contemporary was Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, the famous dream of the Kingdom of Nowhere, published in 1516 In this vision of a new humanity, More indirectly inveighed against the evils of his own England The streets of London were narrow, crooked, filthy alleys, in Utopia the streets were twenty feet wide, paved and clean London's houses, except the palaces of the very rich, were ill-built tenements, in Utopia the houses were built "in a gallant sort," flint or brick, with plenty of windows, and every house opened in the rear upon a garden Sir Thomas More indicted the government of England, its injustice, its cruelty, its exorbitant taxes, its waste of public funds, its violence and the misery of the people by contrasting the happy condition of the citizens of Utopia, where every child was taught to read and write, and the close connection between health and morality was recognized

By the end of the fourteenth century the villein had shaken himself free of many of the most disadvantageous incidents of his status, and the free laborer

Revolution in agriculture was well paid But the condition of the poor rural population declined This was due to the revolution in agriculture English landlords increasingly turned their attention to sheep-farming For as the manufacture of woolen goods increased in the eastern counties, whither it had been transferred from Flanders, the home demand for wool improved and the raising of sheep became more profitable than farming Landowners, accordingly, eager to use their estates for pasturage only, began the practice of "enclosures" As has been pointed out previously, the lord's demesne in most manors lay intermixed with the tenants' holdings He could not turn sheep in on his half-acre strips without their trespassing on the strips of his tenantry A re-allotting of the lands was necessary, so that the lord might have all his acres lying together in one contiguous tract, and thus be able to enclose them By the middle of the fifteenth century this practice was general Where this re-arrangement of land and enclosing was honestly carried out, it was of advantage to the tenantry also, for they too would possess continuous acres which they might enclose if they so desired Instead of having to work sixty scattered half-acre strips, the tenant would now have a compact thirty-acre farm which he could work as he pleased without being compelled to observe the ancient custom of the manor as to the crops he grew, the time of ploughing, sowing, reaping, etc Hitherto after harvest his strips of stubble and the balks that bounded them had helped to pasture all the cattle and sheep of the village, which wandered at will all over the open fields and common waste alike; now, by folding his livestock on his own fields he enriched his land with manure.

The trouble was that the landowner practiced "unfair" enclosing He might take the strips of the peasantry as his own; he often enclosed the common waste, the common meadow, the common wood lot of the village Hence on many estates the process of enclosure

meant wholesale eviction of copyhold tenants (leaseholders) without any indemnification. Thus began the decline of the yeoman (independent farmer) class, whose desperate condition created the rioting, poverty, discontent, and "sturdy beggars" of the Tudor period. The evil was never cured and passed on into the seventeenth century.

The third national monarchy in western Europe which emerged towards the end of the fifteenth century was Spain. In the fourteenth century it was divided into the three Christian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Portugal, and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. At the *Spain* end of the fifteenth century Castile and Aragon were united, the Moors had been expelled, and Portugal had turned to the sea for exploration and exploitation.

Spain had never been so feudalized as France and Germany. Overlordship and vassalage did not obtain. The towns were many and strong, for the reason that Castile, as she expanded, planted towns with special privileges in order to attract settlers. The Cortes was stronger and more developed than either the Parliament of England or the States-General in France in the fourteenth century.

The Castilian rulers made little progress in power against these entrenched classes. On the other hand, in Aragon the crown was strong. The problem there was external, not internal as in Castile. Catalonia was almost in constant revolt, and Louis XI of France secretly *Castile and Aragon* abetted the Catalans, for ever since the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 there was enmity between France and Aragon. Moreover, it was always a French hope to round out the frontier of France at the east end of the Pyrenees. It was evident that Aragon could help Castile and Castile help Aragon in these difficulties. Thus it came about that in 1469 Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon—a momentous event in Spanish history. Legally it was a personal union of the two kingdoms, and the administration, the institutions, the law in each realm were preserved and kept distinct. But Castile speedily became the active partner and the two sovereigns were of one mind in their determination to establish absolute monarchy in Spain.

The stronger person of this famous pair was the queen. Half-Castilian and half-Plantagenet, Isabella seems to have inherited some of the intelligence, the force of will, of her English ancestors.¹ The two most *Queen Isabella* important occurrences of her reign happened in the same year (1492), the destruction of the Moorish kingdom of Granada and the discovery of America. The history of medieval Spain may be said to have ended with these two events. The chief instrument of the crown in effecting

¹ Henry II of England's daughter Eleanor married Alfonso III of Castile, and died in 1214. Edward III's son John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for his second wife married Constantia, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, who bore him a daughter, Catherine, who married Henry III of Castile, who died in 1406. Isabella was his granddaughter.

the royal absolutism was the Spanish Inquisition, a far more formidable institution than the Inquisition which had been established in the thirteenth century. It was sanctioned by a papal bull in 1478, but never throughout its long history was under the pope's authority. It was strictly a Castilian royal instrument. Ferdinand and Isabella are remembered as devout and even fanatical Catholics. With them politics went hand in hand with religion. The shadow of their policy still lies across Spain.

The Spanish Inquisition is the standing example of the identification of government with repression of heresy. But mere doctrinal divergence would hardly have been sufficient justification for the tyranny of the Holy Office if there had not been also at the outset religious cleavage. The unusual strength of the Jews in Spain early provoked ecclesiastical hostility. Official persecution and popular fanaticism culminated in their wholesale expulsion in 1492. In order to exercise their professions, preserve their property or protect their lives, the Jews had previously in thousands professed Christianity. Their ability rapidly brought these *conversos* to the forefront in both Church and state, and their wealth tempted the noble families of Spain to intermarriage. The Spanish nobility soon became intermingled with Jewish strains and to some extent with Jewish doctrines. The aim of the Inquisition was to eradicate this new heresy, and at the same time to seize Jewish property. The accused was kept ignorant of the sources of evidence and was deprived of all the ordinary safeguards of the law. The strength of the Inquisition lay in its effective centralization under the Inquisitor General and the small council known as the *Suprema* which was in constant and intimate contact with the monarchy. The king nominated the Inquisitor General although his authority was a delegation from the pope. The *Suprema* had the appointment of all tribunals and officials. The Inquisition was able to override the jurisdiction and privileges of the feudal nobles and of the military orders, it contended successfully against the ecclesiastical courts and the powerful bureaucracy in the administration. The *Suprema* was a law unto itself and set at naught every other authority. Its power and its wealth were very great. It arbitrarily imposed enormous fines, and retained the products of confiscation. It was exempt from national and local taxation. It controlled mines, markets, ranches, slaughter-houses and thus drew custom from tradesmen and workers. One of the most interesting phenomena created by the Spanish Inquisition was the craze—that is the word—for *limpieza* or purity of blood from Jewish, Moorish or heretical admixtures. The mania spread to the monasteries and the military orders, to the clergy and the universities until all important offices were barred to those who could not show an immaculate genealogy.

Virtually the whole nobility of Castile and Aragon had a strain of Jewish blood. Only the very poor and the gentry of the roughest mountainous districts were "Old Christians." No other result of the Inquisition was more

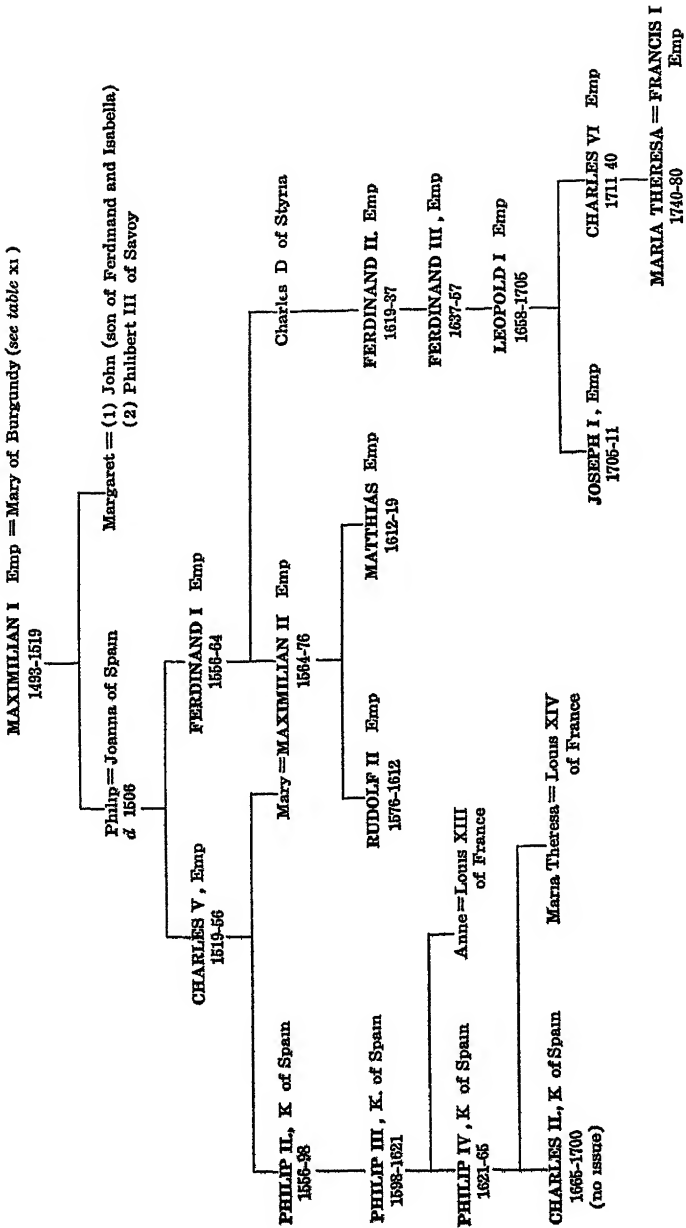
disastrous to the intellectual progress of Spain than this policy of impoverishment, imprisonment, exile or execution. Scholars fled the country as they are fleeing from present Germany. The ultimate disastrous consequences were naturally not apparent at the time. It is difficult for nations to realize their intellectual decline. The expulsion of the Moors and the Jews ruined the economic prosperity of Spain. One of the virtues of Pedro the Cruel had been that he tolerated the Jews. Nearly all the competent statesmen of Castile in the fourteenth century were of Jewish descent, even some of the bishops. Some others were "conversos" or converted Moors. Two of Isabella's most faithful supporters were of Jewish ancestry, Hernando de Pulgar, her secretary, and Andres de Cabrera, *alcaide* of Segovia, who married her dearest friend and companion, Beatriz de Bobadilla. No people in Europe today has so much Jewish blood as the Spanish people. The general level of culture of the Jews and Moors was very high. The evidence of the courts of the Spanish Inquisition shows that Isabella used the office to acquire possession of the wealth of those whom it condemned. This indictment of the Spanish Inquisition must also include the intellectual debasement of Spain. The learning and the literature of Spain's past were almost entirely destroyed by the bonfire of Arabic books which Cardinal Ximenez ordered to be burned. Not only the past but the future suffered. The Spanish Inquisition for centuries crushed free thought and free speech.

*Jewish blood in
Spanish nobility*

Isabella welded Spain into a nation and might almost be said to have been the mother of the Spanish Empire. But the price paid in blood and treasure, in cruelty and fanaticism, in destruction of a great civilization, in repression of intellectual liberty, was tremendous. Spain has paid interest on that price ever since. The great queen was but fifty-three years old when she died in 1504. She had lived to see her husband faithless, the death of her only son and the insanity of her daughter Juana, who transmitted the taint of madness to some of her descendants on the Spanish throne.

*Terrible cost of
Spanish unity*

THE HAPSBURGS IN SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE, FROM MAXIMILIAN I.



CHAPTER XXXV

THE POLITICAL FRAME AND PATTERN OF EUROPE (1494-1555) NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

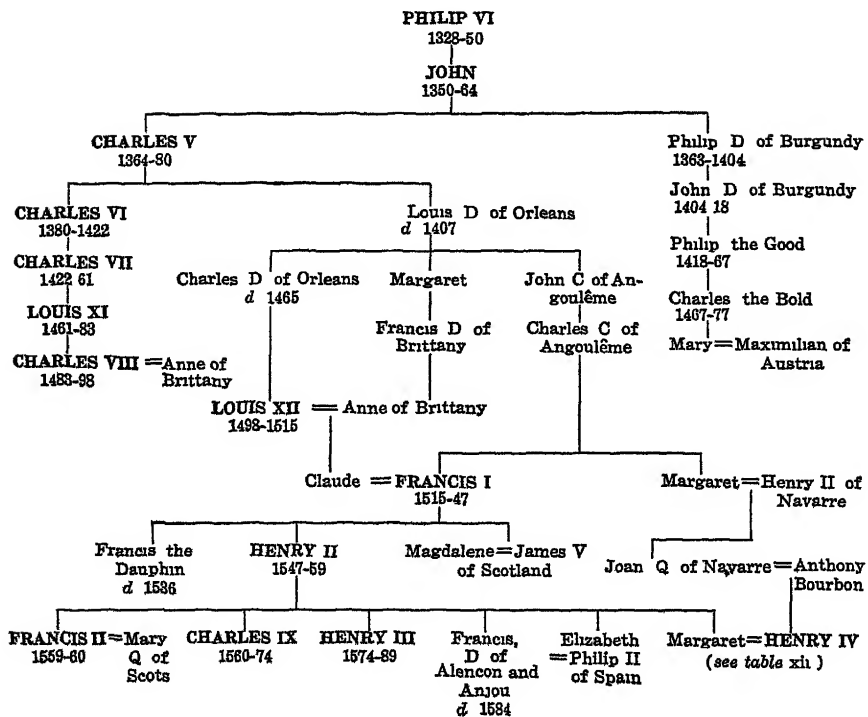
As the Italian Renaissance conditioned the culture of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, so the political condition of Italy determined the prevailing nature of European politics. The peninsula became the general object of conquest on the part of the principal *Division of Italy* European powers, and accordingly was the focal point of international politics. The political disunity of Italy tempted foreign aggression. The chief Italian principalities were the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Milan in the North, Tuscany (Florence), nominally a republic but practically a despotism under the rule of the Medici, and the States of the Church (Rome) in the center, and the Kingdom of Naples in the South. The great island of Sicily was an appendage of the Kingdom of Aragon.

At this time war was the sport of the European sovereigns. "Most men of high birth," wrote a keen observer, "are possessed with this madness." War had become a "feral institution."

The political weakness of Italy combined with its riches tempted France first, and later the other great powers, to invasion. In 1268, as we have seen, the pope had persuaded Charles of Anjou, younger brother of King Louis IX of France, to invade the Norman kingdom *Invasion of Italy* of Naples and Sicily in order to destroy the last remnant of Hohenstaufen power.

The Kingdom of Naples was the largest state in Italy in extent, but the most backward in culture. The Papal States were a heterogeneous assortment of territories which every pope in turn vainly tried to weld into a homogeneous principality. The Duchy of Milan had fallen into the hands of the Visconti, and then of the Sforzas, and having aggrandized itself at the expense of most of the neighboring cities, it could only inspire *Genoa, Venice, Florence* them with distrust. Among the republics, Genoa and Venice were the two most important. But Genoa, the home of perpetual revolutions, was unable to govern itself, or to endure a master. Venice, in proportion as she lost her Levantine colonies to the Turks, increased her continental possessions and thereby made herself more vulnerable, and at the same time the foremost Italian power. Florence, which had surpassed the other states in civilization, aspired to pre-eminence in Tuscany. Under Lorenzo de' Medici, Florence endeavored, but finally failed to assume among the Italian powers that part

HOUSES OF VALOIS AND BURGUNDY



of mediator which the papacy had lost through the personal ambitions of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI

At this time Florence was in the throes of an intense religious revival induced by the perhaps mad Dominican friar Savonarola, who, fearing the return of the expelled Medici, looked to the French invader as an ally Savonarola's downfall — he was finally hanged *Florence* and his body burned — was due to the intricacy of Italian politics, which he could not understand He was a traitor to Florence and a disturber of Italian politics Venice, Milan, and the papacy backed by the King of Spain and the emperor, combined to expel the French from Italy and resolved to protect Italy from another foreign invasion In vain the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Alexander VI implored the Florentines to be "good Italians" In Florence territorial ambition was stronger than prudence Florence wanted French assistance to acquire Pisa which she desired as a sea-port The refusal of Florence to join the Italian League against France ruined her and Savonarola

Ferdinand II of Naples fled and on February 22, 1495, Charles VIII entered the city It was an empty conquest For during the very course of the expedition negotiations had been set on foot for the formation of a league against France, of which Venice was the moving spirit, with which the pope and Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, were associated and towards which the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon were inclined

In May, 1495, Charles VIII evacuated Naples leaving half of his forces which soon capitulated to Ferdinand II who again took possession of his realm Fortunately for himself, Charles was victorious over a Venetian army on July 6 at Fortenuova, and this enabled him to effect a safe retreat to France, he died of an accident soon after his return (1498). The weakness of Italy was revealed to the covetous eyes of ambitious rulers by this useless French expedition, and Italy became a fair mark for projects of conquest

It would have been well if Charles VIII's departure from Italy had been without thought of return and if that brilliant and sterile adventure had forever disillusioned France with foreign conquest and taught the Italians to unite in earnest and shut the peninsula to invaders But the lesson was lost on both parties The Italians grew more divided than ever, and Charles VIII's successors, Louis XII and Francis I, pursued his policies *Invasion of Italy*

Louis XII (1498-1515) of France had more plausible claims to Naples than his predecessor Besides inheriting the claim upon Naples, this king had inherited a claim also upon the Duchy of Milan He was descended from Valentine, daughter of the Visconti duke of *Louis XII claims Italy* Milan, who had married Charles VI's younger brother Louis, Duke of Orléans (died 1407) In 1499 Louis XII invaded Lombardy, captured Milan, and took Ludovico il Moro, the current ruler, prisoner, Ludovico ended

his days in a French dungeon¹ This coup was followed up by a second French invasion of Naples in conjunction with Ferdinand of Aragon But the French and Spaniards soon fell out The Spanish general Gonsalvo de Cordova, of whom it was said that he was a lion in command of an army of lions, defeated the French in 1504, Louis XII resigned his claim upon Naples and henceforth concentrated his efforts to extending and consolidating the French conquest in the North

Pope Julius II, a warlike pontiff, thought to fish in the turbid waters of Italian politics, and formed a league in 1508 with the Emperor Maximilian,

Holy League Louis XII of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon to partition the Venetian mainland among themselves The pope soon became frightened over the growing power of France and completely changed his policy, by forming the Holy League (so called because the pope was the primary agency in its formation) in 1511 with the object of driving the French out of Italy The master-stroke of the papal policy was to win over the Swiss, whose fighting prowess was the envy and admiration of Europe France kept the advantage as long as the famous captains, Gaston de Foix and the Chevalier Bayard, held the field The untimely death of de Foix, in spite of a French victory at Ravenna (1511), turned the scale against the French The Swiss made an irruption into Milan in May, 1512, and restored it to Maximilian Sforza, son of the ill-fated Ludovico il Moro In the next month, on June 6, Louis XII was badly beaten by the Swiss at Novara and withdrew from Italy He had established a senate at Milan as an organ of French rule on the model of the French parlement, which survived under later Spanish domination, and indeed lasted until 1786

The absurd international policies of the time now found astonishing illustration Henry VIII of England who had joined the Holy League in 1512 and the Emperor Maximilian who joined it in 1513, *Mary Tudor* invaded France and defeated the French army at Guinegate on August 17, 1513, in the "Battle of the Spurs," so called from the hasty flight of the French In the next year Henry VIII and Louis XII made not only peace but alliance, which was given more than documentary cementation by the French king's marriage with Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor She was one of the most beautiful and brilliant of all the English royal women From the age of eleven to the age of seventeen she was betrothed to Charles of Castile, who became the Emperor Charles V; and then she was suddenly given, as a pledge of a secretly and hastily patched-up peace, to King Louis XII of France, the jovial "friend of his people," middle-aged in years and impaired in health Within three months of the splendid wedding at Abbeville the

¹Ludovico il Moro was imprisoned in a dungeon in the château of Loches, on the walls of which he scribbled "There is no greater sorrow than to recall in misery the time of happiness" When taken captive he begged in vain for a copy of Dante Released in 1512, he dropped dead of joy.

king was dead The pretty, but not seriously bereaved princess refused to marry the new French king, Francis I, who coveted her dowry and jewels, and insisted on marrying the man of her own heart before she had quit England, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk

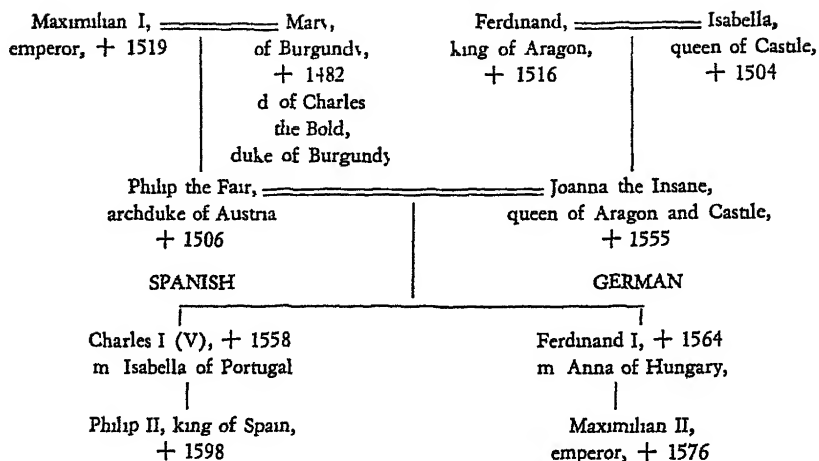
Not since the thirteenth century had France experienced such prosperity as she enjoyed in Louis XII's reign Undoubtedly France was the most fortunate country in Europe at the time The population increased enormously and is estimated to have reached fifteen millions *French prosperity* The growth of trade, internal and external, had kept pace with it Serfdom had rapidly declined, wages had risen, industry was prosperous For the first time the French peasant was a freeman, protected by law In spite of the Italian wars, taxation was light For Louis XII made the conquered pay the bill

Sixteenth-century history was filled with two very different but simultaneous movements, which not unnaturally reacted upon each other, but which nevertheless are to be sharply distinguished The first was the political and military rivalry between France and the House of Habsburg, which ruled most of Germany and Italy and through direct inheritance possessed Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain, including its vast colonial empire *Franco Habsburg rivalry*

The second of these movements was the Reformation Neither can be understood without reference to the other, although for clarity of representation it is desirable to treat each of them separately

We shall take first the history of the conflict between France *Reformation* the House of Habsburg, a struggle which drew into its vortex all of central and western Europe, including England

For the root of this rivalry it is necessary to go back into the late fifteenth century — even before the beginning of the Italian wars In 1477, as has been recorded in a previous chapter, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and lord of a whole complex of other territories *Burgundian possessions* in Middle Europe, was killed Louis XI of France had promptly seized the richest of these dominions, namely the French duchy of Burgundy, but the rest of the lands fell to Charles's daughter, Mary, who thus became the richest heiress in Europe In the competition of suitors, success fell to the Emperor Maximilian Offspring of this union was Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria, who married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the union of whose kingdoms in 1496 had made modern Spain The eldest son of this pair was Charles, who inherited the Netherlands from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, the Spanish kingdom including the Spanish dominions beyond sea from his mother, and (his father having died in 1506) Austria and the cluster of Habsburg lands in Germany when his grandfather Maximilian died in 1519 To this last acquisition must be added Hungary and Bohemia The table on the following page will make this clear:



As in the case of the French claims in Italy, so here, tedious as these specifications may seem, it is indispensable to understand them. For in a state system which was of an hereditary nature the family connections of the ruling houses were of very great importance. The rulership of every state in Europe except Venice, Genoa, and Switzerland rested upon hereditary right.

Finally, to these vast possessions Charles added the imperial title. But the emperorship was not an hereditary title, and any prince might be a candidate.

Election of Emperor Charles V Francis I of France entered the lists as a rival to Charles. Since 1356 the electors had been seven in number: the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and four lay princes, namely, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony and the King of Bohemia. Since Charles himself was hereditary King of Bohemia, there were thus six electors whom it was necessary to persuade. "Persuade" is a mild word to use in this case, for the venality of the electors was notorious and every one of them had to be bribed. An immense sum of money was immediately necessary — more than could be available at once by taxation. Hence both aspirants appealed to the great bankers for loans. Young Charles borrowed 94,000 florins from the Fuggers of Augsburg, the richest bankers in Europe, but was informed that at least 450,000 florins would be necessary to buy the electors. But that price was enormously increased by Francis I's competition. He boasted that he would capture the imperial title even if it required half of his kingdom's annual revenue, which was estimated at three million livres. Francis I had to borrow, too. By March, 1519, the price of the imperial crown had risen to 850,000 florins, so that Charles had to borrow another 543,000 florins from the Fuggers, 143,000 from the Welsers, 165,000 from some Genoese bankers, and 125,000 pounds in Antwerp.¹

¹ See J. W. Thompson and S. K. Padover, *Secret Diplomacy* (London, 1937).

Charles V — he was Charles V of the empire, but Charles I as King of Spain — won the imperial crown, but piled up enormous debts Francis I lost, and he too had accumulated debts War was soon on between them

A dominion so vast and so conglomerate as Charles's was not an enviable heritage Peace, wisdom, and tact were necessary to govern it successfully The utmost heterogeneity existed in his central European possessions The Low Countries (what French historians denomi- *Charles V's far-flung possessions* nate as the *Pays Bas*), which today form the kingdoms of Belgium and of the United Netherlands, were a conglomerate of seventeen provinces having different histories and containing three different peoples, Dutch, Flemish, and French, each with its own language This complexity was increased by other differences

"The Dutch provinces were distinct in character and interests from the Flemish, and much more deeply were the commercial and manufacturing Flemish provinces divided from the French-speaking states of Artois, Hainault, West Flanders, Luxembourg and Franche Comté, where noble interests predominated in spite of the thriving towns of Artois, Hainault and Walloon Flanders It was an additional inconvenience that political and ethnological distinctions did not correspond The French-speaking provinces of Franche Comté, Luxembourg and Hainault were held under the Empire, but Artois and Flanders were French fiefs, and Charles was, as count of Flanders, a peer of France Nor was geography kindly to the Habsburg-Burgundian territories Without Guelders and Utrecht, Holland and Zealand had an inadequate pastoral and agricultural hinterland The great diocese of Liège, French in language and sympathy, yet politically connected with the Empire, separated — but for the narrow strip of the Burgundian lordship of Namur — Limbourg and Luxembourg from the Flemish group Lorraine interposed its substantial form between Franche Comté and the Netherlands Even the bishoprics of Cambrai and Tournai were obstacles to complete geographical and political consolidation. Franche Comté, indeed, had a far closer connection with the Swiss than with the Netherlands, while the fortunes of Limbourg and Luxembourg were destined to be quite distinct from those of the Dutch and Flemish provinces"¹

There was neither unity of administration nor of population nor of language in the United Provinces In the North and West (Holland, Friesland, Brabant, Flanders) the language was Low German, either *United Provinces* Dutch or Flemish. In the South-East the language was French (Walloon) The Meuse River formed the linguistic boundary In general the French or Walloon territories were agricultural and not so rich and populous as the Dutch and Flemish lands Flanders had lost its medieval dominance and prosperity. Grass grew in the streets of Ypres and Bruges Ghent declined The supremacy had passed to Brabant — to the great port of

¹ Armstrong, *Charles V*, I, 6

Antwerp and to Brussels, the capital. In the North the herring fishery and North Sea and Baltic trade enriched Amsterdam.

Lutheranism, Anabaptism, and particularly Calvinism had found root in the country early, to the anxiety of Charles V who had issued twelve edicts against them. For however much the emperor straddled politically and religiously in Germany, in the lands in which he was direct ruler he did not compromise. The Catholic religion was rigidly enforced. Nevertheless Calvinism survived and spread, especially in the Walloon (French-speaking) provinces.

The lands of the House of Habsburg in central Europe formed an equally heterogeneous complex. Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania were ruled by the emperor's brother, Ferdinand. The other states had the same sovereign in Charles V, but his title was different in each. He was Emperor of Germany, but as one of his ministers once said, "The emperor has, for the support of his dignity, not a hazel nut's worth of profit from the empire", for his revenue was wholly derived from the territories which he personally ruled. These territories were held under many and various titles. Charles V was Archduke in Austria, Duke in Styria and Tyrol, Margrave in Moravia, Landgrave in Alsace, etc.

"In Germany the great feudal units, Brandenburg, Electoral and Ducal Saxony, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Hesse, Wurttemberg, Juliers-Cleves and others had blossomed into states virtually sovereign and connected by the loosest feudal ties. Each had its estates, its court without appeal, its territorial army, its own system of finance, a large measure of control over its clergy, its own foreign policy. If these states were inclusive, they were also exclusive. No imperial official, military or judicial, administrative or financial, had any authority within their borders."¹

As for Spain, it was neither a united nor homogeneous country. Excluding Portugal which was an independent realm not subject to the Spanish crown,

Castile and Aragon were two kingdoms which differed in historical development, in institutions, in language, they had been united into a dual kingdom in 1469 when Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile. Even these two larger realms were composed of lesser territories which had been compressed together. Castile comprised the older medieval kingdoms of the Asturias, Galicia, Leon, which racially were of Basque origin, Navarre, which was part Basque and part French, and the ancient Moorish territory of Andalusia. Aragon had been formed by the union of the little medieval Pyrenean kingdom of that name with the great County of Catalonia (Barcelona) and Valencia, which had formerly been a Moorish kingdom.

Spanish clergy were rich and powerful politically. The Spanish nobles, at least the *grandees* of great aristocrats, were rich landed proprietors. Many of the cities of Castile — of Aragon less so — enjoyed local privileges of self-government (*fueros*), and in 1525 staged a formidable revolt, known as the *Comuneros*, which was crushed. Henceforth neither the assembly of the estates — *Cortes* — resembling the Parliament in England and the States-General in France, nor the cities enjoyed power. With the aid of the Inquisition, Charles V founded the absolute monarchy in Spain.

Charles V spent his life in a vain effort to maintain a consistent line of policy amid the different and varied interests of his scattered dominions, whose sole unity was found in their allegiance to a common ruler. Charles was never able to give all his energy and undivided attention to any single problem. The greatest problems were the struggle with France for the possession of the Milanais and therewith the supremacy over Italy, the rise of Lutheranism in Germany, the rising tide of Turkish conquest in south-eastern Europe. All these were closely interlocked. Francis I of France made an alliance with the Turks, and the Lutheran princes sought for help from the French king. The pope who should have been Charles's stoutest ally, was more jealous of his position as an Italian prince than interested in his spiritual headship of the Church, and so plotted against the Catholic emperor. The sultan's eyes were fixed upon Hungary, those of Francis I on Charles's French-speaking provinces: Lorraine, Franche Comté (the Free County of Burgundy), Hainaut, Luxembourg, Flanders, and Artois.

Charles V could strike France from several sides — Spain, Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace, even from the Milanais. But Francis I had the advantage of fighting on interior lines and so could concentrate defense or attack with more effectiveness. Moreover, though potentially no richer than Charles V, actually Francis I had more funds available than his rival. The French king did not have to haggle with half-independent princes within his realm as was the case in Germany, nor with refractory States-General like the German diets. Francis I was a nearly absolute monarch. "One king, one law" was a maxim of his. "How much can you raise from your subjects?" the emperor once asked the French king. "As much as I wish" was the reply.

In the first year of his reign, four years before Charles V began to rule, Francis I had brilliantly recovered Milan, which Louis XII had lost in 1513, by his victory at Marignano (September 13-14, 1515). The danger to Austria was very great, for Milan was the key to several Alpine passes, especially the Brenner and the Tyrol, through which the French might invade the Habsburg territories, and the Swiss cantons now became allies of France as also did Venice. Charles V countered by alliance with the pope and Henry VIII of England.

The situation in Lombardy was one of great peril to Charles V. The first war between the two rivals extended from 1521 to 1526. The French Constable Charles of Bourbon transferred his allegiance to the emperor, whose army invaded Provence. An unsuccessful effort was made by a French army to invade Italy and in the retreat the famous Chevalier Bayard was killed. In this crisis Francis I crossed the Alps and took personal command of his troops. In the battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525) he was defeated, captured, and conveyed a prisoner to Madrid. In the Peace of Madrid (January 14, 1526) the French king renounced the French claims to Naples, the Milanais, Flanders, and Artois, and consented that the Duchy of Burgundy should be ceded to Charles. Two of his sons were given as hostages for the fulfillment of these terms. No sooner had Francis I reached France than he repudiated the treaty, saying "Not an inch of French soil, not an ounce of flesh."

A second war (1527-1529) was unavoidable. Its arena this time was Naples. The scandal of it was the terrible sack of Rome in 1527 by the imperial army, which stunned Europe and for a time dismayed the emperor. This war too was unfavorable to Francis I. The *Second Franco-imperial war* Peace of Cambray (1529) in return for the French loss of Italy brought him nothing but a dark promise from Charles V that he would not yet enforce his claims upon Burgundy. The king's captive sons were released, and the Pope and Henry VIII were included in this peace. Henceforth the imperial power in Lombardy was proof against French threats. At the same time the hereditary dukedom of Tuscany was established in Florence in the hands of the Medici, and the constitution of Genoa took the form which it was to have until its conquest by Napoleon.

Eastern Europe had also taken a hand in this conflict. The Turkish capture of Belgrade in 1521 was followed by the crushing victory of Mohacs (August 29, 1526) (pronounced Mohatsch) which left almost all of Hungary prostrate, and this triumph was followed by the first unsuccessful siege of Vienna by the Turks, in 1529. In the same era the Turkish fleets captured Rhodes in 1522, Algiers in 1527, and Tunis in 1531. The sea-power of the Turks in the whole Mediterranean was formidable. The coast of Italy, southern France and Spain were constantly exposed to forays, and even Venice trembled. The emperor's expedition against Tunis in 1535 was a brilliant success, but was negative at once by the alliance which Francis I negotiated with the sultan under the guise of a commercial treaty.

In the third war (1536-1538), Charles V unsuccessfully invaded Provence and the French over-ran Savoy and Piedmont. Meanwhile Sultan Solymán invaded what was left of Hungary after Mohacs, won an engagement at Esseg (1537), and again threatened Vienna while his fleets ravaged the Italian coast. In this dire situation Pope Paul III

intervened and forced the Truce of Nice (June 18, 1538) each to hold what he had. The truce was to endure for ten years, actually it lasted for hardly four years. Between the Reformation in Germany and the Turkish menace to Austria, Charles V needed a few years of respite, even if he had not been compelled to it by the condition of his finances.

The fourth war (1542-1544) was occasioned when Charles V took the remarkable step of separating the Milanais from the empire and giving it to his son Philip. The act was a bold and original one. Charles evidently was pinning greater hopes for the future upon the Spanish Empire than upon the Holy Roman Empire.

*Fourth war with
France*

The House of Austria was excluded from Italy, and Spain was dominant in the peninsula. It was a revolutionary change in the status of European politics. The war was of more extensive relation than any of the preceding ones, for Francis I revived his alliance with the Turks and succeeded in drawing in the Duke of Cleves and the King of Denmark, though the two latter alliances had no importance. On the other hand, Henry VIII again sided with the emperor. The Turks invaded Hungary once more and threatened Austria and their fleet plundered Nice in Provence. Charles and Henry together crushed the Duke of Cleves and their united armies invaded France as far as Soissons. When the emperor asked a prisoner how many days Paris was distant the intrepid answer was "Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle."

The Peace of Crespy (September 18, 1544) put a period to the senseless wars between the two crowned rivals. In Germany the Reformation had reached an acute state and demanded the emperor's close attention. In 1547 both Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England died. Henry II of France (1547-1559) renewed hostilities against the emperor in alliance with the Lutheran duke, Moritz of Saxony. France wrenched the three bishoprics of Lorraine—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—from the emperor in 1552. In 1556 Charles V abdicated. A few years later the Huguenot wars broke out in France (1560). These events closed one era and opened another.

The results of this long struggle were of importance to the future development of European politics. The practical application of the principles of the balance of power was established by the opposition and counterpoise of the two chief states. Again the alliance

Results of the wars

between France and the Turks, the political situation in the Balkans and especially in Hungary, the participation, however slight, of England in continental affairs, had brought the states and nations of Europe into closer connection than ever before. France had failed to establish its domination in Italy, but had preserved its borders from being despoiled, and became a more consolidated country than before. Germany, as Charles V left it, was still a rope of sand, a loose federation of princely and ecclesiastical principalities, some Catholic, some Lutheran, some Calvinist, and Metz, Toul, and Verdun

had been lost to France Five-sixths of Hungary was in possession of the Turks and Spain was on the way of decline It is little wonder that the weary emperor, before he was sixty years old, laid down the burden of empire in 1555, and retired to a monastery, there to end his days three years later

Charles V had spent his life in the endeavor to keep united in one hand the widespread and multiple territories which he had inherited Hard experience had now taught him the futility of that effort Accordingly, the vast Habsburg dominions were divided To his son Philip II he gave Spain together with Naples, the Milanais, the Free County of Burgundy (Franche Comté) and the Netherlands The imperial title and the Austrian lands were given to his brother Ferdinand, who had long been his viceroy in Germany

Something should be said of the character of these two personalities Charles V's personal character was high He was not a libertine like Francis I, a sensual male brute like Henry VIII, a hypocritical bigamist like Philip of Hesse, a voluptuary like the Medicci popes He was always gentlemanly and courteous, even to the humblest of his subjects, he detested filthy stories and bad manners He appreciated art — he discovered Titian — and loved music so much that his choir was the finest in Europe, not excepting the Sistine Choir in Rome He loved birds and flowers, and was interested in clocks and other mechanical devices, he would pore over maps by the hour, his favorite books were Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, Commynes's *Memoirs*, and Castiglioni's *Book of the Courtier*, which he said was "the best book on good manners ever written" He dressed simply and was so thrifty that he was reproached for wearing his clothes too long His worst fault was gluttony He ate and drank prodigiously in defiance of his physicians' orders and may be said to have eaten himself to death Of the two illegitimate children whom he left, Margaret was born before he was married, and Don John "of Austria" after the empress's decease Both were far abler than his son Philip II, his only heir To his wife he was tenderly attached all through her life

"The rule of Charles V in the Netherlands is the brightest feature in his troubled reign The country was at the height of its prosperity, notwithstanding enormous financial sacrifices and occasional commercial crises When the provinces first resisted Philip II, they appealed to the institutions of his father The very noble who was to lead the national revolt was he whom above all others Charles V had delighted to honour, the keenest intellectual spirit of the rebellion, Marnix Ste Aldegonde, was by origin a Savoyard and by education a Habsburg minister That the Netherlands were as united as they were in opposing Philip was due to the growth of national feeling fostered, not by provincial or municipal particularism, but by royal consolidation"

*Charles V brought
prosperity to
Netherlands*

As Burke said of the American colonies, the United Provinces were "a nation in the gristle." Charles extended his provinces in the Netherlands to seventeen in number, and helped to give them that sense of unity which induced their rebellion later against Spanish domination. In the organization of the Spanish colonies in America he took an intense interest. To conclude, Charles V was an intelligent, hard-working ruler of many countries, "in no one of which was he ever absolute master of his policy or his actions."

In comparison with him Francis I must suffer. The King of France was versatile but also cruel, sensual, without a sense of honor, and extravagant. The best things which can be said of him have to do with French culture. He was a connoisseur of art and founded the Collège de France for the promotion of Hebrew and Oriental studies.

Rabelais (1483-1553) was the greatest man of letters in France at this time. He was a physician by profession and a satirical philosopher. His *Pantagruel and Gargantua* (1535), like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, is a stinging criticism of the education, the manners, the morals of

*Character of
Francis I*

Rabelais

the age, a caustic argument against scholasticism. Rabelais pleaded for less classics and more science in the schools. The burlesque swashbuckling King Picrochole in *Gargantua* is a caricature of Charles V which amused Francis I.

The importance of the history of England in the reign of Henry VIII (1507-1547) turns almost wholly upon the Reformation, which will be considered in the next chapter. But a word may be in place

here as to the character of Henry VIII, who was as typical of the age as were Francis I and Charles V. Henry resembled Francis I in his patronage of art and music and letters. He was not less sensual, perhaps, than Francis I but he was more brutal in his indulgence.

*Character of
Henry VIII*

In assertion of the royal prerogative Henry VIII again is to be compared with Francis I. But Henry's policy was more drastic than that of the French king because the tradition of England was against absolutism and that of France towards it. The practical despotism of Henry VIII was effected by the servility of Parliament which abandoned its legislative power to the crown. The preamble of the Act of Supremacy called for speedy remedies and did not admit of delay, accordingly the parliament enacted that proclamations made by the king in council should have the force of Parliamentary statutes. The king was arbitrary, the Parliament servile, and the powers entrusted to the crown excessive. The principal organ of Henry VIII's absolute government was the Court of Star Chamber which decided cases not according to law but according to the king's will, and even without evidence other than the royal wish. This Court remained a tool of the crown until destroyed by the Puritan Revolution in 1649.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REFORMATION (1517-1559)

In the New Europe of 1500 the Church proved to be the least flexible member of society. The Franciscan and Dominican friars, perhaps, met the Renaissance and the Reformation more successfully than other groups of the Catholic clergy. Before the end of the twelfth century, the Church by and large seems to have been adapted to all the religious demands of Christian Europe. Neither heretical doctrines nor demands for reformation made a general appeal before the sixteenth century. This, for example, explains the failure of Wyclifism in England. The Protestant movement was the first one since the crusades which stirred all men's minds.

There is no reason to think that the Church was worse at the beginning of the sixteenth century than it had been for two hundred years past, and impossible to prove that it was more necessary then than before. It cannot be admitted that Protestantism was victorious because its teachings were truer than those of its Catholic opponent, for that is a matter of conscience, nor can it be said, even, that it would have succeeded at all if political persons and issues had not come to its assistance. What made the Reformation successful were the rivalries of the kings and princes of the period.

The Reformation in its inception was not unsimilar to previous movements for reform in the Church. The great leaders were the product of a protest or revulsion which had been long in gathering head. Revolt and separation were not intended when it began. Indeed, the word *Pre-reformation movements* "Reformation," like the word "Renaissance," was invented by modern historians as a convenient general term to cover all the facts of the epoch. The contemporary word used for reform of the Church was "restoration," which had been in usage ever since the reforming councils in the fifteenth century. The failure of these councils had kept alive the issue, and had led some governments to act independently of ecclesiastical authority. Thus in Castile in 1499 Queen Isabella and the Cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, Ximenez, had reformed the monasteries; in France the Concordat of 1516 had put the administration of the Church in all matters save spiritual in the hands of the king. In England Henry VII and Henry VIII were masters in their own Church and controlled all nominations.

Why, then, did the Reformation begin? And why in Germany first? The answer is that it was a local accident rendered possible by particular and exceptional circumstances. At the end of the fifteenth century Germany was

politically, economically, and socially, perhaps, the unhappiest country in Europe. It had no national unity, like France, Spain, and England, nor a single strong monarch. The king-emperor actually was ruler only in his Austrian lands. The area was divided into a few large principalities, many of lesser size and many more so diminutive that one of these sovereign states was less than a mile square, yet the princes of all of these were sovereign rulers. The great bishops and abbots of Germany were also sovereign lords of large territories, finally there were many free cities only a few of which were of size and strength to be really independent. In all, Germany was composed of about four hundred sovereign states of one kind or another.

Essentially, however, Germany had little urban civilization, the population was sparse and the cities had little contact with each other. There was no national capital, like London or Paris, where the thought and activity of the nation could be concentrated. This decentralization of Germany had the effect of making the petty territorial princes autocratic lords and of throwing the main burden of taxation upon the peasants. Furthermore, the development of firearms and infantry had deprived the petty knights of their functions, and as they were used to luxury, they were compelled to exploit the peasants and plunder the cities. The large body of useless knights looked with envy upon the rich clergy and contributed no little to the success of the Reformation.

The clergy was split into three main groups. There was the aristocratic group composed of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, who were themselves princes or vassals of princes and who lived upon the labor of their serfs. A second group was "the standing army of monks" and lower clergy. Below them were the urban and rural parish priests, who were poorly paid, often ill-educated, and who sympathized with the working classes and the peasantry. There is no doubt that monasticism on the medieval scale was no longer either desirable or necessary. Europe as a whole was too heavily clericalized.¹ The upper stratum of the clergy controlled vast wealth, but their needs were great, and they rigorously collected dues for themselves and for Rome, which caused bitterness among the people. In the cities dislike of the clergy was intensified by the realization of their social uselessness, for the invention of printing and the needs of commerce had deprived the members of the Church of their educational monopoly, just as the newly rising class of lay jurists made the canon lawyers superfluous.

A like conflict, which added considerably to the revolution, took place in the cities which were controlled by patrician families, the "honorables," who alone held offices, imposed taxes, and sold privileges. In opposition to the

¹ For some statistics see Boehmer, *Luther*, 315-316 and note, Charles Beard, *The Reformation*, 76-77.

patricians were the middle classes and the plebeians. The middle classes, who were in the majority, struggled to control the cities and to abolish the privileges and numbers of the clergy. At bottom were the plebeians, possessing no citizenship rights, no wealth, and no occupation, their number kept increasing as a result of the disintegration of feudalism. Some of them infested the countryside as beggars, others joined armies, and still others served as day laborers.

Conflict in the cities

Economic exploitation by the Church

Thus Germany seethed with economic grievances and social unrest, and as the high clergy and the incorporated monasteries were very rich, and many of the clergy were worldly and dissolute, churchmen everywhere were vastly hated. The pope came in for special condemnation. For the pontiffs of the Italian Renaissance had need of much money to sustain their wars waged to extend the States of the Church, to support the papal court, to maintain their immense building program, and to pay the artists who embellished these structures. Accordingly, excessive papal taxation was a grievance throughout Europe but nowhere so acutely as in Germany whose political weakness and rapacious clergy made the people the chief victim of the imposition of "annates," "tithes," "reservations," "dispensations," "indulgences," etc., which were capable of great abuse. Evangelists like Wessel Gansfort and John Tauler, the Brethren of the Common Life, and most of the German humanists who were moralists, time and again inveighed against these abuses. Germany was a tinder-box, only a spark was required to throw it into flame. An eminent historian of the Church has said that "if the pope would have left off pillaging Germany, 'justification by faith' might have created only a languid interest. Most men are most sensitive when things hit their pocketbooks. 'Justification by faith' became a slogan to resist the financial exploitation of the pope."¹

The man of the moment was Martin Luther, a Saxon peasant by birth and an Augustinian monk. The ruler of Saxony was then Frederick the

Luther

Wise, a liberal and cultivated man, who had founded the University of Wittenberg, in 1502; it had only a theological faculty, but was in close touch with the University of Erfurt, a center of humanistic studies, opposed to Rome and hostile to monks and priests. Luther had studied there and became a professor at Wittenberg in 1508. For ten years he brooded over the doctrine of salvation. First he doubted and then denied the efficacy of "good works" and the power of the Church to forgive sin. Man, he said, is not saved by "good works," but by faith in Christ, by faith he was "justified" and this faith was the gift of God, no effort of man could command it. This doctrine in itself was enough to make Luther a heretic, for it contained, by implication, a denial of the whole hierarchical order and sacramental system of the Church.

In 1517 the opportunity befell for him to publish his views with regard to

¹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 267.

"good works" Albert, Archbishop of both Mainz and Magdeburg, had borrowed a large sum of money from the Fuggers of Augsburg, the richest bankers in Germany, in order to defray the cost of his confirmation by Pope Leo X, who at the same time *Luther is driven to protest* was hard pressed for funds for the rebuilding of St Peter's. The pope granted to Albert the right to sell indulgences within his two archdioceses for eight years on condition that half the revenues should go to the Holy See. A Dominican named Tetzel was the sales agent. On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the court church in Wittenberg his *Ninety-Five Theses* against the abuse of absolution or indulgences. Luther was summoned before Cajetan, papal legate in Germany, to abjure, but appealed "from the pope badly informed to the pope better informed." Meanwhile Dr John Eck, professor of theology in the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, and the most eminent theologian in Germany, challenged Luther to a public debate at Leipzig. There Eck drove Luther into a corner and by relentless and logical questioning compelled him to admit that he did not believe in the spiritual authority of the pope, and to assert that a church council can err, as was the case at Constance in 1415 when Huss, the Bohemian heretic, was burned.

By this time all Germany had become interested, and Luther published three tracts: *Address to the German Nobility*, which called upon the princes and nobles to reform the Church within their dominions, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in which the sacramental system was attacked, *Freedom of the Christian*, *Luther publishes tracts* Luther's formulation of his own doctrine. Pope Leo X who at first had regarded the whole matter as "a squabble of monks" now (1520) excommunicated Luther, who defiantly burned the bull before his students in Wittenberg. The Lutheran movement—for we may call it that by now—found sympathy among the German humanists, of whom Hutten was the leader, and for quite different reasons among the knights (Goetz von Berlichingen, etc.), most of whom were impecunious landless petty nobles, who thought they saw in the feud a chance to enrich themselves by despoiling the church lands. The proletariat in the towns, and the peasantry, both of which classes suffered from ecclesiastical exploitation, also sympathized with Luther's revolt.

"The papacy rendered a violent reformation necessary because it refused to make a mild and wise one. Reformation was universally demanded, its necessity was admitted, defective ecclesiastical organization rendered it impossible by an ecclesiastical parliament, but men stayed their hands from revolution in hope that the papacy would take the initiative. But the papacy plunged into a career of Italian politics and increased instead of diminished its aggressions and revolution ensued. . . . It was a misfortune for Christendom that the Reformation took the form of a breach of unity

of the Church I do not think that a breach was inevitable The question is, Whose fault was it? It was a question of wisdom and justice The papacy behaved towards Luther both foolishly and unjustly at first Luther made no demands which the Church ought not to have been able to supply according to its principles The curia was responsible for driving Luther to Revolt We are so accustomed to the idea of a divided church that we do not stop to consider how it arose, or who was responsible for it The revolt against the papacy was like any other revolt, it was against power oppressively exercised We must part with the idea that it sprang from the scandals of the Roman court If the Pope had not been in so great need of money and stopped the extortionate indulgences, Luther's doctrine of 'justification' probably would have not excited interest except among the educated classes¹

Moderate men like Erasmus were repelled by Luther's lack of self-restraint, the violence of his language, the ferocity of his spirit, and thus irreparable damage was done to a cause which by their adhesion might have been more wisely and more temperately moulded In the light of later results there is reason to regret that by a more conciliatory attitude Luther did not do his best to avert a schism in the Western Church In 1520 Luther brought the conflict with Rome to a climax He was convinced that reformation within the Church by its own leaders was hopeless, and that even a General Council would be a vain resource unless it were summoned under secular authority and freed from the overpowering influence of the Roman curia Hence "he drew his sword and threw away the scabbard"

*Luther's
extremism*

By 1521 the issue had got into politics Charles V had shortly before this been elected emperor and in 1521 came to Germany for the purpose of holding a grand diet at Worms Luther was summoned to appear and came under an imperial safe-conduct which his friends feared might be violated as the Emperor Sigismund had violated his safe-conduct in the case of Huss There Luther defended his position The ban was pronounced against him, his doctrines forbidden, and he was remanded to the custody of Frederick the Wise, his own ruler, who sympathized with him and whom the emperor did not want to offend In the huge castle of the Wartburg, where he suffered only nominal confinement, Luther made his translation of the Bible into German, an achievement of immense religious and literary influence

*Luther defends
position at Worms*

Translates Bible

The Reformation now experienced a sharp change Luther had at first believed that his gospel had only to be proclaimed to receive universal acceptance He was soon disillusioned Two separate and violent movements of discontent broke out in Germany One was the emergence of an extremist party called Anabaptists, the other was the Peasants' War The Anabaptists got their name from the

*Anabaptist
Revolution*

¹ See Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 231, 267; II, 89.

fact that they were opposed to infant baptism. The movement started in Thuringia, but soon developed an avowedly revolutionary social and economic character. The Anabaptists were the "Reds" of the sixteenth century, who advocated the spoliation of the rich and well-to-do and the division of property among the masses, and their doctrines became widespread in the teeming industrial centers, not merely of Protestant Germany, but in Holland, England, and northern France.

In 1524-1525 the Peasants' Revolt broke out in Franconia and Swabia. Their grievances were just, for the evils of serfdom in Germany were notorious. The lands of the proprietary class were *Peasants' Revolt* ravaged amid atrocities of blood and fire until the insurrection was crushed with frightful severity.

Luther was shocked and alarmed. He represented the growing middle class, with its desire for law and order. His bitter indictment of the peasants permanently lost him the confidence of the common people. *Violence makes* The reformation which he desired could not be effected with *Reformation* such allies. Luther saw in the princes and nobles the only *conservative* assurance of effective security, and issued a manifesto against the peasants, which won for him the support of the nobles and the burgher class. Henceforth, the German Reformation was more a political than a religious movement. The territorial rulers, especially those in North Germany, saw in it an opportunity to break the bishops in their territories, to confiscate ecclesiastical revenues and lands, to disendow monasteries, and to establish a Church in their dominions of which they would have the control. The *Landeskirche* was the creation of the Protestant territorial rulers. A new Church-state system arose. The state had the right and the duty to exercise authority over the Church in all things save spiritual. There was nothing derogatory in this position as Luther saw it. For in his mind there were two churches, the invisible community of the predestined and those justified by faith, of which Christ was the head, and the visible Church, which in its nature could not possess coercive authority, for God had given the "power of the sword," i.e., justice and police power, to the state alone. Ministers should preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments. With the organization and regulation of society they had nothing to do. The innate conservatism of the Lutheran Church is further shown in its retention of the episcopate, though the hierarchy was abolished together with monks and nuns.

Luther gave to the Reformation in Germany a direction which it has never lost. The troubles at Wittenberg in 1522 taught him a lesson which he never forgot. The years 1524 and 1525 contained more than *Luther entrusts* one setback. The death of Luther's political protector, Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, weakened Luther's *Church to* position; the Peasants' War by delivering the German Reformation into the *government* hands of the princes, destroyed its national character. Thereafter Luther was

compelled to promote his gospel only with the permission and assistance of the secular authorities. Luther himself seems to have had no misgivings over this relation of Church and state, as his collaborator Melancthon did. Luther persuaded himself that the administration of the Lutheran Church could be safely entrusted to the governments and at the same time the integrity of its doctrine and practice could be preserved. The result was that the Lutheran Church after Luther's death fell into a position of subservience to the civil power.

From 1526 to 1555 there was no permanent settlement of the religious issue in Germany, although certain events partly clarified the situation. In 1526 the diet of Speyer gave the princes the right to determine the religion of their subjects — an important provision which had a future bearing — until a general Council should be called. But in 1529, in consequence of his victory over Francis I, Charles V ordered strict execution of the decree of suppression made in 1521, against which the Lutheran estates protested, whence the term "Protestant," henceforth applied to Lutherans. In the matter of toleration the emperor was as illiberal as Luther.

Charles V was not a religious bigot, but he was concerned with the spread of heresy. In Spain religious suppression was in the hands of the Inquisition, whose power was already greater than the crown wished. In Germany Charles V's moderation angered Catholics, but political conditions compelled him to compromise. But in the Netherlands, of which he was direct and immediate ruler, his policy was rigid. He rightly felt that the spread of heresy would both diminish his authority and destroy the political unity which he was trying to establish. In thus enforcing the religion of the ruler upon his subjects, Charles's policy was no different from that of the Protestant princes in Germany. The emperor was protecting vested interests, whereas the Lutherans were destroying them. The failures in the Reformation movement in Germany are more instructive than its successes, partly because of Luther's shortsightedness and prejudices, partly because Charles V had his hands full elsewhere. When at last he was free to give undivided attention to German affairs, he almost saved the situation. The theologians of both sides came nearer to an understanding in 1540 at Regensburg than they have been ever since. But again the emperor was called away before settlement could be made.

In 1530, the Protestants presented the *Confession Augustana*, the formal creed of the Lutherans which Philip Melancthon, friend of Luther, brilliant humanist and able theologian, had drawn up, at the diet of Augsburg. As Luther was still under the imperial ban it was not expedient for him to attend, and the direction of the Protestant party devolved upon Melancthon. The Protestant position was formulated in the Augsburg Confession, in the preparation of which Luther was

*Origins of
"Protestant"*

*Charles V's
religious policy*

*Melancthon and
the diet of
Augsburg*

not consulted. It consisted of two parts, of which the first dealt with abuses and the second with doctrine. In this Melanchthon was at pains to minimize the divergence in matters of faith between Rome and Wittenberg. He proposed that the Catholics should likewise issue a statement of their beliefs. The emperor would then adjudicate between the two. Melanchthon was sanguine that the Protestants would win. But the Catholics had no intention of submitting a rival confession. They contended that they stood for the faith which had endured for fifteen centuries, and that it was for the Lutherans to renounce their errors and to return to the obedience of Rome. Nor was Charles V ready to assume the rôle which Melanchthon proposed. He was a Catholic. But he was also a ruler with great possessions and he had no relish for civil war. Moreover his brother Ferdinand was up for election as king of the Romans, i.e., as prospective heir to Germany and Italy, with the imperial title, and the votes of the Protestant princes were necessary. Finally in the face of Turkish hostility it was necessary to preserve the unity of Germany. Accordingly the diet of Augsburg fell into a deadlock and the emperor issued a recess affirming the Edict of Worms.

The Protestants for self-protection formed a league at Schmalkald. The emperor decreed freedom of Protestant worship until a council was called. The emperor's persistent efforts to prevent schism in the Church and to restore some real authority to the crown were frustrated again and again by the selfishness of the princes ever striving after autocracy in their separate territories, and by the intrigues of the popes in their anxiety to prevent the meeting of a General Council. For the next six years the Reformation marked time, and meanwhile the Pope summoned the Council of Trent (1545). By 1546 Charles V had come to something like settled terms with Francis I, and his hands were free.

*Political course
of reformation*

In 1546 Luther died. Luther is seen at his worst in politics, as in his relation to the German peasantry, his sanction of the bigamy of Philip of Hesse, one of his strongest political supporters, his hate for Zwingli in Zurich and Calvin in Geneva. Luther's knock-down course, his policy of appealing to the German princes in a matter which ought to have been left to clergy and scholars, if they do not impeach the sincerity of his intentions, do impeach the wisdom of his judgment and his charity. Against these things may be put his family life, his love of children, his virile and buoyant personality, his sunny temperament when he was not angry.

Luther's character

Now that Luther was dead and there was a lull in the war with France, Charles V resolved to crush Protestantism in Germany. He had sufficient grievances. "Religion" had become a cloak for greed. Catholic property was plundered. Many a small German prince turned Protestant in order to have plausible excuse for confiscating ecclesiastical property.

*Charles V
to crush
Protestantism*

"At every diet the Emperor had endured the vulgar insults to himself and his faith from the citizens of imperial towns, from foul-mouthed preachers and from drunken princes. The Lutheran press had poured forth a muddy stream of pamphlets in which the pictures were as coarsely insolent as the text."¹

The so-called Schmalkaldic War followed (1546-1547). Charles V proved his consummate generalship at the battle of Muhlberg near Torgau (April 24, 1547), and the Protestant princes showed their inability to hang together, and were defeated. Before the battle, Charles rode around the trenches exhorting his soldiers to be firm and courageous, he exposed himself recklessly. When protest was made, he replied that no king was ever slain by a cannon-ball. He was twenty-one hours in the saddle before and after this event.

But the double treason of Moritz of Saxony who first betrayed the league to the emperor, and then betrayed the emperor, deprived Charles V of the fruits of his victory. In 1552 at Passau the free exercise of the Augsburg Confession was granted until the next diet, which convened at Augsburg (1555), where the Religious Peace of Augsburg was formally established. This instrument was the fundamental charter of German Protestantism. It provided that the territorial princes and free cities which on September 25, 1555, already acknowledged the Lutheran faith might preserve it unmolested, and have equal rights with the Catholic estates in the diet. This toleration, however, was not to be extended either to the Zwinglian sect in Switzerland nor to Calvinists. On the burning question of "Ecclesiastical Reservation," an article introduced by the emperor himself, which provided that bishops and abbots who in future became Protestant should lose their offices and lands, no agreement was made. The peace arranged in 1555 was but a truce and was doomed to collapse and plunge Germany into the 'Thirty Years' War in 1618.

It remains to follow the spread of the Reformation into other lands than Germany. In Zurich in 1523, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) began an attack upon the Church and protested against the traffic in Swiss soldiers. For the poor and hardy peasants of the Alpine lands had long made it a practice to sell their services as mercenaries to their neighboring rulers. Swiss pikemen formed the guard of the popes and battalions of pikemen were in the armies of both Charles V and Francis I. As Luther had adapted his reform to the circumstances of the princely territory, so Zwinglianism was from the first fashioned on municipal lines. It asserted the autonomy of the congregation, which Luther had rejected, and thus was well-suited to an urban political system. The Swiss example influenced the cities of southwestern Germany.

Zwingli was a mixture of magnanimity and pettiness. On the one hand his character is marked by generosity, self-sacrifice, a sturdiness which could not be bribed. He saw clearly the causes of his country's decline and patriotically laid down his life for her sake. On the other hand he was prejudiced and cruel towards the Baptists, and exhibited a weak jealousy towards Luther. Zwingli played a large part on a small stage. The Reformation threw Switzerland into civil war. The cities, notably Zurich, embraced Protestantism, the forest cantons clung to Catholicism. Zwingli's closing years, when he was the accepted leader of the Swiss Protestants, were filled with political activity. He died in battle at Cappel on October 11, 1531, when he bore the banner, according to Swiss custom, as chief pastor in the defence of Zurich against the troops of the forest cantons. The Reformation in Switzerland on the whole was more moderate in nature than anywhere else on the continent. The Catholic bishops were lenient. The Protestant parishes elected their preachers freely and the Catholic bishops (who were secular princes also) confirmed the election. Bishop Melchior of Lichtenfels (1554-75) was as much loved by the Protestants as by the Catholics. In the diocese of Constance the bishop regularly approved the Protestant pastors.

In Sweden the revolution, manipulated under the guise of the Protestant religion, was a bloody affair. Christian II of Denmark's "Stockholm Blood-bath" (1520) destroyed the Union of Calmar which had united the three Scandinavian kingdoms since 1397. The greatest of the Swedish nobles, Gustavus Vasa, thereupon overthrew the Danish rule and made himself king (1523-1560), under him the Reformation was introduced. Denmark and Norway, meanwhile, remained united. Soon it dominated these two countries, and even spread to Poland and Hungary, although Protestantism never found a large following there, and the Protestants were crushed or driven out.

Far more important was the Reformation movement which began in France. It was contemporary with Lutheranism but absolutely independent of it. The French Reformation was largely the work of John Calvin (1509-1564), who organized his Church, not in France, but in Geneva. Calvin was not the first religious agitator in France. He had a predecessor in a scholar named Lefèvre d'Étaples who began to inveigh against the corruption of the French clergy ten years before Luther, and declared that the true doctrines of Christianity were in the Bible and not in Catholic theology and dogma. Thus at one intellectual leap, Lefèvre arrived at the point to which it had taken Luther ten years to reach before he was protected by the bishop of Meaux and by the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, a learned and liberal-minded woman. He translated the *New Testament* into French. At first he and his followers were called "Lutherans." The Sorbonne condemned his doctrines and persecution began in 1523, but was spasmodic because, as was said in the previous

chapter, Francis I found it expedient to support the German Protestants when he was at war with the Emperor Charles V, and could not consistently persecute French Protestants at the same time

John Calvin, whom history thinks of as a citizen of Geneva, was born at Noyon Calvin was of bourgeois ancestry and soundly educated in theology, law, Greek, and Latin When a student at the University of Paris, apparently without information of Luther's teaching, he also worked out the doctrine of justification by faith He found refuge at Basel, Switzerland, and there wrote *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, published in Latin in 1535 and in French in 1541 Calvin's teachings, all of which he derived from Scripture, included justification by faith, predestination, spiritual election, grace, Calvin asserted that the true Church was the whole body of believers or "elect," and therefore the Roman Church was a false church, its doctrines pretensions and the pope Anti-Christ He rejected the mass, fasting, veneration of relics, pilgrimages, the whole hierarchy Calvin held that the elements in the eucharist were symbolic of the body and blood of Christ, in which he differed from Luther, who adhered to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, i.e., that the bread and wine by a miracle were transformed into flesh and blood Both in doctrine and in form of organization Calvinism was more radical than Lutheranism

Calvin had formulated a new doctrine and devised a new ecclesiastical polity with no home in which to establish his church Fortune provided a place

Calvin in Geneva At this time Geneva was a feud-torn free city at the end of the lake of Geneva In 1526 the people had driven out the bishop, whereupon Catholic Fribourg came to the relief of the bishop, while Bern, which was Zwinglian, supported Geneva In the midst of this rumpus, Calvin was invited to come to Geneva It was a queer town, French in language, Italian in religion, Swiss in politics, and commercially and industrially German It was governed by the bishop, checked by the fierce democratic spirit of the population The burgesses were represented by a council or local senate instituted after the alliance of the city was made with the Swiss cantons Although elective this body tended to become oligarchic Externally the chief enemy of Geneva was the duke of Savoy whose dominions reached as far as Lyons and his efforts to acquire possession of the one little enclave therein formed by Geneva were constant His adherents within the city were called "Mamelukes" in opposition to the Swiss Protestant party known as "Eyguenots" (a corruption of "Eidgenoss" or sworn colleague, from which the word Huguenot may possibly have been derived)

In Geneva Calvin finally acquired religious and political ascendancy A new type of Church came into being, which differed from both the Catholic and the Lutheran churches Church government was in the hands of a board of pastors, all of whom were equal; civil jurisdiction was exercised by a citizens' committee, with a few ministers associated with them Each

church formed a congregation under its pastor, and was a "cell" in the community both for purposes of religion and civil affairs. This was the Presbyterian form of government which soon became diffused over France, the Netherlands, Scotland, and England, and was destined to have great influence both religiously and politically. Puritanism as a moral and social code first obtained in Geneva, where manners and morals were austere regulated. All conduct was based on Holy Scripture. In 1558 a denial of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was punished by banishment. In 1563 scourging and branding were added as new penalties to exile. The vast influx of 4,000 destitute Waldensians from the Duke of Savoy's persecution in 1545 increased the populace, and rich exiles from other lands were welcomed for the sake of the money they brought in. Puritanism had a strong grain of thrift in its composition. It was against the law in Geneva to be ill for more than three days without sending for a minister, to beg in the streets, to play cards, for a bride to wear her hair loose, for a spinster to wear jewelry. Two young men who betted on who was the prettiest woman in Geneva were summoned into court and reprimanded. To ride or walk abroad during church time was an offense for which one might be sent to jail.

The ethics of Calvinism were the ethics of the bourgeoisie of the sixteenth century. Geneva was the first Puritan commonwealth, a community of merchants and craftsmen. Honesty, thrift, diligence in business, were bourgeois virtues. It was typical of Calvin *Calvinist ethics* that he taught that the taking of interest was not only lawful, but a duty, and that "idle money is altogether unprofitable." The acquisition of credit was to be counted unto the possessor of it as a virtue. Every man had his "calling," by which was meant his most efficient form of making a living. Failure to achieve material success in proportion to one's ability was sin. God was the Master Workman¹ who worked during the six days of Creation but rested on the Sabbath. So, too, the honest man must work hard "in that estate and calling to which it shall please Thee to ordain me," for six days in every week, and then only might he honestly rest.

In whatever country Calvinism acquired an ascendancy it brought discord, bitterness, and fierce enmity between classes and people. It spelled civil war wherever it spread, in France, in Scotland, *Calvinism brings civil war* in the Netherlands. And yet almost everywhere Calvinism penetrated it prevailed. Perhaps it conquered by making itself impossible to live with except on its own terms.

France was the first country which Calvinism invaded. The government took alarm and in 1547 established the *Chambre Ardente*, the registers of which are preserved, for the suppression of the heresy. The significant name of the court was derived from *Calvinism invades France* the fact that the penalty was death by fire. Nevertheless, the number of

¹ (Ce Grand Ouvrier, *Institutes*, I, v, 10)

Calvinist adherents grew In May, 1559, a secret synod was held in Paris

"For purposes of resistance the Genevan system had peculiar advantages The congregations, the consistories, the synods, could, as they stood, be easily converted into political sections, they could readily form the *cadres* of a military organization, they were peculiarly adapted to tap or to drain the financial resources of the party The material strength of Calvinism is proved by the resistance offered in France to an overwhelming Catholic majority, backed by the resources of the Crown"¹

France was almost entirely an agricultural country Industry obtained only in the very largest cities, such as Paris, Lyons, Rouen There was no large middle class The bourgeoisie was composed of small officials, judges, lawyers, notaries, physicians, apothecaries, etc., it was neither rich nor independent The ruling class was the nobility High officials and army officers were recruited from it Francis I had strengthened the nobles by creating the "gouvernements" The governor was, in fact, the true chief in the provinces The nobles and high clergy alone could approach the king The upper clergy was very rich, but subject to the crown which had the power to confer ecclesiastical dignities, according to the Concordat of 1516 The King's Council was made up of his relatives and his creatures

The body of the Huguenots² was made up of ambitious nobles, disgruntled judges and lawyers, defrocked monks and priests, discharged soldiers, jobless workingmen and low adventurers The lower bourgeoisie, small tradesmen and artisans and the working classes generally were drawn into it later, the peasantry except in Normandy was not at once affected by Calvinism The "hard times"—financial stringency, agricultural depression, high prices—a condition which endured for years and even became more and more aggravated, increased the number of Protestant adherents For the discontented classes saw in Calvinism a vehicle for expression of their grievances³ The same phenomenon, as we have seen, appeared in Germany

Very early, however, a distinction was made between "Religious Huguenots" and "Political Huguenots" The former were true Calvinists struggling for religious toleration and freedom of worship, the latter were discontented nobles, who resented the rapid growth of the power of the crown and saw in Calvinism a

¹ Edward Armstrong, *French Wars of Religion*, 3

² The derivation of this word to signify the French Protestants is not known By some it is supposed to have come from the word *Eidgenossen* used to designate the Swiss confederates Others think that it comes from the word *Duganau* meaning the great owl in Languedoc (southern France) where the Huguenots were numerous, in allusion to their meetings at night

³ See Henri Hauser, "The European Crisis of 1559," *Jnl Econ and Business History*, II, 241 f

pretext and a means to despoil the clergy and plunder the rich monasteries. This prospect soon affected the French peasantry, too, for they were hungry for more land. The special object of hatred of the old French noblesse was the House of Guise — Henry, Duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais from England and of the Three Bishoprics from Germany, and his brother Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The influence of this upstart family was to be very great and very prejudicial to France and the French kings. It must be admitted that religion, as such, had little to do with the Reformation and Religious Wars in France. The Huguenots were inclined to play politics with religion. The nobles were likewise actuated by political ambition, the bourgeoisie was moved by the hope of administrative reform and lower taxes, the masses were goaded by poverty.

We have passed in review the two principal continental forms of Protestantism — Lutheranism and Calvinism. We now come to England and Scotland.

The separation of England from Rome was neither a doctrinal nor a moral revolt as may be argued in the case of Lutheranism and Calvinism. It was not a "reformation" except in so far as it was simultaneous with these two religious secessions. It was hardly a religious movement, and when the religious issue was raised it was a pretext, not a cause, it was a political gesture of Henry VIII in order to camouflage his real motives. The sensuality of the king was the ruling force in initiating the conflict with the papacy.

Character of English Reformation

What was originally involved was a question of divorce. Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow. In 1527 he became infatuated with Anne Boleyn and began to be troubled with what he called "scrupulosity of conscience" as to the validity of his marriage. As the pope had at this time been reduced by the emperor to a state of semi-destitution, the king believed that he would have little difficulty in getting his marriage annulled. From the first the chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, saw that the only way of settling matters to the king's satisfaction was to obtain authority to try the case himself as papal legate in England.

Henry VIII's divorce

Pope Clement VII opposed Wolsey's demand, but he acted with imprudence when he issued secret instructions which, had they become public, might have gravely compromised him. The pope played his cards badly. Catherine was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V, whose wrath would come down upon the pope if the divorce were granted. On the other hand, if he did not grant it, England and France in alliance might crush Italy. The result was that the pope procrastinated and did nothing, and Wolsey fell in 1529 and More was made chancellor, the first layman in that office.

A conflict ensued between Parliament and the Church on the ground that

Parliament had nothing to do with canon law. At the suggestion of Archbishop Cranmer the issue was then referred to Oxford and Cambridge Universities — and for better face — to some continental universities. When these, which were German Protestant universities, replied favorably, the passive Parliament declared the king “Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England” (1531), the breach with Rome followed, the crown confiscated all annates, Cranmer obediently declared the divorce, and Henry VIII married Anne Boleyn. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy made opposition to the new order of things high treason. Sir Thomas More refused to take the oath to the Act of Succession, which denied papal authority over the Church of England and condoned Henry VIII’s marriage to Anne Boleyn. More was thrown into the Tower where, after a farcical trial, he was executed. He mounted the steps to the scaffold calmly. The scaffold was unsteady and he said to Sir Edmund Walsingham, the governor of the Tower: “I pray thee, see me safe up, and for my coming down I shall shift for myself.” As he was blindfolded, he carefully moved his beard as he laid his head on the block, saying: “Pity that should be cut, for *that* has never committed treason.” By a strange fate, the bodies of Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII’s minister who more than any man was responsible for More’s death, were later buried in the grave with him.

The crisis was not yet over. Henry VIII found himself in conflict with two different classes of his subjects, those who resented the rupture with Rome, and those who wished to go farther. The Catholic religion had been in no way altered. Henry VIII had only substituted his own authority for that of the pope. He was king-pope. The sole concession to “Protestant” opinion was the royal permission for publication of Tyndale’s English translation of the Bible.

For a long time English monasticism had been in a state of decay — indeed the evil was everywhere in Europe. The moral decadence, the corruption and inefficiency of English monasticism in the fifteenth century and just previous to the dissolution of the monasteries, is beyond cavil. It is attested by Colet’s sermons and More’s *Utopia*. Clear-headed men no longer gave to them or founded new ones, instead they founded colleges at the two universities as institutions which really ministered to the welfare of the community. Wolsey’s design was to use the endowments of the monasteries for public education. Anti-clericalism was sharpened by an increasing covetousness for possession of the enormous landed endowments of the monasteries. Reduction, even confiscation of this wealth had been a plank in the platform of the Lollards as far back as the time of Wyclif.

The king’s new favorite, Thomas Cromwell, a low-born and ruthless man, initiated a “visitation” of the monasteries with the result that in 1536

all the lesser monasteries and nunneries were dissolved and their property confiscated to the crown. Four years later all monasteries were dissolved, the mitred abbots excluded from Parliament, and the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester hanged. It was an orgy of spoliation. Land-hungry nobles and gentry, courtiers, the king's favorites, were given the spoil, by which Henry VIII created a party in support of his policy, elevating those most preferred to the peerage and thus creating a subservient body of followers in Parliament.

Spoilation of monasteries

"They were a tough lot. A recent Archbishop is said to have observed, on entering into possession of Bishopthorpe, that the early post-Reformation Archbishops of York whose portraits hang upon the walls looked a rare collection of rascals.

"The constraint, the watchfulness, the latent savagery of the time are depicted for all to see in the portrait that Holbein painted of Cromwell — the immense capacity of the face, the cunning, clever eyes, the fat hands — no less than in the famous note among his remembrances, 'This day the Abbot of Glaston to be tried and condemned,' or in his last piteous letter to Henry crying for mercy.

"Since it was a time of social and religious revolution, those who survived were necessarily tenacious and adaptable, and perhaps it was better to be adaptable than tenacious, for the mortality in those close and eager front ranks was very high."

The irreparable loss resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries was in the field of art and literature. The libraries of the monasteries were scattered and destroyed. Pictures, illuminated manuscripts, statuary, exquisite products of the medieval goldsmith's and jeweler's craft, were stolen or smashed to fragments.

The contemporary antiquary, John Leland, has given a melancholy account of what happened. He writes

"A grete nombre of them whych purchased those librarye bokes, some used to scoure theyr candlestyckes and some to rubbe theyr bootes. Some they sold to grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over seas to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, I know a merchaunte man, whych shall at thys tyme be nameless, that boughte the contents of two noble libraryes for 40 shyllyns pryce, a shame to be spoken."

Writing of the looting of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, he says "The ignorant monks tore up the Greek books, whych they did not understand and the Latin ones whych were too old to please them." There were not wanting a few protests against this vandalism. One of the cries of outraged intelligence declared that "the spoile and destruction of so many and so notable

* Quoted from the "leader" in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, May 9, 1935, entitled "The Tudor Character."

libraries wherein lay the treasure of all antiquity to the pitiful hindrance of the learned" was a national calamity

To sum up The suppression of the monasteries was in large measure justified by the lapse of the monasteries themselves But the enforcement of it was unnecessarily violent with regard to property It was not as brutal, however, in treatment of the monks as often said The expelled were given pensions or other Church livings instead, which some refused to take These pensions were either paid by the government or exacted from the purchaser of the confiscated lands¹

It is not to be thought that Henry VIII's drastic course did not meet with overt opposition Popular insurrections broke out in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Somersetshire, in which a few nobles and gentry participated, but they were all crushed and the leaders put to death Many of the recusant clergy and nobles fled abroad, where they conspired with the pope, the Jesuits, and the Catholic sovereigns on the continent

Through all this conduct, Henry VIII still pretended to be a Catholic In 1539 a merciless statute, known as the Six Articles, was passed, to the discouragement of Cranmer and other sincere advocates of the Reformation Two bishops were imprisoned as "sacramentarian heretics" Henry VIII created an English Catholic Church, without a pope, without monasteries

Meanwhile, Henry VIII married and beheaded queen after queen in indulgence of his passion and desperate hope of having a male heir Of his five wives after the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, one died when Edward VI was born, one other was divorced, the last survived him, and two were sent to the block Thomas Cromwell was also finally beheaded when the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, a political match which Cromwell had suggested, fell through

The changes which the English people experienced during these fateful years were very great The first period of Henry VIII's reign had been satisfactory After the hard, cold, calculating and parsimonious reign of Henry VII, the accession of a young and handsome king like Henry VIII in his youth was a release and a relief The Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani, has left us an engaging description of him coming from the tennis court, and there is an atmosphere of genuine zest of life in the court-poems of Wyatt and Skelton Then there was the charming, cultured circle of scholars, Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Linacre Erasmus, when in England, called it "a golden age" And then the shadows began to fall The upheaval of the Reformation brought forward men of a different type — harsh and treacherous, time-serving, ready to do evil

¹ Baskerville, "The dispossessed religious" in *Essays presented to R. L. Poole*, pp. 436-65

Henry VIII had his way as no other English king before or since can be said to have had. Yet in spite of his furious temper, his cruelty, he preserved his popularity with the English people who jubilantly dubbed him "Bluff King Hal."

When the king died in 1547 he was succeeded by his only son, Edward VI (1547-1552). He was a sickly boy of ten years of age under the regency of his uncle, his mother's brother, Duke of Somerset, and later that of Dudley, Earl of Northumberland. They united with *Edward VI and the Church of England* Cranmer and other reformers and established the Church of England practically as it now is. New ecclesiastical visitations for destruction of images and relics, and to make inventories of church ornaments, jewels, bells, plate, etc., were made. A government *Prayer Book* was made obligatory by the famous Act of Uniformity (1549). The doctrine and liturgy of England became Calvinistic. From the continent Calvin regarded all this development unsatisfactory and insufficient. He would have preferred the English monarchy overthrown along with the Catholic episcopate, and "congregational government" installed in its stead.

The religious resentment of the nation was heightened by economic and social discontent owing to the practice of "enclosure." The ranks of the malcontented were augmented by jobless artisans, vagabonds, and "sturdy beggars." Many of the latter were of those driven out when the monasteries were dissolved. A severe act in 1549 made assemblage of more than twelve persons for the purpose of destroying enclosures a felony.

Before Edward VI died in 1552, he provided by will that the crown be left to his cousin, Jane Grey, thus passing over his elder half-sister Mary, Henry VIII's daughter by Catherine of Aragon (1533-1558). But *Catholic reaction* Mary succeeded to the throne. A Catholic reaction ensued. The Act of Supremacy and all the Edwardian legislation were abolished, a return to the Church of Henry VIII was made, Protestant worship was forbidden, the Latin language restored in church services, married priests expelled. Queen Mary graciously received the Cardinal Pole, the papal legate who was a former English nobleman, who had taken orders and fled abroad, 31 heretics were burned in London and 44 in the provinces. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer were executed (1555). To crown all, the queen married Philip II of Spain, arch-enemy of Protestantism. Only the most zealous Catholics could condone this surrender of England to subservience to the Spanish monarchy and certain embroilment in continental wars.

When Mary died in 1558, it was not only an English Protestant demand, it was an English national demand, that Princess Elizabeth, Henry VIII's only surviving heir, be ruler. In Queen Elizabeth the English Reformation triumphed. Wholly indifferent to religion as *Queen Elizabeth* religion, Elizabeth shrewdly steered a middle course throughout her reign.

She detested the Calvinists, and loved liturgical pomp. The Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) completed the establishment of the Church of England providing for Calvinist dogma with retention of Catholic hierarchy (archbishops and bishops), and, partially, of the forms of worship. Since the Lords were mostly Catholic and the Commons mostly Calvinist, Elizabeth got along as much as possible without Parliament. Occasionally some of the sects — Dissenters or Non-Conformists — Presbyterians, Puritans, Brownists, Separatists, etc., gave a little trouble.

It remains to close this chapter on the spread of the Reformation with a glance at Scotland between which and her greater neighbor to the south,

there existed an ancient feud. The one important thing in Scottish history in the sixteenth century was the introduction of the Calvinistic religion, where, as elsewhere, it speedily

became involved with politics. The Scottish crown was one of the weakest in Europe. In 1542 King James V died leaving his infant daughter, Mary, under the guardianship of her mother, Mary of Guise, a sister of the powerful duke of Guise in France. Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in concert with the queen-mother cultivated the French alliance and married the infant Mary to the heir to the French crown, Francis II, who became king in 1559. The malcontent Scottish nobles rallied around John Knox, a

fiery and fearless Calvinist preacher who had studied at Geneva. He was a rugged, harsh, unattractive but formidable

figure. When it came to a matter of policy he could be as unjust as Thomas Cromwell, as brutal as Henry VIII, as false as Elizabeth. He maliciously slandered the Regent, Mary of Guise, and his account of the riot at Perth which inaugurated the power of the Scottish Kirk is a tissue of misrepresentation. His ability to use abusive language amounted to a kind of genius. He loved to "gar the pulpit flee" with the vehemence of his denunciations of the "bloody idolaters," and the "rotten" and "stinking Mass," to call Queen Mary a Jezebel, until she spiritedly rejoined "Yon man gart me greit and grat never tear himself. I will see gif I can gar him greit." Mary was not free from the weakness and crookedness of her ill-starred family, yet one may sympathize with her when we see her standing helpless and alone before the badgering attacks, the venomous assaults of John Knox. There is a world of pathos in her woman's cry, "Ye are too hard for me, but if they were here that I have heard, they would answer to you."

Knox said of himself when he lay dying "John Knox is the same man now going to die that he has been when he was able of body." The best thing that can be said of Knox is that at the height of his power he did not cause anyone to be put to death. In June-July 1567 he might have sent Mary to the block, as certainly she would have sent him to the gallows if she could have so done it.

According to his doctrine the government was obliged by law to abolish

"idolatry" By this term Catholicism was meant, but Knox got the idea from the *Old Testament* and not from evangelical thought His ideal was the prophet Samuel who "hewed Agag in pieces" *Knox's doctrines* before the Lord" The rebels were united by a Covenant which Knox drew up It was of the nature of a contract between the leaders who styled themselves "The Congregation of the Lord" and the "faithful" Scottish people, a contract to overthrow the government and destroy Catholicism This Covenant was borrowed from the *Old Testament* and is the historical source of the concept of Social Contract As Knox expounded it, Calvinism made a strong appeal to the cupidity of the Scottish nobles The rebels made overtures to Queen Elizabeth of England A civil war followed during which churches and monasteries were razed more furiously than had been the case in England France was unable to give succor to the Scottish queen and the Catholic cause—Henry II of France had just been killed Mary of Guise died of grief, the sole comfort of her last hours being that her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, was safe in France Protestantism in Scotland was now victorious Parliament in 1561 set up a new form of church polity on the Genevan model, confiscated what ecclesiastical property private rapacity had still spared, and commanded the entire destruction of abbey churches, hospitals, and other religious and charitable foundations, as a "most holy, just and necessary work"

In 1561, after her husband Francis II of France died, Queen Mary returned to Scotland, where John Knox and the Scottish Calvinists assailed her with vile and foul language in printed pamphlets Unfortunately Mary Queen of Scots, the most beautiful and cultured woman *Mary Queen of Scots* of the day, could not restrain an excessive sexualism, and her compromising conduct in conjunction with her deep-seated Catholicism, soon got her into difficulty with her half-rebellious subjects She had married her cousin, Darnley, a weak man How intimate her relations became with her favorite, an Italian musician named Rizzio, cannot be ascertained But Darnley caused Rizzio to be murdered, whereupon Mary plotted and compassed the death of her husband and at once married a swashbuckling Scottish noble named Bothwell The nobles rebelled under the leadership of Mary's natural brother, Murray, and imprisoned her in Lochleven Castle from which she escaped and fled to England, having abdicated in favor of her infant son, James VI (1568) Queen Elizabeth promptly imprisoned her as too dangerous a "guest" to be at large, and executed her in the end

Thus we terminate the history of the Reformation In Germany it may be said to have ended in 1555, in France in 1559, in England in 1558, in Scotland in 1561 The period of the civil and *Scope of the reformation* international religious wars was about to begin The Reformation movement crystallized in two new forms, a Lutheran one extend-

ing over all North Germany and considerable areas in the South and over the Scandinavian countries, and a Calvinist form, powerful but finally limited in France, triumphant in the Netherlands and Scotland, and partially so in England

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS WARS (1560-1598)

The idea of convoking a General Council for church reform had been floating in the air since the inception of the Reformation. Charles V had pointed out the necessity of it in 1522 to Adrian VI and renewed the suggestion to Clement VII in 1532. But the papacy shrank from the idea, for the quarrels and the failure of the councils of the fifteenth century were too vivid memories in the mind of Rome.

At this period the religious world was more inclined towards Lutheranism, even in Catholic circles, than is usually thought. The Cardinals Contarini, Pole, Sadolet, and Caraffa held sentiments analogous to Luther on some points. Naples, the house of Colonna, and *Protestant tendencies* Modena exhibited similar tendencies. The Inquisition estimated that 3,000 university professors and teachers were adherents of the new doctrine. When Paul III became pope (1534-49) he requested Contarini and others to draw up a scheme of church reform. It was urged upon him that the great dogma in which Luther's whole system was involved might be made the bond of union between the Roman and Lutheran churches. Paul III favored reconciliation and instructed Contarini to use his best efforts to effect it. Contarini, aided by Morone and Tommado da Modena, acted with prudence and tact. They actually came to an agreement with the Lutheran commissioners on the four important articles. The nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification. Luther and the pope remained to be consulted. But Luther did not believe that Rome honestly believed in his cardinal doctrine—justification, and dissuaded the elector of Saxony from collaborating. Strong opposition arose upon points of doctrine at Rome. And Francis I, who saw in the possible reconciliation of Catholicism and Lutheranism an increase of imperial power for his rivals, used all his efforts to prevent any accord.

Paul III hesitated for many reasons to summon a council. But fear lest the emperor would do so, if he did not, finally compelled him to convene the Council of Trent. In spite of the eloquent pleading of Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Contarini for a policy of moderation *Council of Trent* towards the Lutheran doctrine of "justification," the Roman party rejected the policy, and so severed forever all communion with Protestants. In 1542 Paul III summoned the council to meet at Trent in the Austrian Tyrol, but

another war between Charles V and Francis I deferred its meeting until 1545. The German Protestants were invited to participate, but the Lutherans refused to come.

The first session was held on December 13, 1545. There were four archbishops, twenty-two bishops, five generals of monastic orders, and two imperial ambassadors. Those of France had been recalled. The Council sat until 1564, and held thirty sessions, during which time the attendance rose enormously. The final acts were subscribed to by 255 delegates: four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine proxies for absentees, seven abbots, seven generals of monastic orders. An analysis according to nations is equally interesting. There were present 189 Italians, twenty-seven French, six Germans, one Englishman (the exiled Cardinal Pole), three Irishmen, two Portuguese, two Poles, two Hungarians, four from various Austrian lands, and six Greeks. The preponderance of Italians and paucity of Germans are things to be noticed.

Three subjects of deliberation were submitted by Pope Paul III to the Council of Trent: (1) removal of religious dissension in the Church by clearer formulation of points of doctrine and dogma, (2) the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses, (3) a crusade against heretics. Between February 11, 1546, and March 11, 1547, important points of dogma were settled, but after that date the majority of the Council retired to Bologna. In 1549 Pope Paul III died. Under his successor Julius III (1550-55) the Council again resumed its sessions, but only from May, 1551, to April, 1552, when it was again prorogued. The final sessions were held under Pius IV (January 18, 1562, to December 4, 1563) when, after holding twenty-five sessions in eighteen years, the findings of the Council were confirmed.

The work of the Council of Trent may be considered under four heads: (1) doctrine, (2) worship, (3) organization, and (4) discipline.

The Council defined the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church for all time to come and made it uniform; it condemned all the demands made by Lutheranism and Calvinism. The Nicene Creed was made the cornerstone of belief. Tradition and the Scriptures were the sources of authority. All the books of the *Bible*, and the *Apocrypha*, which the Protestants rejected, were declared canonical; the printing of the *Bible* in any vernacular language was prohibited; only the Latin version, the Vulgate, was permitted. The ancient Catholic interpretation was adhered to with regard to original sin, justification, the sacraments, transubstantiation; the communion cup was refused to the laity; masses were to be celebrated in Latin; confession was sustained and the doctrine of purgatory reaffirmed. In the matter of worship the Council maintained all the practices sustained by "tradition"—masses for the dead, use of Latin in

services, altar ornamentation, images, relics, pilgrimages, indulgence, but a caution was enjoined against "superstition"

As to ecclesiastical organization, the Council defined the rights and powers of the different classes of clergy in the hierarchy, the pope was the vicar of Christ and superior to the councils, the fiscal powers of the papacy were somewhat reduced, but it preserved annates, the right of dispensing canon law, and the nomination of cardinals. Every bishop was absolute in his diocese, chapters were subject to bishops, who also had authority to discipline both secular and regular clergy within their dioceses except in the case of "exempted" monastic orders—an important provision, for the Jesuits were under the direct jurisdiction of the popes and the Franciscans and Dominicans immediately responsible to the generals of those two orders.

The Council of Trent limited the word *reformatio* (*reformation*) to manners and morals of the laity as well as of the priesthood, celibacy of priests, purity of private life among the laity. An interesting item was the article dealing with educational improvement.

The Council of Trent limited the word *reformatio* (*reformation*) to Council of Trent was the pope and the bishops everywhere. But there were other instruments of enforcement and coercion. One of these was the *Index Expurgatorius* or Index of prohibited books. *The Papal Index*

The Protestants had the advantage here because much of their literature was printed in the German language and accordingly read by thousands, whereas most of the Catholic literature was published in Latin. The following figures show the preponderance of Protestant theological works over Catholic by decades during the period 1565-1615.

| Years | Protestant | Catholic |
|------------|------------|----------|
| 1565 | 168 | 99 |
| 1575 | 110 | 90 |
| 1585 | 215 | 113 |
| 1595 | 229 | 127 |
| 1600 | 290 | 155 |
| 1610 | 484 | 105 |
| 1615 | 486 | 246 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total 1982 | | 935 |

The reason for the alarm of the papacy over the spread of anti-Catholic literature is apparent and the wish to suppress its circulation in Catholic countries manifest.

Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the press had devoted itself mainly to the publication of classical and patristic and theological works, together with almanacs and devotional books, but had not published much of a political nature. The Reformation opened a new and profitable field to

the printers, and Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist pamphlets began to flood Europe to such an extent that the governments and the Church soon took measures of repression. Royal and papal proclamations against libels and satirical and seditious literature multiplied.

*Multiplication
of books*

Anticlericalism was the order of the day. The discordance between doctrines and the daily lives of the priesthood was an unfailing source of ridicule.

Anticlericalism

The ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy and the slovenly manner in which they performed their religious duties were constant butts of derision. Probably at least one-third of the jokes of the time turned on the character of the clergy, such for instance as the story of the priest who, finding the words "salta per tria," (turn over three leaves), written at the bottom of a page of the Mass-book, forthwith jumped down three of the steps before the altar, to the astonishment of the congregation. Even the service of the Catholic Church was not infrequently converted into ridicule in popular songs. One of the most curious of these is a ballad against the Mass written in France in 1562 and directed to be sung to the popular tune of "Hâri, hâri, hâri."

The satirizing spirit of the age appeared upon the stage, first in Italy and then in France. The license given to their production is explained by the fact

*Satires against
the Church*

that France and Rome were at enmity politically, and that Francis I feared the Reformation less than the political aspirations of the papacy. Germany produced much less of this invective literature than did France. A multitude of burlesque and libellous tracts poured from the Paris presses all through the sixteenth century, which were increased in number and aggravated in nature when the Huguenot wars broke out. The Protestants abused the Catholics and the Catholics abused the Protestants.

Unfortunately for the success of the Counter-Reformation, which relied upon the Spanish monarchy for political support, Pope Paul IV was a Neapolitan and a bitter hater of the Spanish domination over Naples. He had two ends in view at the same time — one to crush heresy and the other to expel the Spaniards from Italy. Thus the Counter-Reformation tried to ride two horses at the same time.

The most influential instrument of the Counter-Reformation was the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuit Order. By the sixteenth century all the medieval monastic

*Catholic
reform "Orders"*

orders except the Dominicans were in a state of decay and corruption, a condition which partly justified the abolition of them in England, and many monks, especially Franciscans and Augustinians, had gone over to Protestantism. A movement for reform of the monastic orders had begun in the Catholic Church before the Council of Trent. In 1525 the Capuchins, an offshoot of the Franciscans, were established; in 1530 the Barnabites, a congregation of secular canons, was founded

in Milan by a priest named Zaccaria "to regenerate and revive the love of the divine worship and a truly Christian way of life by frequent preachings and administration of the sacraments" It took its name from the church of St. Barnabas A more important creation was that of the Theatines, a congregation of regular clerks, in 1524 by Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV Its spread was rapid in Spain, France, Poland, and Bavaria The Theatines especially appealed to young nobles and was an aristocratic body The Oratorians were founded in 1564 by St Philip Neri in Florence Instead of living a cloistered life away from the world, the members of these organizations mingled with the world and were occupied with preaching, confessing, caring for the sick and the poor For such purposes the medieval monastic system was impracticable Hence these new societies were not "orders" but "religious congregations" or communities bound together by a common rule, either with or without vows (as the Oratorians) It is to be observed that all these confraternities originated in Italy

This makes all the more remarkable the fact that the Society of Jesus was founded by a Spaniard Ignatius Loyola was a Spanish Basque of noble birth, and was a soldier until 1521 when he was seriously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna and lamed for the rest of his life *Loyola*

During his convalescence he devoted himself to the service of the Virgin with all the forms of medieval chivalry The practical purpose of his life now dawned upon him — he would be a soldier of the Church and create a standing army for the cross

No founder ever formed an order which more varied from himself than the Jesuits did from Loyola He was all emotion He had been a soldier and was wounded — to which accident the creation of the Jesuit Order is probably owing He would become a soldier of the cross The vow which he imposed upon his followers, to do whatever the Holy Father commanded, to go into whatever country he should send them, to the Turks, to India, to America, partakes largely of the spirit of medieval chivalry, at least in its idealized form.

With his mind filled with dreams and visions, he visited Jerusalem as the crusaders had done centuries ago, returned to Spain, where he studied at two universities and began to preach until the Inquisition grew suspicious Then he went to Paris where the university *The Society of Jesus is founded* contained ten thousand students of all the nationalities of Europe and seethed with heretical ideas Here he gathered the first members of his future Society and in 1534 the little band took vows to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, failing that, to offer their lives to the service of the pope The Turkish war made pilgrimage impossible, and Ignatius and his seven companions were ordained priests by Paul III in 1537. Three years later the Society of Jesus was instituted and vowed to implicit obedience to the pope Ignatius was made first general of the Society, with absolute powers except for the papal authority For fifteen years Ignatius governed the

widening operations of the Society with extraordinary ability and success. The design of the Jesuits was to combine the functions of preaching, education, confession, and the promotion of Catholicism in Catholic, heretic, and heathen lands. It was both a home and foreign missionary society. Success was rapid. In 1556 the Society had 2,000 members, it had extended into Portugal and Bavaria, but its spread in Spain was blocked by the Dominicans and in France by the Sorbonne. Its central college was in Rome. Its educational system became the best and most effective one of the age—and still is in many ways, for it is based upon the sound idea that education is fundamentally a mental discipline and not merely a means to impart information. Mere information and the capacity to think are quite different things. Priests, confessors, and teachers, the Jesuits were welcomed into the high and aristocratic society of Catholic Europe, spoke fluently the language of the country in which they were, were masters of Latin, humanists and scientists, appreciated art and music—in short, the Jesuits mingled with the world, yet never lost sight of their purpose. The widest power might be delegated to subordinates, but the central authority was never weakened. It is interesting to note that Loyola feared lest Catholicism might develop along nationalist lines, and that he was international in his thinking, as is shown by his practice of sending two of different nationalities, a French and a Spaniard or a German and an Italian together upon every mission.

In his crusade Ignatius Loyola realized the enormous importance of education.

For two centuries the place of the Jesuits in European education was supreme, to say nothing of their influence in India, Japan, China, and Latin

Jesuit education America. In 1580 there were 2,000 students in their college in Rome. In 1627 they had 13,195 students in the schools of the Paris province alone. In 1640 it has been estimated that the Jesuits had 150,000 pupils under their instruction. As early as the sixteenth century Protestant students were in their colleges because of the superiority of their educational methods. Sir Francis Bacon praised them and the great French philosopher Descartes was educated in them. Comenius, a Bohemian Protestant and one of the founders of modern education, adopted the linguistic method of the Jesuits in the teaching of Latin.

In Scotland religious reformation and political rebellion went hand in hand, a discontented party openly attacked the Catholic Church and established a new religious system both in faith and in ecclesiastical form. This example was followed in France and the Netherlands. After 1560 the Reformation begins to be actively aggressive and its aggression takes the character of rebellions against the state. The previous generation had accused the Church of departure from primitive Christianity. The second generation challenged the authority of the state and declared that rebellion was a just resort. This was a new and startling principle. But the Protestants did not

see that the argument was a two-edged sword. For if Protestants had a right to rebel against Catholic government, then Catholics had a right to rebel against Protestant government.

The Scottish revolt was the prelude to the religious wars which rent Europe for a century to come. Calvinism was the issue in all of them. The Lutherans, having won recognition of their faith in 1555, were indifferent or hostile to the rival Protestantism. In Germany Protestant and Catholic alike seem to have been exhausted by the events of the Reformation. The Emperor Maximilian was a mild ruler, either tolerant or indifferent to heretics and dreaded the influence of Italian and Spanish monks in Austria; Jesuit activity was not yet strong.

The religious wars in which the Counter-Reformation largely entered began in France. Relieved of foreign war, Henry II began rigorous suppression of Calvinism, and French Protestantism might have been crushed in the bud if the king had not been suddenly killed in 1559. Henry II's four sons were all minors and none of them able. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was an Italian, moreover, the regency of a woman was difficult even under most favorable circumstances. Three groups were ambitious to control the government, and the competition between them saved Calvinism. The first was composed of the Bourbon princes of the blood, nearest relatives of the king, headed by Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé. The second was the Guises, the Duke of Guise and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, who were uncles of Francis II's young queen. The third party consisted of the Constable Montmorency and his three nephews, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, D'Andelot, and the Cardinal Chatillon.

*Religious wars
in France*

At the beginning of Francis II's reign (1559-60) the Guises had the inside track but the king's death within a year threw them out of power, and thus saved the Calvinists. For Navarre, Condé and the Montmorency were Protestants. Catherine de' Medici vainly tried to steer a middle course between the factions, and the Edict of January (1562) gave slight toleration to the Calvinists. But both sides knew that open civil war would soon break out. It came within three months. The first three wars, 1562-63, 1567-68, and 1569-70, were really a single conflict interrupted by truces.

Geographically most of the Huguenots were found in the territory roughly bounded by the Rhone, the Saône, the Loire, the Bay of Biscay, and the Pyrenees. In Poitou, Guyenne, and Languedoc they were numerous in the towns—La Rochelle, Bergerac, Nîmes, Montauban, Montpellier, Beziers. Outside of these limits they were few in numbers except in Normandy, an important fact, for, being close to the Channel coast, they were able to keep in touch with Protestant England. The constancy of these geographical proportions is remarkable. For when the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685, the quadrilateral of

The Huguenots

territory described comprised 357,000 Huguenots, Normandy 50,000, and Dauphiné 75,000, whereas the number for the rest of France was 133,000

Neither faction was able to make itself dominant. There were no permanent troops, no fixed army. The provinces were filled with soldiers who fomented the hostile feeling in hope of finding employment. Each governor commanded the garrison in his province, but it was composed of ill-disciplined and ill-assorted soldiery. In this situation both sides imported foreign mercenaries. The king's guard was composed of some Swiss regiments of pikemen, who fought in a hollow square like the ancient Macedonian phalanx. The Huguenots recruited German *lanz-knechts* and German *Reiter*, cavalry armed with huge pistols. No army on either side was able to take a walled town, and France was full of them. War was a series of raids, forays, destruction of the countryside, surprises and massacres.

The terms of the Peace of Amboise (1563) are interesting because they mark the ascendancy of the aristocratic element in the Huguenot party, whose interests were chiefly political, over the Genevan party, which was largely religious (Protestant). It provided that one place in every bailiwick should be specified where Calvinist service might be held, and that all Huguenot nobles might have preaching on their estates. The Peace of Longjumeau (1568) was a mere armistice compelled by lack of funds of both antagonists. The first substantial peace was that of St. Germain (1570), the government surrendered certain surety-towns to the Reformed — La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, which commanded a crossing of the Loire River. It was soon upset by the Guises and Spanish intervention, but nevertheless became the basis on which the Edict of Nantes, twenty-eight years later, was erected.

Even as early as 1570, perhaps a substantial religious peace might have been established if foreign politics, partly of France's own initiative, partly thrust upon her by her enemies, had not upset things and precipitated the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572).

Philip II of Spain (1555-98) was the political instrument of the Counter-Reformation. He spent his life in the effort to crush Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, everywhere — in France, in the Low Countries, in England and Scotland. For this purpose he spent the blood and treasure of Spain and America, and left his country at the end exhausted and impoverished. This morbidly religious, narrowly conscientious, hardworking sovereign who ruled Spain, Naples, Sicily, the Milanais, Franche Comté, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and Spanish America from his sombre palace, the Escorial, situated in a bleak plain in Castile, sat like a human spider in the center of his vast web with his fingers on every tentacle of government. Suspicious of his own ministers, incapable of delegating administrative responsibility, every minister,

Military forces

Peace of Amboise

*Peace of
St. Germain*

*Philip II
supports Counter
Reformation*

every council, every bureau chief transacted business with Philip in writing only. He read every paper — hundreds of thousands of them — with minute care, corrected, made marginal comments, criticized. Often he labored from twelve to sixteen hours a day at his desk, and his natural hesitation to make up his mind, his chronic procrastination, reduced officials to despair. Frequently six months would elapse before the king replied to a communication, even when marked "urgent."

The test of Philip II's policy and powers first came in the Low Countries.

Philip II was represented in the Low Countries by Margaret of Parma, his half-sister, natural daughter of Charles V, a woman of great ability, stern yet popular because her father and mother had been native to the country. The Council of State was composed of Flemish nobles, among whom were William of Nassau-Orange, Count Egmont, and Marnix de St. Aldegonde, all of them loyal servitors of the late emperor. The chief minister of state was Granvelle, Cardinal-bishop of Malines and a Burgundian by birth, whose political arrogance and religious intolerance were resented by the nobles. In 1563 they demanded the minister's recall. Philip II refused and the nobles forsook the council. The Spanish king was then engaged in war with the Turks and feared a revolt in the provinces. He delayed responding for six months and then Margaret of Parma, compelled to choose between the party of the nobles and the "Cardinalists," sided with the former, and Granvelle was recalled.

Spanish policy in the Low Countries

Calvinism had by now become a symbol of administrative reform, of the traditional rights of the provinces, of civil and religious liberty, and all the elements of discontent rallied around it. Three hundred nobles presented a petition to the regent, in the meantime popular insurrection broke out, and churches were invaded and sacked by furious mobs. The liberal nobles sent two of their number, Counts Egmont and Horn, to Spain to conciliate the king. Egmont had fought under Charles V in Algiers, Germany, France; he had been appointed governor of Flanders and Artois by the emperor. Instead of receiving the two, Philip II threw them into prison and later (1568) executed them. The Low Countries were now in open insurrection and Philip II sent his ablest soldier, the Duke of Alva, to subjugate the provinces. Fearful lest the Spanish transports might be intercepted at sea by Huguenot corsairs out of La Rochelle, or overhauled in the Channel by the English fleet, Alva marched 20,000 Spanish troops via Genoa, Savoy, and Franche Comté to the Netherlands.

Revolt in Low Countries

The march of so formidable a host through the very center of Europe created immense alarm. The French king, the German princes, the Swiss, fortified and garrisoned their frontier posts. But Alva was a severe disciplinarian, and the long, toilsome march, some of it through mountainous country, was accomplished in perfect order. In the front of every company marched a battalion of "musketeers."

The Duke of Alva

This was the first time in the history of modern warfare that this weapon appeared. The musket was the first portable gun, and may have been Alva's own invention.

For six years (1567-73) Alva maintained a reign of terror in the Low Countries. The Spanish troops were billeted on householders and spread all over the provinces, a Council of Blood was established, exorbitant taxes were imposed. But the insurrection continued under the leadership of William, Count of Nassau-Orange, and his brother Louis, whose estates had been confiscated and a price put upon their heads, but who carried on the resistance from Nassau, their hereditary territory, which was a German principality. The estates of Holland elected William "stadtholder" or governor of the rebellious province. At the same time the hardy sea-faring population of the coast of Frisia and Holland covered the Narrow Seas, captured Spanish shipping, and raided port towns in possession of the Spaniards. These "Beggars of the Sea" (*Gueux*), as Alva contemptuously called them, in 1572 captured Brille at the mouth of the Meuse. It was a turning-point in the history of the Netherlands.

England by this time had grown alarmed over the situation across the Channel, especially after the victory of the Spanish fleet under Don John of Austria over the Turks at Lepanto (1571).¹

To return to the confused situation in France. Catherine de' Medici, fearing the Catholic Guises who were secretly conniving with Philip II, arranged for the marriage of the Princess Marguerite, the king's sister, with the young Prince Henry of Navarre, titular leader of the Huguenot cause, to take place on August 24 (St Bartholomew's Massacre).

¹ Don John of Austria was a natural son of the Emperor Charles V, one of the romantic and picturesque figures of the age. He was gay, brilliant, handsome, dashing, and, after Lepanto, the hero of Europe. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," exclaimed the aged Pontiff Pius V after Lepanto, and his successor, Pope Gregory XIII, declared that the youthful hero had proved himself

"a Scipio in valour, a Pompey in heroic grace, an Augustus in good fortune, a new Moses, a new Gideon, a new Samson, a new Saul, a new David, without any of the faults of these famous men, and I hope in God to live long enough to reward him with a royal crown."

The glitter of that royal crown dazzled him. The throne of Greece, of Tunis, of Jerusalem, the project of invading France in support of the party of the Duc de Guise, of invading England to rescue and marry Queen Elizabeth's prisoner, fascinated him in turn. It was with the intention of ultimately invading England and becoming King Consort, not to King Philip's Mary Tudor but to the lovelier Queen of Scots, that Don John accepted the difficult governorship of the Netherlands. But here, faced by the stubborn downright Flemings, pitted against the Prince of Orange, caught between the shifting, insidious policies of Orange, Philip, and Elizabeth, Don John was powerless. His own duplicity was transparent to the watchful eyes of Queen Elizabeth's servants. Don John died helpless and broken-hearted at the age of thirty-one.

omew's Day) The Protestant Admiral Coligny persuaded the French king Charles IX that the moment was at hand for France in alliance with England to intervene in the Netherlands. On April 19 1572, a French-English alliance was signed for joint intervention in the Netherlands against Spain. But Alva intercepted a letter of King Charles IX which revealed the whole plan, Elizabeth became frightened and renounced the alliance with France. Fearing the vengeance of Philip II and believing that he could be placated only with the blood of the Huguenots, Catherine de Medici and the weak French king planned and executed the terrible Massacre of St Bartholomew. Admiral Coligny was the most prominent victim, there were over two thousand others in Paris alone, and many in other cities, especially in Toulouse.

From this time forth the civil wars in France and the insurrection in the Netherlands were not merely parallel movements, but were interwoven, while England became increasingly involved in the events, especially in the Netherlands. Philip II sustained three conflicts simultaneously, in the Netherlands, in France, and on the sea against England. He was the fly-wheel of the Counter-Reformation.

Alva was recalled in 1573 and was replaced by a new governor, Requesens, who at once laid siege to Antwerp. The siege of Antwerp in 1574 determined in a general way the northern boundary of the Catholic Low Countries. The warfare around Antwerp was of an aquatic *Siege of Antwerp* nature, a matter of floods and dykes and bridges and floating fire-ships. Unable to pierce either the blockading bridge or the great Kouwestyn Dyke which prevented relief being brought by water, and unaided either by the Hollanders and Zealanders, or by the English, the Antwerpens under Marnix de St. Aldegonde were further dispirited by the successive falls of Termonde, Ghent, Brussels, Nimwegen and Malines, although Ostend managed to hold out, owing to its coastal situation. The city finally surrendered on harsh terms. The commercial importance of Antwerp and the large number of merchants of all nations who either resided or else had interests there made some measure of religious toleration desirable. But Philip II was obdurate and would allow no departure from the stipulation exacted in the surrender of the other cities. Those who refused to accept Catholicism were compelled to sell their property and leave the city by a specified date. Two years after the seizure, in 1576, the soldiery in the Spanish garrisons revolted because their pay was in arrears. Antwerp, Ghent, Maestricht, and other towns were sacked in this "Spanish Fury."

This bloodshed resulted in the Pacification of Ghent, a treaty of union among all the provinces for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the country. In this crisis Philip II sent Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma (1578-92), a shrewd diplomat, an able administrator *Pacification of Ghent* and one of the first generals of the age. Within a year he was so successful that he alienated the ten Catholic Walloon and Flemish provinces

from the federation, on the promise of restoration of their former political liberties. Thereupon the seven northern Dutch-Calvinist provinces formed the Union of Utrecht (1579). These provinces — Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groeningen, Friesland, and Overijssel (the present kingdom of the United Netherlands) — declared their independence of Spain and elected William of Orange commander-in-chief of their army.

It is not strictly accurate to say, as is often said, that the Union of Utrecht in 1579 created modern Belgium and modern Holland. Actually it was but a separation between the provinces of the North and those of the South. There were simply two leagues organized against Spanish rule, one Catholic and one Protestant. It is certain that the ability of Alexander Farnese reconciled the southern provinces to Spanish rule while the Union of Utrecht marks the inchoate formation of the United Provinces of the Dutch Netherlands. But it really was Philip II himself who saved the Dutch provinces. For instead of letting the Duke of Parma terminate the conquest, the king interrupted Farnese's projected campaign against them and compelled him to waste time and resources in fruitless conflict with Henry of Navarre and against England in the year of the Armada. Such a fortunate opportunity never occurred again, and Spain ultimately lost the Dutch provinces which otherwise she might have subdued and retained, as she did the Belgian provinces.

When William of Orange was murdered by a hired agent of Philip II of Spain in 1584, William's son Maurice, then only seventeen years of age, carried on, and was to prove the most brilliant military commander of the period. Meanwhile England viewed the situation across the sea with increasing alarm, and in the next year sent over English troops.

It is worth while here to pause to consider the remarkable doctrine of assassination of rulers current in Europe at this time. Some of the clearest minds in Europe wrote in favor of the theory and practice of assassination. Some of these authors were Catholic, some were Protestant. In 1579 George Buchanan, a native of Scotland but educated in France, a scholar and a humanist, published a book entitled *De jure regni* (On the right of rule) which was directed against Mary Stuart, in 1599 the Spanish Jesuit Mariana published *De rege et regis institutione* (On the institution of kingship). Most famous of all such tracts was the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (Avengement against tyrants) which saw the light in 1579 and was probably written by Theodore B  za, the intellectual leader of Calvinism after the death of Calvin himself. The assassination of William of Orange, of Henry III, and of the Duke of Guise, and most of all, that of Henry IV in 1610, brought the issue of murder for political reasons — "King-killing no murder" — sharply before the mind of Europe. Early in the seventeenth century the faculty of the University of Paris and the Parle-

ment of Paris proscribed the teaching of political assassination. In 1610 the general of the Jesuits forbade the teachers of the Order to say or write anything directly or indirectly tending to that conclusion. In 1614 the states-general condemned the doctrine. In England the alarm over regicide in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I was great. There is ground to believe that Shakespeare was deeply concerned over it and that in his plays which deal with regicide — *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline* — he wished to point a moral as well as write great dramas. Fortunately the doctrine that assassination of a political leader was justifiable gradually waned. The last seventeenth-century victims of it were the Marshal D'Ancre in France and the Duke of Buckingham in England.

In France the fifth civil war was precipitated by the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day. Henry of Navarre reverted to Protestantism and took command of the Huguenot forces. Peace was concluded in 1576 after four years of strife on terms slightly more favorable to the Huguenots than before. This dissatisfied the Catholics.

*Fifth civil war
in France*

The Guises appealed to Philip II for support. Already a number of local leagues of Catholic gentry and nobles had been formed in the provinces. With the aid of Spanish gold and soldiery sent into France, these small leagues were combined into the formidable Holy League, with the avowed object of exterminating Protestantism and supplanting the House of Valois by the Duke of Guise. Spanish intervention drove the moderate and liberal French Catholics (*politiques*) to alliance with the Huguenots. The civil war was now resolved into a long conflict between the Holy League made up of those who were willing to sell the independence of their country to Spain and moderate patriot Catholics united with the Huguenots.

The idea of grouping all the forces of Catholicism around Spain was not new. The Guises had long urged this policy upon Philip. For years Philip of Spain had been preparing himself for the supreme moment when the forces of united Catholicism would fall upon every Calvinist country and overwhelm it. For if the Counter-Reformation, of which Philip II was the secular head, was to triumph, England must first be crushed. Then France and the Netherlands would fall of themselves, for England was the keystone of the Protestant arch. Philip II would hesitate no longer after Mary Queen of Scots was executed (1587). For twenty years Mary Queen of Scots, though in prison, had been the center of a web of diplomacy spun around her by Spanish, papal, and Jesuit diplomacy, the aim of which was to consummate the fall of Elizabeth — even by assassination — and establish the Catholic succession on the throne of England.

*Philip II heads
Catholic forces*

For years rumors had been afloat through Europe that an enormous fleet was secretly being fitted out in Spain with which English sea-power was

to be crushed, the kingdom conquered, Elizabeth deposed and Mary Stuart made queen, after which Holland and Zealand were to be subdued, while as for France, the Holy League then would triumph as a matter of course. The execution of Mary Stuart stung Philip II out of his chronic mood of procrastination. It was too late to save her life, but it was high time for action against England. For in April, 1587, Drake burned Cadiz and a squadron of ships of war in the harbor there, and during the summer destroyed above one hundred Spanish merchant ships and an immense quantity of naval stores intended for the invasion of England. He described this feat as "singeing the king of Spain's beard." The English government was well informed by its spies abroad and made great preparation for the coming struggle. Every shire on the coast was garrisoned and munitioned and a fleet of 140 ships was riding at anchor but ready for the fray in the Channel ports.

The Spanish Armada sailed from Lisbon—for Spain had conquered the kingdom of Portugal in 1581 and it was now a Spanish province—on June 1, 1588. There were 130 ships, many of them huge galleons far larger than any English vessels, manned by 11,000 seamen and galley slaves, with 22,000 troops aboard and 3,000 pieces of cannon. The plan was to take on board additional French troops at Havre and Parma's veterans at Antwerp and to make three simultaneous attacks upon the English coast, one in the South-West (Devonshire), a second on Kent or Essex (London), and a third on the coast of Yorkshire, reputedly the most Catholic part of England. Queen Elizabeth in the face of the peril of her country rose to heroic stature. She rode along the coast haranguing the sailors and people of the port towns. At Tilbury she said "I have come among you resolved in the midst of the heat and the battle, to live or die among you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people my honour and my blood even in the dust." Then came a great storm and scattered the Spanish fleet. All the Spanish plans went awry. The main body of the Armada was attacked by Drake on July 29 in the narrows between Dover and Calais. Many Spanish vessels were sunk, several went aground, others were captured. The remnants of the Armada limped home after many weeks of privation, some of them had to run up and around Scotland and Ireland in order to get home.

The destruction of the Spanish Armada saved the Calvinist religion in Europe, it also saved Elizabethan England and the Protestant Netherlands.

In France the effect was not at once so clear or so immediate. In May, 1588, while the Armada was sailing north, Paris, always Catholic, revolted against Henry III, drove him out (Day of the Barricades), and hailed the Duke of Guise as king. Henry III fled to Blois, where he plotted and consummated the assassination of Guise and his brother the Cardinal (December 23, 1588). Two weeks later the

Queen Mother died, deploring her son's folly. In desperation the wretched king threw himself into the arms of Henry of Navarre and recognized him as his legal heir. But this last Valois offspring was marked for assassination by the Guise party, the Leaguers, and Catholic irreconcilables. Henry III was murdered by Jacques Clement, a fanatical monk, on July 31, 1589.

Something should be said about public opinion at this time. The licentiousness of the press passed all previous bounds. Pamphlets and songs and caricatures poured forth daily, filled with reproach and insult and couched in the most violent and even obscene language. The Leaguers controlled the presses in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, and other large towns, and had in their pay a number of scurrilous pamphleteers. The greater part of the songs and popular ballads which have been preserved were composed in favor of the Duke of Guise. The victory gained by Guise over the Huguenots and the German *Reiters* at Auneau in 1587 was, according to a contemporary, *La cantique de la Ligue*. The numerous songs on this event show more plainly than any other documents the spirit which actuated the Guisard faction. But the anti-Leaguers who were hostile to Spain also had many writers of talent and one of their tracts, the *Satyre Métempée*, a burlesque account of the States-General of 1593 which put up the Duke of Mayenne as king against Henry IV is the masterpiece of this kind of literature. The work abounds in mock-speeches, jests, biting parodies, sparkling epigrams, sarcasms and puns.

Along with these pamphleteers we must also notice the agitation created by the preachers of the Holy League.¹

The violence of language of these preachers increased almost daily. Henry III and Henry IV were equally execrated. Most of these agitators were members of one or another of the religious orders, but some were university professors. The Sorbonne was fanatically Catholic. These preachers were plentifully supplied with Spanish gold. In Paris the clergy got up a procession of 100,000 persons bearing lighted tapers in their hands and shouting, "God extinguish the race of the Valois!"

As England before 1588 had been the pivotal country around which the Reformation had revolved, and the most formidable enemy to Spain, so now was France under Henry of Navarre after 1588. If Philip II could secure the triumph of the Holy League in France the Huguenots would be crushed and the collapse of the Protestant Netherlands would probably follow.

The Huguenots and the moderate Catholics (*politiques*) were now united against Catholic "die-hards" who would rather see France fall under the shadow of Spanish domination through a victorious Holy League, than have Henry of Navarre as king. In the next year (1590), Philip II laid claim to the throne of France on behalf of his daughter by his third marriage with

¹ Charles Labitte, *Les prédicateurs de la Ligue*, Paris 1841, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, xxxvii, 321.

Elizabeth of Valois, sister of Henry III. But Henry IV defeated the League at Ivry and thereby further divided its partisans. Henry IV took advantage of the situation and made overtures to Rome. In 1593, with the pope's consent, Henry abjured the Calvinist faith and was crowned in Chartres cathedral, since Paris was still hostile. None but the most radical Huguenots resented the king's action. It was the one thing left to do in order to unite France. The Huguenots never had been more than a minority of the population. France was still basically Catholic. Events rapidly proved the wisdom of Henry IV's policy. In May, 1594, Paris capitulated, opened its gates, and the Holy League collapsed. The civil wars of religion were over.

*Combination of
Huguenots and
moderate
Catholics*

Philip II now fought on the defensive. English corsairs, having tasted of conquest in 1588, harried the Spanish coast. Drake captured Coruna but failed before Lisbon, an English fleet assailed Seville. In the Netherlands the Dutch seized the provinces of Guelders and Brabant. In Germany the Lutherans and Dutch Calvinists, for a long time at loggerheads, entered into an accord, the Union of Torgau (1591) reconciled the Elector of Saxony, the chief German Lutheran prince, with the Elector Palatine, the chief Calvinist noble in Germany.

*Philip II fights
losing battle*

Even the papacy deserted the Spanish king. When Sixtus V died, the conclave revolted against Spanish dictation and elected Clement VIII, the pope who granted absolution to Henry IV. Philip II was broken in health and spirit, his treasury was bankrupt. On May 2, 1598, Spain made peace with France at Vervins, a little town on the edge of the Spanish Netherlands, just seventeen days after Henry IV had promulgated the Edict of Nantes. Five months later Philip II died (September 13, 1598), a ghastly semblance of a man, so eaten by disease that he seemed to be living carrion.

*Franco-Spanish
Peace of Vervins*

Historians have written many books to explain the conduct and character of Philip II. Yet he remains an enigmatic figure. The most ardent Catholic sovereign in Europe, he was so serenely conscious of his devotion to the Catholic religion that he thwarted and defied the pope more than once. His distrust of the Guises in France was so deep that it led him to support Protestant England at some seasons, and he used all his influence to check the persecuting policy of Queen Mary of England.

*Character of
Philip II*

It remains to discuss the Edict of Nantes. In 1598 there were 760 Protestant churches in France. It was the misfortune of the Huguenots that, in the absence of any idea of toleration, they were forced into alliance with those still powerful feudal elements which resented the growing interference of the crown with their "liberties." Thus they were hated not only as heretics but as enemies of the nation, a feeling which gained

Edict of Nantes

additional force when, during the so-called "wars of religion," they appealed to such foreign powers as England for assistance

There were some who, like the Chancellor Michel de L'Hôpital in Catherine de' Medici's day, upheld the principle of toleration, and this principle had actually been embodied in the terms of the Peace of Monsieur in 1574. It found no place, however, in the famous Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV in 1598, which was really in the nature of a treaty between two belligerent powers and established an *imperium in imperio* utterly inconsistent with the conception of a strong national state. What would have happened in England had Elizabeth been forced to concede to the Roman Catholics not merely toleration but a separate organization with the possession of several towns and many strong castles as guarantees of their rights?

The Edict of Nantes was a treaty of peace rather than a general legalization of religious toleration between two powers. Its articles granted high Huguenot nobles the right of Calvinist worship in their châteaux, and the same religious freedom in certain specified localities, but forbade it at the court, in Paris or within a radius of twenty miles around the capital, or in an episcopal city. Public offices were to be open to Calvinists and four "mixed" chambers were established in four parliaments — Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Grenoble. Finally, La Rochelle, Montauban, Montpellier, and Saumur were granted as surety-places with complete Protestant administration for the enforcement of the Edict. The Huguenots, in a word, were recognized as an armed religious and political party, a state within a state, in France. There was danger in such a compromise, as the future was to show. Yet all things considered it was the only feasible peace at the time. Finally, in favor of the Edict of Nantes let it be said that it was the first public recognition of the fact that more than one form of religion could obtain in the same territory. This, in itself, was a real advance in the history of civilization, though it required the French Revolution to make the principle general in Europe.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND AND IRELAND (1558-1603)

In several of the preceding chapters the external or foreign history of England in the seventeenth century has been considered. But before going further with the history of continental Europe it is necessary to examine the domestic history of England under Queen Elizabeth.

Under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary, England had passed through three religious changes, with new articles of belief and a new ecclesiastical organization in each case. The misery of this epoch owing to unfavorable economic and social conditions, persecution, deterioration of the coinage, and a severe plague belies the fond tradition of "Merrie England."

Elizabeth was the last of the Tudors. As the daughter of Anne Boleyn, in order to marry whom Henry VIII had broken with the Roman Church and altered the faith of the English people, Elizabeth's legitimacy and religion were alike impugned by many of her subjects. But in her reign the religion, the forms of worship, the foreign policy of England became fixed. She was born in 1533 and carefully educated. She spoke French, Italian, and even Latin fluently, she could read Greek, and was a passable musician. Physically she was robust and could ride horseback and play tennis vigorously. Her manners were as coarse as were her father's. She ate and drank enormously, swore like a trooper when angry, and sometimes slapped her courtiers and even her ministers in the face.

The character of Queen Elizabeth is a riddle. To some historians she is a variable, petulant, and passionate woman, she is denied honor, religion, in fact every moral quality except courage and economy. To others she is a lion-hearted and queenly queen among the very greatest women of history. Judged by her many foibles, the childish vanity, the misplaced economy often so unjustly parsimonious, her inconsistencies, her vacillations, her downright dishonesty sometimes, it seems impossible to understand the affection and enthusiasm with which she was regarded. That her most prominent contemporaries were a Philip II, a Henry III, a Mary Stuart undoubtedly threw her into relief, but it will not explain why the ablest men in England faithfully served her even when ill-requited. Perhaps the secret lies in the fact that Elizabeth had the intuition to apprehend greatness, the daring to encourage it, and the magnanimity to tolerate it even in cases of difference of opinion. Her ablest

ministers and strongest adherents were men of varied hues Burleigh was a state-churchman, Walsingham a Puritan, Lord Howard a Catholic, her worst favorites were Leicester, the ablest of the English nobility, and Hatton, her personal favorite was Essex whom she sent to the scaffold for his presumption, yet she used them all indifferently for the public need She was alternately strong and weak, coarse-fibred and shifty rather than cunning, but her lapses and her follies did not destroy her own self-respect or scandalize an age which could respect even a Catherine de' Medici Her instability rather than her insincerity was the unfortunate factor in her foreign relations But at home the Catholics of England almost to a man rallied around the English throne at the time of its greatest peril There must have been great qualities in Elizabeth to enable her to attract such diverse loyalties

A scholar who has devoted a long life to the history of Tudor England has said of Queen Elizabeth

"Perhaps she had no other than a political life Certainly from her earliest girlhood, exigencies of politics had pressed close upon her But back of her interviews with ambassadors and ministers, of her approval or disapproval of expeditions and statutes, of her controversies with parliament and foreign sovereigns, there must have been a woman It is part of the tragedy of Elizabeth that no one seems ever to have discovered her The most that one ever gets is a judgment on her intellectual abilities or a speculation as to whether she took more after her father or her mother I think of her as very feminine, probably weak, not very bright, lonely, bitter as life passed on, without husband or child or close relative, unsupported by any personal religion, faithful to her duties yet often doubting whether they were worth while, enjoying hunting, dancing, card playing, but soon tiring of them, attracted to one, perhaps two, possibly three men, successively, but either not enough attracted to take the chance of marrying any one of them, or realizing that a marriage would be politically undesirable This or something like it—or something different—would be the real Elizabeth"¹

In 1559 the question of religion was regulated by the Act of Supremacy which abrogated the pro-Catholic statutes of Mary's reign. All spiritual jurisdiction was united to the crown, all ministers and other officials, both temporal and ecclesiastical, were required to *Religious reform* take an oath acknowledging the queen as the only supreme ruler of the realm The last *Service Book* of Edward VI, as ordained in 1552, was confirmed with some alterations, and the *Book of Common Prayer*, the first modern masterpiece of English prose, adopted In 1563 the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, the creed of the Church of England to this day, were promulgated. These measures completed the establishment of the Anglican Church In faith it was Calvinist; in structure it was episcopal and hierarchic like that

¹ Professor E. P. Cheyney, *American Historical Review* XLII, 527.

of the Roman Church. The new Church was an attempt to compromise and so to satisfy as many as possible.

But the settlement could not reconcile two classes of dissidents — the Catholics and the Puritans. During the persecution under Queen Mary many English Protestants had found refuge in Geneva where they imbibed a Calvinistic hatred of religious ritual and ceremony, austere ideas of morality, and a democratic republican spirit towards government. From the fact that these zealots wished to purify the Anglican Church of these “abominations” they were called “Puritans.” In 1572 the Puritans brought forward a bill in parliament for abolition of various religious ceremonies, abrogation of the hierarchy, and establishment of Presbyterian government of the Church instead, and a new confession of faith. The Catholics, in brief, regarded Queen Elizabeth as a heretic, and the Puritans thought her too Catholic. The Puritans had no support from abroad, as the Catholics had, and though violent in language were too weak to be politically dangerous. Yet Archbishop Matthew Parker prophetically pointed out the dangerous political consequences which might flow from their opinions. In spite of persecution, the Puritans remained loyal to the government which protected the country from the Catholics. A characteristic illustration is a Puritan lawyer, John Stubbe, who published a pamphlet entitled *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*. So violent was his remonstrance that he was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, and when it was amputated held up the bleeding stump of his arm and cried “Long live the Queen!”

The length of Elizabeth’s reign, combined with the rigor of the government, was such that a new generation grew up which knew no religion except Protestantism, and Catholicism seemed to it a foreign cult. The religious feud of the next century was between Anglicans and Puritans.

Elizabeth had managed to preserve in her own hands the royal prerogative, or “supreme government,” by steering a middle course between the parties and the issues of the time. Since the House of Lords was predominantly Catholic and the House of Commons was prevalingly Protestant, she got along as much as possible without parliament, and since no one of the three political parties, Anglican, Calvinist and Catholic, rebelled, she broke with none of them. Discontent at home was directed abroad and found expression in the colonial adventures and explorations of Raleigh, Drake, and Frobisher, and the exploits of Grenville and Drake against the Spaniards on the high seas.

“The great events and discoveries of the Elizabethan era produced a love of adventure which broke forth in every direction and varied in the dignity of its objects and in its character from the height of heroism to the depths of baseness.”¹ The reign of Elizabeth witnessed the establishment of the English East India Company.

*Foreign travel
and commerce*

¹ Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character*

which began the founding of the British Empire in the East and the first attempt at English colonization in North America, Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-starred endeavor to colonize Virginia in 1584, which was named after the Virgin Queen. Trade became far flung, and oceanic commerce affected politics in a new way. England was not only establishing herself on the old trade routes but discovering, among other things, the importance of Russian produce. The Turkey Company was founded to trade, via the Mediterranean, with the countries of the Levant, the principal seat of whose dealings was Aleppo. There is still to be seen in an English palace, that of Lord Verulam, an English carpet bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth and the date 1570. It is made in Oriental fashion by weavers who must have seen eastern examples. The first were brought from the Levant through Venetian agency and afterwards direct by English seamen. The traders of the English Muscovy Company under Elizabeth penetrated to Persia by way of the White Sea and the Caspian. Instructions were given to them to seek information about carpet manufacture (The word *damask* comes from Damascus and *muslin* from Mosul.) The first Oriental carpets came from Turkey. The tragic diary of Sir Hugh Willoughby reveals the hardships entailed in opening up English commerce with Russia through the White Sea, and the adventures of Captain Adams in Japan during the twelve years when he was lost and taken for dead throw a vivid light on trade and navigation in the Far East. *

Magnificence and splendor, cruelty and poverty were the two extremes of Elizabeth's reign. The "spacious reign" had also its narrow side. The magnificence was expressed in pride of possessions, pride of knowledge, pride of power. Marlowe in his *Tamburlaine the Great* ^{*Splendor and misery*} marvellously voiced this spirit in the words which he puts into the mouth of Faust. Even when this love of magnificence exhibits a spirit of bravado it is picturesque, not vulgar, as for example Drake before the Armada promising the queen to send the Duke of Medina Sidonia back to "St. Mary Port, among his orange-trees", or Essex, throwing his hat into the sea before the assault on Cadiz. Against this temper we may set the seamy, sordid aspect of Elizabethan England—the protest of rack-rented tenants, the cry of peasants whose livelihood had been destroyed by enclosure of their little farms to make pasturage for sheep, the honest poor and the "sturdy beggars." The changes during this epoch in the ownership, the occupation, and the use of the land of England not only created an unemployment problem of a most acute kind but also, in destroying the medieval framework of English rural society, brought into being the modern "trinity of landlord, farmer and landless labourer."

"The eagles took wing for the Spanish Main; the vultures descended upon Ireland." These are the words of a great historian.¹ If it be said that

¹ Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character*.

English nationalism created the Church of England, it is equally true to say that Roman Catholicism made the Irish nation. There were three component parts in Ireland: (1) the English Pale, (2) the territory around Dublin and Drogheda, (3) and a ring of towns outside the Pale, which were the débris of the ancient Irish counties of Munster, Leinster, Meath, Connaught and Ulster, in which the dominant characteristic was chronic warfare approaching anarchy.

Henry VIII had overthrown the Kildares and had cherished the idea of turning the great Irish chieftains into feudal nobles—he did get so far as to receive their homage as King of Ireland—and had taken measures to persuade the native Irish to adopt English dress and the English language. Ireland was compelled to follow the example set by the Church of England. A Parliament assembled in Dublin in 1536—it was the first Irish Parliament which had Irish representatives—confirmed for Ireland what had been done in England, and as in the latter, the Irish religious houses soon became the spoil of nobles and chiefs. Henry VIII assumed the title of King instead of the former title Lord of Ireland. The Prayer Book of Edward VI was introduced into the Church of the Pale and the emblems of Catholicism were destroyed within its narrow limits. The “reform,” however, had little effect on the ancient Celtic Church, within the bounds of the Irishry it was a dead letter, and the lands of the Irishry were five-sixths of the island. Under Mary, Catholicism was restored in Ireland as in the case of England, but the landowners kept their grip on the religious houses and their lands which they had seized.

There was little disturbance in Ireland under Henry VIII and Edward VI. The trouble began with the introduction of the “plantation” system in the reign of Philip and Mary, when Offaly and Leix were converted into King’s and Queen’s Counties, out of the domains of the O’Moore and O’Connell families, with fortresses at Philipstown and Maryborough. The vast territories of Shane O’Neill and of the Earl of Desmond were wrested from their possessors and peopled by English and Scottish colonists, the greater part of Ireland was partitioned into shires. Swarms of Protestant settlers poured into the island. Mary, and Elizabeth after her, attempted to turn the Irish from cattle-raising and cattle-lifting to agriculture and farming, and for this purpose “planted” parts of the country with English settlers. Unfortunately these were of the landlord class instead of peasantry, and were presently driven out by the Irish.

Expropriation was the primary grievance of the Irish peasantry. In the last years of Mary’s reign her council in Ireland expressed fear lest Dublin and the Pale would experience the fate of Calais and its Pale in France, which it will be remembered was “recovered” by France in 1558. “Even the people of the Pale be wery and yrke (irk) of us,” complained the council, and it begged for speedy assistance; “for yt shall be more for the Quene ys honor that we be called home

Ireland

*Henry VIII's
Irish policy*

*Irish land
problems*

by order than dryven out with shame" Planters, whether Catholic or Protestant, were equally detested by the Irish Catholicism provided a pattern for Irish unity, not because the English were Protestant, but because they were planters and great proprietors, and their plantations destroyed the peasants' property in land

To Queen Elizabeth's government this state of things entailed grave danger, especially when a fresh reason for resentment was furnished by the effort to introduce the Reformation into Ireland. Religion then became a pretext for Irish rebellion, which was particularly dangerous, because sustained by Catholic Spain under Philip II. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 relieved this menace, but Ireland remained a vexatious problem. We have a remarkable work on the condition of Ireland in the last years of Elizabeth's reign in *A View of the Present state of Ireland*¹ by the poet Edmund Spenser who was a minor official and an Irish landlord, who loved the land, if not the Irish people.

"A most bewtiful and sweete Countre as anv is under heaven seamed throughout with manie goodlie ryvers replenished with all sortes of fishe most aboundantie sprinkled with verie manie sweete llandes and goodlie lakes lyke little inland seas, that will carrie even shippes upon their waters"

In Irish poetry Spenser found "sweete witt and good invencion," and of Irish antiquities he was an enthusiastic student.

Thrice the Irish made unsuccessful rebellion — in 1567 by Shane O'Neill, in 1579 by Desmond, in 1594 by the Earl of Tyrone. When the English finally subjugated Ireland, the country was a shambles. Convinced with good reason that they were to be driven from the soil, the survivors doggedly clung to the old sod. There was injustice, duplicity, treachery, on both sides. If Elizabeth found it hard to keep a straight course with the Catholic Shane O'Neill, who used her invitation to London to plot with Spain, the papal nuncio in Ireland found it equally difficult when Shane burnt Armagh Cathedral and was excommunicated by both the rival primates. Both religions seem to have been happiest, after all, within the English Pale: in it there were no Catholic martyrs under Henry VIII and no Protestant martyrs under Mary. This was due to prudence rather than to principle, persecution would have divided and weakened the English garrison which maintained English government in the Pale. But it was easy enough to suppress Irish monasteries, landlords had the same appetites in the Pale as in England, but the ejected friars naturally became papal missionaries outside.

As for Wales, after more than three centuries of rebellion and repression, the condition of Wales began to improve under the Tudors, who, partly from sound political reasons and partly from a sentimental affection for the land

¹ New edition, London 1935, by W. L. Renwick.

of their birth commenced to treat the Welsh people as they treated their English subjects Henry VIII in 1536 abolished the hated feudal jurisdiction of the marches and granted full civil and political rights to all Welshmen In the reign of Elizabeth Welsh nobles frequented the court and Welsh scholars were found at the universities Included in the queen's ecclesiastical policy towards Wales was the translation of the Bible and the liturgy into the Welsh language, which was authorized in 1563 But for this translation it is probable that the Welsh language would either have degenerated into a variety of corrupt dialects or else would have disappeared entirely, just as the Cornish language died out in the succeeding century.

CHAPTER XXXIX

FRANCE FROM 1598 TO 1660

The exposition of the history of the seventeenth century is more difficult than that of the sixteenth century for the reason that it lacks so central a theme as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation impart to the history of the sixteenth century. These two correlative movements were the common denominator of sixteenth century history. The most general and most important single event in seventeenth century history was the ascendancy of France, which began in the reign of Henry IV (died 1610), was continued by Richelieu and Mazarin (1624-1660), and culminated in the reign of Louis XIV (1642-1715).

The seventeenth century

In the previous century the dominant power in Europe had been Spain. The exhaustion of Spain under Philip II and the termination of the civil wars in France changed the European balance of power. Europe was then composed of eight important states: France, England, Spain, Poland, Austria-Germany, the United Netherlands, Sweden, and Russia, the last two being newcomers in European polity. No one of these states had a marked preponderance and the political condition, therefore, was one of unstable equilibrium.

States of Europe

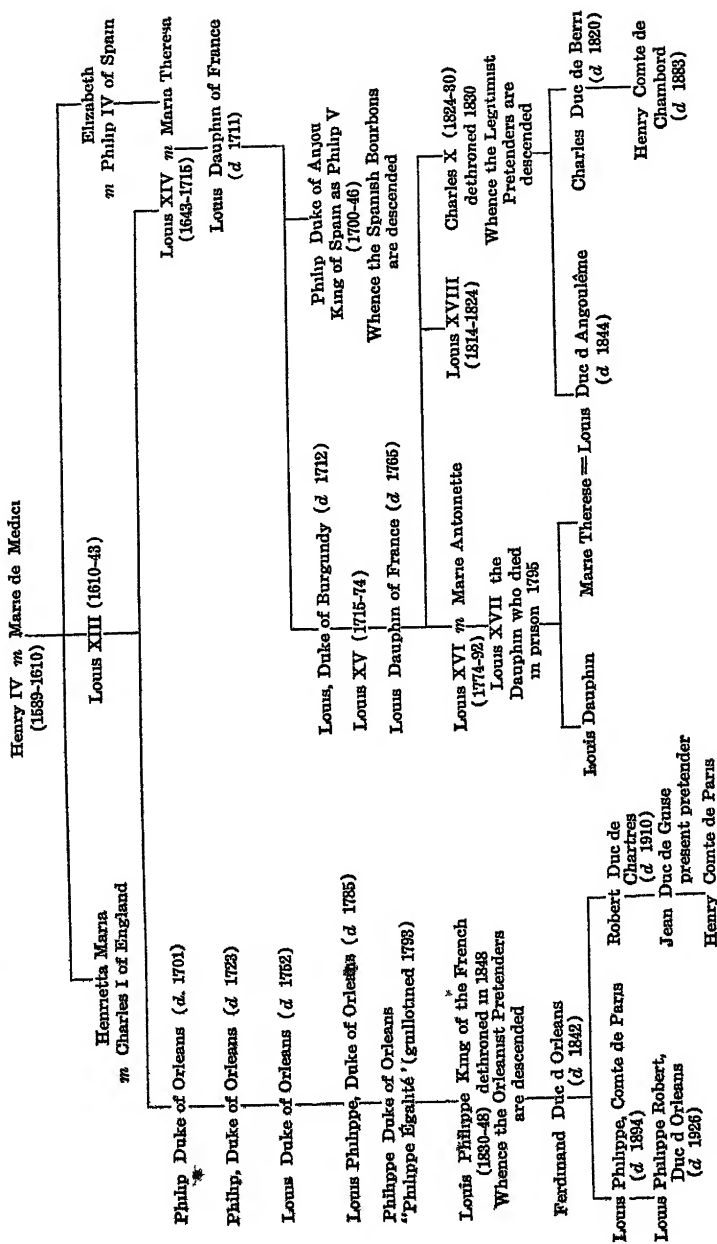
It is important to observe, however, that apart from the eight big states, which have been mentioned, there were many small states, too weak and too badly organized to defend themselves against the territorial rapacity of the big ones. In central Europe, Germany, and Italy were an agglomeration of loosely associated principalities, few of which were large. Across eastern Europe a zone of territories extended from the Baltic to Constantinople—the Baltic provinces, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan peninsula. Beyond this zone, without territorial unity or natural frontiers and a maze of different races, nations, languages, institutions, without homogeneity of any sort, lay Russia and the Turkish Empire.

The small states

The sharp, dividing point in seventeenth century history is the year 1660. By that time French ascendancy had been achieved and the personal rule of Louis XIV began. At the same time England, which had reverted to a policy of isolation after the death of Elizabeth (1603), with the restoration of the Stuart house in the person of Charles II in 1660, was drawn again into continental affairs by the menacing preponderance of France under Louis XIV.

When Henry IV came to the throne he made peace by the Edict of Nantes

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE FRENCH KINGS AFTER 1610



and the Treaty of Vervins (1598) But misery and disorder prevailed throughout the country Agriculture, industry, commerce all had suffered from the protracted civil wars The state was bankrupt, *Condition of France* for in addition to the enormous debts piled up by the Valois kings, there were English, Dutch, German, and Swiss loans to be paid, together with the sums which the king had paid to Leaguer nobles and Leaguer towns for their submission For with Henry IV "money talked" sometimes more effectively than the sword Again the administrative system was badly shattered, justice could not be administered, taxes could not be collected The civil wars had proved the incapacity of the States-General, the opposition of the Parlements, the chief law courts in Paris and the provinces, to the Edict of Nantes had shown their factious nature and untrustworthiness Fortunately the king was popular and the anti-monarchical theory of the Huguenots discredited Royalism and loyalty to the king was the order of the day

Henry IV's great treasurer, the Duke of Sully, had found utter confusion in the finances To remedy this he sent forms of account, every item of which was required to be filled up, and accompanied by the necessary vouchers, to every subordinate official of the treasury *Sully's financial reforms* Also he entered into a rigorous examination of the accounts

of the receivers-general and other financial agents whom he compelled to disgorge their spoils But when by royal edict he reduced the interest on the public debt from twelve and ten percent to six and one-quarter percent, he injured people who had invested their savings in the bonds of the government In general, the result of Sully's management entitled him to the gratitude of the French people He reduced the *taille* or tax on real and personal property by five million livres, and the tolls on exchange of goods between provinces by one-half, and yet added four millions to the king's revenue He redeemed one hundred and thirty-five millions of public debt and left thirty-five millions in the treasury besides a value of twelve millions in arms and munitions in the magazines, five millions expended on fortifications of the frontier towns, and over twenty-six millions expended on public works and royal gratuities All this was achieved in fifteen years, at the beginning of which France was in a condition of poverty and bankruptcy

Once assured of peace and protection, the French peasants could take care of themselves Their love of the soil and passion for ploughing, planting, and reaping soon redeemed the countryside Dutch and Flemish peasants used to deep ploughing and draining of marshes *French prosperity under Henry IV* were colonized in the fenland of Saintonge and other similar places In the matter of commerce and industry, Henry IV strove to develop the silk industry, of which Lyons was the center The famous Gobelin tapestry factory was founded in his reign, Glass workers were imported from Venice and created a new industry for France Commercial treaties

were signed with England and the Netherlands. Roads and inland waterways were improved. Mining was stimulated. Interprovincial tolls (*douanes*) were abolished on wheat and wine. The king was a great builder, and labor on these structures in Paris greatly relieved unemployment. Among them were the grand gallery of the Louvre, the completion of the Tuileries, which Catherine de' Medici had begun, the Pont Neuf and the Hotel de Ville. No French king since St. Louis in the thirteenth century was as popular as Henry IV. He lived in the hearts of his people. His joviality, his simplicity, his kindliness, attested by a hundred anecdotes, endeared him to all. For these virtues they forgave his extravagance — he was an inveterate gambler — and his "easy" morals. His mistresses, indeed, were more popular than his queen who was another Medici, a bad name to French ears. In all this work of reconstruction, the king's chief minister was the Duke of Sully, an honest, austere Calvinist, conceited but able, whose indefatigable devotion to public duty and parsimonious handling of the funds put the government upon a sound money basis in spite, sometimes, of Henry's prodigality toward favorites.

The assassination of the king on May 14, 1610, by Ravallac, a fanatical monk, was a calamity to France and to Europe. Fortunately with his death regicide as a political policy became obsolete in Europe. The day of the dagger in history was nearly over.

Although France did not acquire her greatest ascendancy in Europe until the time of Richelieu, nevertheless Henry IV laid its foundation, and in his time are already seen all the essential features which characterized the later policy of France. The rivalry between France and Spain, begun in the time of Francis I and Charles V, received a new expression, and the balance inclined in favor of France. Under the weak Philip III of Spain and his favorite, the Duke of Lerma, Spain was an imposing power in appearance only. Her pretensions were high and her vast possessions still afforded ample resources, but the life had gone out of her, there was no means of arresting her internal decay, and the very multitude of her dependencies tended to increase her difficulties, since she was everywhere assailable and everywhere had to defend herself.

In France, on the contrary, a country incomparably smaller, if the Spanish colonies be taken into account, but well rounded and defined, the internal strength was increased by a skilful and energetic government, and a concentration of power was effected which soon made itself felt on all sides. Henry IV endeavored to exert his influence on the whole field of European politics. Spain had been devoted to the Church and in her struggle for the restoration of Catholicism exhausted her strength. France, on the other hand, did not allow her policy to be determined by religious considerations, though the large majority of her population still remained Catholic. She had no hesitation in contracting alliances with Prot-

estant powers against Catholic Spain, or, in order to injure the emperor, even with the Turks. Henry IV, after passing through the rude school of his earlier experiences, became a cool, calculating, cautious politician.

In the last years of his reign Henry IV labored to form a coalition of all the enemies of the Habsburgs under the hegemony of France. Although he had become a Catholic, he preserved his former Protestant alliances. In violation of the Treaty of Vervins he retained 3000 French troops in the Spanish Netherlands and sent money to the aid of the Dutch. His purpose was to be able to dictate to both parties. He hoped to make himself so useful to the Dutch that they might make him King of Holland, in spite of the heroic services of the House of Orange. Before he married Marie de' Medici in 1600 he had demanded the hand of a Spanish princess and the Spanish Netherlands as her dowry. In 1606 he made an alliance with the Protestant Union in Germany, and might have come to blows with the emperor in defense of the claims of the heirs of the Duke of Cleves. In 1609 he compelled Spain reluctantly to make a truce with the Dutch. His death in 1610 deferred France's intervention in German politics until Cardinal Richelieu revived Henry IV's policy.

*Henry IV's
foreign policy*

Louis XIII (1610-1643) was a child of nine years of age when he ascended the throne. Again a regency was necessary. The 'Queen Mother, Marie de' Medici, was under the thumb of her favorite Concini, an Italian whom she had brought with her from Florence. Sully was removed from office. These were bad signs. Opposition, which Henry IV had crushed or conciliated, raised its head. These opposition forces were three in number—the great nobles, the Huguenots, and the great office holders. The danger from them lay in the conditions of the age. It had become the practice of the great nobles during the civil wars to maintain troops of armed domestics on their domains who wore their arms and livery, just as the same evil was found in England in the fifteenth century during the Wars of the Roses. The power of these nobles was augmented by the fact that during the wars of religion in the previous century their country houses, as well as towns and even villages, had been fortified. There were hundreds of fortified towns each with a garrison and officers, who were subject to the governor of the province and not to the king. The Huguenots possessed about two hundred fortified places, and as their leaders were nobles, there was no difference in motive and conduct between them and the Catholic nobles. The third force of opposition was different. The judiciary of France was an hereditary *noblesse de robe*, for judgeships were purchasable and constituted a vested right in the office. Thus the judiciary formed a body of great moral influence, the remonstrances of which had to be reckoned with by the government. It might seem, at first blush, that an hereditary judicial system would be the profanation of justice. But as a matter of fact, it worked the other way. The French bench has ever been distinguished

*Opposition to
French monarchy*

by its high intellectual quality, its pride in maintaining standards its detachment from partisanship, its immunity from venality Even in 1588-1589 during the terrible "dragonnades" in Paris, the Parlement of Paris, though every member of the court was Catholic, tried to enforce the edict of toleration

Conflict began almost at once after the death of Henry IV All factions favored calling a States-General, which assembled in 1614—the last before 1789—and each hoped to control it, or if not, to strengthen itself behind the smoke-screen of universal discontent For the next ten years things swayed wildly until in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon and secretary of state since 1618, became chief minister of state

For eighteen years Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron It has been said of him that "he made his master the first man in Europe and the second man in France" For Richelieu was the greatest European figure of the time Louis XIII was a pliable, weak, and vacillating character, and difficult to hold in line to any policy and the cardinal lived in constant fear of being supplanted Moreover, until the very end of his reign the king was without an heir, so that in event of his death his successor would be Gaston of Orléans, his brother, and Richelieu's mortal enemy Richelieu was the object of no less than six plots to overthrow him and lived surrounded by spies As plot after plot failed and the cardinal remorselessly sent the leaders to the scaffold, his power increased to a formidable degree

Apart from these court intrigues, but actuated by similar purpose was the revolt of the Huguenots in 1625 under the dukes of Rohan and Soubise

"Protestantism" and "Protestant rights" were merely pretexts on their part to cover a policy of reaction and aristocratic particularism The struggle culminated in the capture of La Rochelle, the chief stronghold of the Huguenots, after a fourteen months' siege, during which three English fleets foolishly sent out by James I failed to break the ring of steel around the city After that Huguenotism ceased to be an armed political party Henceforth the Edict of Nantes existed merely by grace of the crown For as it originally was a treaty of peace the government took the ground that it had been abrogated by the contumacy of the Huguenots Richelieu clearly saw that if France was to be strong, this state within a state would have to be destroyed, and it is to his credit that having destroyed "political" Huguenotism he left the French Protestants unmolested Most of the great nobles, now that Protestantism no longer held out any temporal advantages to them, one by one went over to Catholicism Henceforward the Huguenots were a querulous minority in France Two years afterwards the last effort to overthrow Richelieu, made by Marie de' Medici, ignominiously failed on the Day of Dupes (November 11, 1630) The fiasco ended in the exile of the queen (she died in 1642 at Cologne) and imprisonment or

death for the participants. From this time until his death, Richelieu had nothing to fear.

The reign of Louis XIII is sharply distinguished into two periods: (1) the establishment of the absolute monarchy (1610-1631), and (2) the participation of France in the Thirty Years' War (1632-1648). The latter will be considered in connection with the history of that war. It remains here to give some account of Richelieu's administrative policies.

In the consolidation of France under the monarchy and in reducing the predominance of the noblesse and promoting the influence of the bourgeoisie, Richelieu had greater influence than any king of France since Louis XI. He converted the king's council into a body of *Richelieu's administration* lawyers, with a mere sprinkling of nobles and bishops in it. His chief instrument in this policy was the intendant, whose administrative circuit was known as a *généralité*. Richelieu did not invent the office, as is usually believed, but made uniform and universal an existing institution. As far back as the fourteenth century, in the lull between the two periods of the Hundred Years' War, Charles V (1364-1380) had established some taxation districts, each under a receiver-general, whence the term *généralité*. These areas always crossed provincial lines for the purpose of breaking down the ancient provincial boundaries of the great feudality. As the monarchy grew in power the number of these *généralités* increased; there were 6 in 1484, 10 in 1523, 16 in 1542, 17 in 1551, 19 in 1558, 20 in 1587, 21 in 1594. The collapse of the Huguenots enabled Richelieu to extend receivers-general to their hitherto exempted territories, such as Alençon, Montauban, and La Rochelle. It was then that he made the system coextensive with France and made every receiver and intendant responsible for the whole enforcement of government within his jurisdiction. The effect was to impose a mesh upon the provinces and bind France more closely than before to the crown.

Although Richelieu was a master in politics and diplomacy, he was not a good administrator, especially in the matter of finance. There was no budget, the receipts were not centralized. The wars and *Taxation* bribes to foreign ambassadors consumed enormous sums of money. The sources of the revenue remained unchanged: the royal domains, taxes, the "gift" of the clergy, government bonds (*rentes*) and loans. Taxes were of three kinds: the *taille*, a tax on real and personal property — it brought 17 million livres in 1610, 30 million in 1635, 40 million in 1643 — the *aides*, which were old feudal remembrances, the income from which was not large, and the *gabelle*, or tax on salt, the manufacture and sale of which was a government monopoly. To make the injustice of the tax system worse, these burdens were imposed chiefly on certain provinces (*pays d'élection*). Those privileged provinces which had local Estates-General voted what appropriations they pleased and collected their own taxes in their own way. The

douanes, or internal tariffs on the trans-shipment of goods between provinces, was very unpopular and its collection sometimes occasioned local revolts, especially when foodstuffs were scarce and high

The main financial recourse of the government was the sale of offices. The practice was not as corrupt, however, as it may seem. The purchaser merely bought a *vente des offices*, or "sale office," a certificate which assured him an annual income equivalent to the salary of the office for the term of years specified. Thus a man might buy an office for \$25,000 for ten years, which meant that he would receive a "salary" amounting to ten per cent of the principal each year for ten years, at the end of which time the principal would, at least in theory unless the government defaulted, be returned to him. Another financial source were the *rentes*, mortgage certificates secured by government property, the income from which was derived from the taxes, and redeemable after a term of years. In short, both these practices were a primitive species of government bonds. From 2 millions in 1624, the *rentes* increased to 24 millions in 1642. Forced loans, what in England were called "benevolences," were sometimes resorted to, as in 1636, and sometimes, too, the rate of interest paid on *ventes des offices* (sales of offices) and *rentes* was arbitrarily reduced.

When Richelieu came into power the French fleet was practically non-existent and the merchant marine in order to avoid saluting the English flag—for England claimed dominion over the Narrow Sea—navigated under Dutch colors. French commerce was so unprotected that the Estates-General of 1614 demanded a fleet of 45 ships but all that the government then did was to purchase 7 ships from Holland to cruise in the Mediterranean against the Barbary pirates. The glory of raising the French navy from such a prostrate condition is due to Richelieu who assumed the title of "Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent-General of the navigation of France" in 1627. He established ship-yards and foundries for manufacture of arms, dredged and fortified harbors, erected storehouses and arsenals, employed ship-carpenters, sailors, fishermen, rope-makers, and caulkers. Before Richelieu's death in 1642 France possessed 35 galleys and 60 ships of the line, of which the *La Couronne* mounted 72 guns and was 300 feet in length, and 46 in breadth. So wonderful a vessel was it that Dutch and English shipwrights came to see it.

What is to be the estimate of the work of Cardinal Richelieu? There are two conflicting opinions. Some historians have declared that he prevented France from going to pieces after the death of Henry IV and saved the monarchy. Others that he destroyed the old historical institutions of France which had naturally developed and established an absolute kingship which operated through appointive officials and administrative bureaus. The Tudors had accomplished much the same thing in England in the previous century, but in England the vitality

of the Parliament was greater than that of the States-General in France, and local government more deeply rooted and more vigorous. In England the Tudor despotism was tempered by the resistance of other institutions, whereas in France there was no such opposition to the growth of the crown, moreover, in England political cleavage was one of policy, while in France the cleavages were due to the rivalry and interests of factions, each of which fished in the troubled waters in order to get as much as it could out of the turmoil. War and diplomacy were Richelieu's chief fields of interest and to these he sacrificed the French nation. Moreover, his wars were wars of ambition, not of necessity. They made France greater, but they did not make the French people happier or better off.

Throughout the eighteen years of his ministry he was surrounded by guards, secretaries, and attendants who protected him from assassination but at the same time deprived him of all privacy. His household was so large that towards the end of his life his annual expenditure was above ten million livres. Richelieu was a man whose conscience permitted him to do anything which he willed to do. His life was given to three achievements: the destruction of the Huguenots as a political party, the humiliation of the House of Habsburg, both Austrian and Spanish, the establishment of the royal authority in France at the expense of factious nobles who were willing to sacrifice the country to their feudal interests. It was really the cardinal and not the kings who established the absolutism of the French monarchy.

The great cardinal left his problems and his policy to a man whom he had trained. This was Mazarin, a Neapolitan Italian who had once been a captain in the papal guard. Richelieu first met him during some negotiations over Mantua, when the French army was warring in Italy. Mazarin forsook military life for a political career. Later he was sent to Paris as the papal nuncio. In 1639 he became a naturalized citizen of France and entered the service of Richelieu, who employed him on various diplomatic missions. Richelieu had been haughty, vindictive, cruel, ruthless, Mazarin was mild, suave, subtle—a man whose ways were inscrutable because one never knew whether he was telling the truth or lying.

Louis XIII died in 1643, the year after the death of Richelieu, and since Louis XIV was a child, for the third time France was under the regency of the queen mother. This was Anne "of Austria," in reality a Spanish princess, and "Austrian" only in the sense that she was of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. From the beginning Anne steadfastly supported Mazarin, who had need of it, for all sorts of factions were raising their heads and reaction was in the air. Between 1643–1648 there were several local revolts in the provinces against excessive taxes. The test of the government's power came in 1648 with the outbreak of

the Fronde¹ Mazarin absorbed in watching the progress of French arms in Germany — it was the last stage of the 'Thirty Years' War — left taxation and finance to others. The need of money was very great and a series of drastic fiscal edicts were sent to the Parlement of Paris for registration, as was customary, although it was a mere routine, as the king by a personal appearance in Parlement could command their registration. The Parlement rejected the edicts as much because it hated Mazarin and his officials as because it regarded the edicts as unjust. It was not a revolt against the crown, but against "The Mazarin." Malcontents of many kinds soon joined the movement — Gaston of Orléans, the co-adjutor archbishop of Paris, De Retz, a clever and unscrupulous churchman. Another plotter was Condé, a prince of the blood. His plan was to force the queen to convoke the States-General, if she refused he and his followers were to begin a civil war in the provinces, and if hard driven to admit the Spaniards from the Spanish Netherlands into Picardy and Normandy. This was to revive the old spirit and practices of the Holy League.

Conflict broke out in Paris, where the streets were narrow and crooked. The mob fought with cobblestones and chimney bricks behind barriers improvised out of overturned carts, benches, barrels filled with stones, etc. Many of the nobles, including the Prince of Condé, joined the mob — a singular alliance. A fierce battle was fought in the Faubourg St. Antoine, where the Bastille stood, between Condé and the loyal troops under the Vicomte de Turenne, which the latter won, Condé fled to Spain. The rebellious nobles appealed to the archduke of the Spanish Netherlands and a Spanish force entered Champagne. But meanwhile Mazarin had bribed the leaders of the Fronde and the whole movement collapsed after five years of froth and fury (1648–1653). The Fronde was a tissue of intrigues, but it was not just an intrigue. The movement meant that the old provincial institutions were rebelling against the oppressiveness of the absolute monarchy — the Parlements, the noblesse and gentry, the clergy. All the provinces, even the *pays d'états*, writhed under the intendants. Old Huguenot families like the Rochefoucaulds in Poitou, the La Force in Gascony, the Rohans in Anjou, the La Tremouilles in Saintonge were united with Catholic noble families in this rebellion.

The residue of Mazarin's career was uneventful. He carried through to success Richelieu's policy of war against both branches of the House of Habsburg. By 1658 Mazarin's diplomacy had completely isolated Spain in European affairs. Turenne had crushed Spain by the battle of the Dunes in Belgium,

¹ The name is derived from the game of *fronde* (sling) played at the time by the children in the dry moats of Paris. The game was forbidden by the authorities, but the boys were apt to greet the guardians of the law with pebbles from their slings, some wit of the time compared the opponents of Mazarin with these *frondeurs*, and the name stuck. "The Fronde," says Lavisse, "was in fact a game, but an abominable game."

and in the Milanais Spain was driven to bay by the combined forces of France, Savoy, and Modena. The pope was favorable to France. In Germany the League of the Rhine (August 14, 1658), which Mazarin had created, was ready to turn upon the emperor if he manifested the slightest intention to aid Spain in the Netherlands. There was nothing for Spain to do but submit. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659) France triumphed over the Spanish Habsburgs as she had already triumphed over the Austrian Habsburgs in 1648. The predominance of France in Europe was established by this treaty which is regarded as the masterpiece of diplomacy in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XL

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

The death of Philip II in 1598 and the decline of the power of Spain shifted the field of Counter-Reformation activity to Germany, where the emperor became the chief political force behind its enforcement. The Counter-Reformation had wholly failed in England, Scotland, the United Netherlands, and partially failed in France. In the former countries Catholicism had been proscribed, in France Calvinism, though in the minority, was on a parity with Catholicism.

Failure of Counter-Reformation

How had Protestantism fared in Germany since the Peace of Augsburg of 1555? At that time the Lutheran princes, it will be remembered, were conceded the right to adhere to their faith and to impose it upon their subjects. But the articles did not admit the principle that Catholic princes and Catholic subjects might *in future* become Lutherans. Legally no expansion of Lutheranism was permissible, and a clause — the *Reservatum* — forbade administrators of Catholic ecclesiastical property, who had turned Protestant, from carrying that property with them and delivering it to Lutheran churches. Here was fuel for fire. But there were still other grievances and recriminations. The Reformation continued to expand after the Peace of Augsburg in spite of what the law said. Every lay prince of Germany except the Duke of Bavaria had turned Protestant. To make matters worse, those in western Germany instead of becoming Lutherans turned Calvinist, and Calvinism had not been legalized in the document of 1555. Finally the "reservation" was universally disregarded.

Protestantism in Germany

The Catholic princes were in a minority, but in the electoral college the three ecclesiastical electors, the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and the King of Bohemia (who was the emperor) gave the Catholics one more vote than Protestantism could muster. Moreover, the number of small ecclesiastical princes outnumbered the number of small lay princes.

Under these conditions conflict was inevitable. The Protestants complained of the old medieval institutions which put them in the minority. The offensive was taken not by the Lutherans but by the Calvinists who legally had no religious status. An endeavor was made in 1591 and again in 1606 to form some sort of union between the Calvinists and the Lutherans. This initiative was taken by Frederick IV, Elector Count Palatine of the Rhine. Finally, in 1608, the Protestant

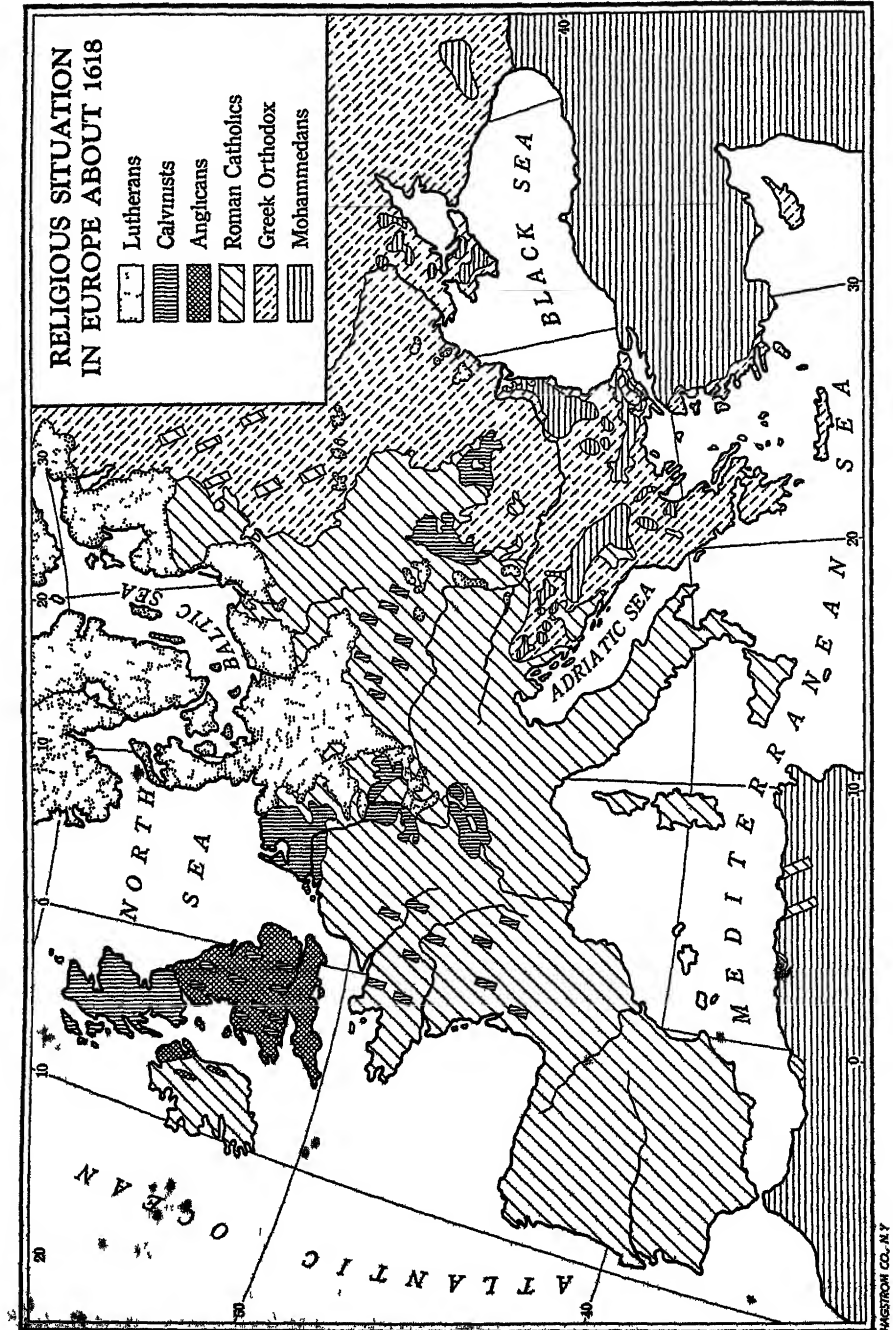
Catholic-Protestant friction

Union was concluded at Halle, this union was joined by Henry IV of France. In retaliation Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria, formed a Catholic League — the Holy League once more, but on German soil now instead of French, of which the pope declared himself the protector. The battle-lines were drawn.

The Emperor Mathias, alarmed for the unity of the empire, vainly ordered that the two leagues be dissolved. Then he summoned the diet on pretext of a war with the Turks. But the diet blew up in a row. The emperor was helpless and the two leagues divided Germany between them. The struggle was also extended to Bohemia, Hungary, and Moravia, where ancient Hussitism, the Bohemian Brethren, and the Moravian Brethren were Protestant sects akin to Lutheranism, though not identical with it. The Emperor Mathias, a moderate and peace-loving man, had been liberal towards all these sectaries, by royal charter (*Majestatsbrief* [1609]) he had permitted free exercise of the Utraquist or Hussite faith among the three estates of nobles, knights, and royal cities, in the Habsburg lands and in Bohemia.

The failure of the diet to exercise any influence for peace was climaxed by the open breach between the two parties at the meetings in 1608 and 1613, and by the doctrine set up by the leading Calvinists that the *decisions of the majority in matters relating to religion were not binding upon the minority*. It is enormously important to perceive that the immediate origin of the Thirty Years' War was due to the ambitious folly of a German Calvinist prince, Frederick Count Palatine. Politically and morally the Catholic-imperial attitude was justified in 1618. Frederick and his supporters upset the peace of Europe and gratuitously threw the empire and ultimately all Europe into a prolonged and agonizing war. The rising of 1618 with which the Thirty Years' War began proceeded not from the Protestants generally but from the Calvinists alone, and the Calvinists in the eyes of Lutherans were more hateful than the Catholics. The idea of Protestant unity was inconceivable and impossible. In 1618 the Lutherans had extirpated Calvinism in North Germany, as the Calvinists had extirpated Arminianism in Holland. The practice of craft and terror which had served to establish both kinds of Protestantism in the sixteenth century served now in the seventeenth century to restore Catholicism.

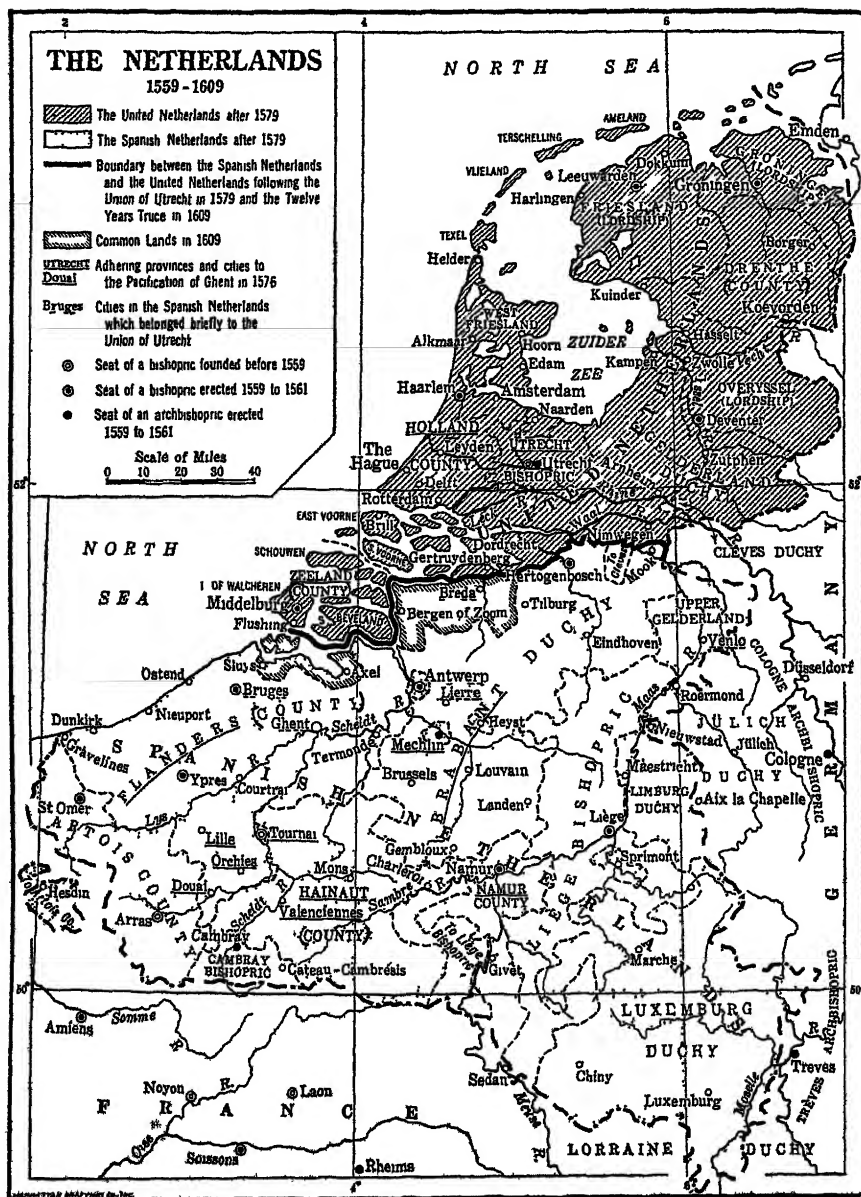
The flame burst out in Prague in Bohemia when the ardent Catholic Ferdinand II succeeded the mild and tolerant Emperor Matthias. The Bohemian diet (*Landtag*) refused to recognize the succession and declared that it would elect another king. There were three candidates in spite of the fact that acceptance of the Bohemian crown was fraught with peril. One was the Elector of Saxony, a Lutheran; the second was Frederick, the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, the third was the Duke of Savoy, a Catholic. The majority elected Frederick, the Prince Palatine, whose wife, Princess Elizabeth, was the beautiful daughter of James I.



of England. This election ruptured the Protestant Union in Germany. The Elector of Saxony turned Catholic and went over to the imperial camp. In spite of the defection, the Protestant party still was hopeful, for it counted upon English intervention. But James I hesitated. He had a horror of anything like revolt of subjects against their ruler, moreover, he wanted to marry Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta although she was a Catholic, of course, in order to give prestige to the Stuart dynasty, and long and tedious negotiations with the Spanish court were under way at this juncture. When it became evident that English intervention in Germany would not be made, the rest of the Protestant princes declared their neutrality. Frederick, who already had made himself unpopular in Prague by bringing his Calvinist court chaplain with him and by "purifying" the cathedral by throwing precious relics and even the cross into the Moldau River, found himself utterly isolated to face the wrath of the Catholic emperor.

But the rash young palatine was not afraid. He took into his pay a soldier of fortune named Mansfeld and a general named Thurn. The latter forced the crossing of the Danube and threatened Vienna, but soon retreated. The imperialist troops invaded Bohemia, but effected nothing because the emperor had no money to pay them. *Protestant defeat at White Mountain* Frederick again took the offensive and united with Bethlen Gabor, the rebel Prince of Transylvania, in a march on Vienna, but again the army retreated (December, 1619). Then the emperor received assistance from the Catholic League, the Archduke of the Spanish Netherlands, and the King of Spain. The two branches of the Habsburg house were standing together. Bohemia was again invaded, this time by two armies. Frederick was beaten in the battle of White Mountain and became a fugitive. The Protestant party was knocked to bits. Behind the Catholic emperor were now grouped the Catholic League, the Elector of Saxony, the Archduke Albert and the King of Spain.

The strength of the two branches of the House of Habsburg, aside from the immense resources from their many possessions, lay in the fact that they had identical policies. There was no contradiction between their political and their religious interest. The preservation of the integrity of their lands and of Catholicism went hand in hand. *Habsburg strength and weakness* Their weakness was that so many of their territories were separated from the mother state and did not form a compact mass. The Spanish Netherlands were separated from Spanish Franche Comté by the Duchy of Lorraine, the Austrian Tyrol was separated from the Spanish Milanais by the Valteline, which belonged to the Swiss Grisons; the Duchies of Bavaria and Württemberg and northern Switzerland stood between Austria and the Habsburg possessions in Alsace. The Duke of Savoy, with his territories on either side of the Alps, sat like a man on a rail, ready to get down on one side or the other — to side with the Habsburgs or with France — according to advantage.



In the line-up of international forces, the conflict was pivoted upon the following points (1) Who would get the Valteline? (2) What would become of the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comte? (3) What would the German princes do? (4) What would be the conduct of Savoy and the small Italian princes? The fate of Germany was the most crucial problem of all. For the Protestant German princes would have the sympathy and probably the support of Protestant Denmark and Sweden, the Dutch Netherlands, perhaps England, and certainly of France.

The war now became general in Germany. Between 1619-1629 the Austro-Catholic cause was successful. Maximilian of Bavaria over-ran the Upper Palatinate and his general Tilly sacked Heidelberg and sent the great library of the university to the pope. In Italy the Spanish governor of Milan invaded the Grisons and occupied the Valteline, which was the connecting link between the Spanish-owned Milanais and the Austrian Tyrol. By 1623 Bohemia was utterly reduced and the Protestant population destroyed or driven out. The Calvinist population of the Palatinate was slaughtered or expelled and the territory given to Maximilian of Bavaria, the commander of the Catholic League.

Meanwhile Frederick had found refuge in the Dutch Netherlands, whose government took Mansfeld into its pay. The Dutch had no intention of getting into the war, but they were taking precautions against Catholic invasion. All Protestant eyes were turned on James I. The negotiation for the Spanish marriage of Charles I, in spite of the fact that the contract had been signed (July 25, 1623), was broken off. Prodded by the Duke of Buckingham, the royal favorite, James I declared war against Spain. The destruction of the English fleet before Cadiz persuaded James I that he might be more successful on land than on sea and overture was made to the Protestant Union—or what was left of it—for the recovery of the Palatinate. At the same time he successfully proposed to France that Louis XIII's daughter Henrietta marry Prince Charles. The Protestant cause in Europe seemed to be looking up, for France was embroiled with Spain over the Valteline, so that her foreign policy was anti-Habsburg, if not anti-Catholic. Then, quite suddenly, the war in Italy came to an end by an agreement between the belligerents to put the Valteline in the hands of the pope. It was a make-shift solution arranged by the skill of the papal nuncio in France.

Against the House of Austria there remained only England, Holland, and the disorganized Protestant German princes. Neither England nor the Dutch Republic wanted to get into war, and overtures were made to Sweden and Denmark. Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish king, demanded 34,000 men, in addition to 16,000 furnished by himself, the payment of two-thirds of the cost of the proposed war, and the chief command of the forces. Christian of Denmark offered to fight the

Points of conflict

Austro Catholic success

Participation of James I

Denmark joins Protestant side

Catholic League for 30,000 troops and an annual subsidy of 170,000 livres. James I, who was parsimonious, preferred the Danish offer and a treaty was concluded at The Hague between England, Holland, and Denmark. No aid to the German Protestants could be looked for from France at this time (1625), for the Huguenots were in rebellion.

Against King Christian of Denmark and General Mansfeld were arrayed three Catholic armies — that of the Catholic League under Tilly, that of Spain, and that of the emperor under the greatest soldier of fortune of the age, Wallenstein. It was an army of mercenaries who were not paid but lived on pillage. Operations were begun by Tilly. Christian of Denmark was beaten at Lutter near Brunswick (1626), Mansfeld, though beaten at Dessau, daringly fought his way across Germany and joined Bethlen Gabor in Transylvania, but died soon afterwards. Meanwhile Wallenstein advanced his forces from Bohemia down the Elbe River, united with Tilly and together conquered Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Schleswig, and Jutland. All Protestant Germany, except Saxony and Brandenburg, was subjugated.

Then followed the Edict of Restitution, declared on May 22, 1629. All ecclesiastical states which had gone over to Protestantism since the settlement of Augsburg in 1555 were to be restored. This formidable decree affected two archbishoprics, Magdeburg and Bremen, twelve bishoprics, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lubeck, Ratzeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelburg, Lebus, and Camin, besides 120 monasteries. It was the darkest hour in all Protestant history. The conquered territories were terribly ravaged and pillaged by the victorious imperial armies, especially by that of Wallenstein, against whom a cry of indignation arose from all Germany, even from Tilly and the Catholic League. But the emperor did not dare to dismiss him, for in that event there was danger lest he turn his arms against the empire. For Wallenstein was darkly credited with ambition to overthrow the Habsburgs and make himself emperor.

The eyes of almost every bold soldier and ambitious ruler in Europe, ravening for prey, by this time were fixed upon Germany. In 1628 Gustavus Adolphus wrote to his Chancellor Oxenstierna, "all the wars that are on foot in Europe have been fused together and have become a single war."¹ It should be observed that none of the great commanders of the period, except Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, was German — Tilly (Belgian), Wallenstein (Bohemian), Gustavus Adolphus (Swedish), Spinola (Spanish), Piccolomini (Italian), Turenne (French).

As far back as 1624 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had negotiated with England and Brandenburg in the hope of placing himself at the head of the Protestants in Germany. The scheme failed for the time because Gustavus

¹ Quoted in *Cambridge Medieval History*, iv, p. 1v.

refused to take part in the war except upon conditions which his own judgment assured him to be indispensable for success. Rather than recede from these terms Gustavus chose to turn aside to the Polish war leaving Christian of Denmark to deal as he could with the German difficulty. If any one, he characteristically wrote *Gustavus Adolphus* to the English agent, thinks it an easy matter to overthrow the united strength of Catholic Europe, he is welcome to entertain that fantastic idea.

Now in 1630 the situation was different. Aided by a French subsidy, Gustavus landed on the coast of Pomerania in July, 1630. Unlike the motley and undisciplined hordes which followed Tilly and Wallenstein, the Swedish troops were a real army, well-armed and well-paid. *Gustavus's army* Gustavus replaced the old unwieldy and heavy blunderbuss with the musket, as Alva had already done among the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, and increased the number of musketeers, his men were clothed in sheepskin jackets against the cold, he maintained strict discipline and excluded camp-followers and the rabble of women which dogged every other army of the age. A physician and a chaplain were attached to every regiment.

The Swedish king's intervention, however, was not wholly in the interest of the Protestant religion. The deposed Duke of Mecklenburg was his relative, more than that, the imperial occupation of Pomerania offended him. At this time Sweden ruled Finland, Inger-*Swedish interest in the war* manland, Esthonia, and Livonia, the Baltic was almost a Swedish lake. "The Swedes, while battling for the Protestant cause were also vitally concerned in securing the political and commercial control of the southern Baltic coast and the freedom of the Sound for their trade. They made use of the religious struggle in Germany to reach the ends, and at the close of the war they emerged masters of the Baltic."

Having cleared Pomerania of the imperial forces, Gustavus advanced up the Oder and took Frankfort, and thus drove a Swedish wedge between Tilly and Wallenstein, and then fell back into Mecklenburg which he also cleared of the Catholic-imperial troops. Meanwhile Tilly had attacked Magdeburg, where the Edict of *Sack of Magdeburg* Restitution had failed of enforcement, for it was too strongly fortified a city to be taken. The commander of the garrison was a Swedish officer named Falconburg, but Gustavus's hands were tied by the political situation. He dared not advance deeper into Germany until the rulers of Brandenburg and Saxony declared themselves. For both were endeavoring to preserve a neutrality. On May 20, after a fearful siege, Magdeburg was taken by the imperial general, Pappenheim, whose soldiery in spite of Tilly's efforts to restrain them, massacred the population and sacked the city. Finally fire broke out and the whole city was reduced to ashes. The only structure which survived the conflagration was the cathedral which was built of stone. There is some reason to believe, however, that Falconburg had mined the

city with gunpowder, resolved to blow Magdeburg up rather than to have it fall intact into the hands of Tilly. For if Magdeburg were not destroyed it would be made a formidable base of operations for the imperial army in North Germany.

The fall of Magdeburg convinced the electors, George William of Brandenburg and John George of Saxony, that they would have to side with Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish king now began a most brilliant military campaign. At Breitenfeld near Leipzig in the heart of Saxony he won a smashing victory over Tilly on September 17, 1631, a joint Swedish-Saxon army invaded Bohemia and captured Prague, while Gustavus victoriously advanced through Thuringia and Franconia taking by the way Erfurt, Würzburg, Hanau, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Darmstadt, and Oppenheim, where he crossed the Rhine and went into winter quarters at Mainz. The Edict of Restitution was torn to shreds by these events, all North and Protestant Germany again breathed freely.

In the spring of 1632 Gustavus resolved to carry the war into Bavaria and Austria, resumed the offensive, and advanced to the Danube via Nuremberg. Tilly's army was annihilated and Tilly himself mortally wounded in an engagement near the confluence of the Lenz River with the Danube, which Gustavus crossed after his victory and took Augsburg and Munich, the capital of Maximilian of Bavaria. The emperor was now with his back to the wall and it seemed as though Vienna soon would fall. In this crisis Ferdinand II recalled Wallenstein, who returned on almost regal terms. The great adventurer played Fabian tactics and avoided battle for eleven weeks, contenting himself with observing the Swedes in their encampment before Nuremberg and preventing any supplies from entering. It was an effective policy. Gustavus Adolphus was in a hostile and ruined country, and disease ravaged his army. Things brightened for a brief moment when Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar arrived with some fresh troops. But the attack on Wallenstein's entrenchments failed. Finally in desperation as winter approached, having learned that Pappenheim was about to advance from Leipzig to the Rhine with the design of cutting off Gustavus from connection with North Germany, the Lion of the North broke camp. The battle of Lutzen (November 16, 1632), not many miles from the old battlefield of Breitenfeld, was fought in a winter fog. Gustavus Adolphus was killed and Pappenheim mortally wounded, but victory rested with the Swedes, thanks to the military skill of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.

Gustavus Adolphus saved German Protestantism from dire peril, if not from annihilation. Thanks to him North Germany was spared from the execution of the Edict of Restitution. He checkmated Spain's enmity of France, since the Spanish Habsburg ruler did not dare to take the offensive against France while the Austrian branch was so hard pressed.

*Gustavus's
military successes*

*Gustavus killed
at Lutzen*

*Gustavus's
achievements*

What Gustavus's ultimate designs were is a matter of conjecture. Apparently he aimed to re-establish an independent and Protestant Bohemia and to restore the Rhenish Palatinate in order that these states, united with Brandenburg and Saxony, would secure a Protestant majority in the electoral college, and so open a way to him to become emperor. It seems probable, too, that Gustavus, after crushing Bavaria, planned to invade Italy via the Tyrol and the Valteline. As it was, the Swedish king had badly shattered the power of the house of Austria and undone much of the political achievements of the Counter-Reformation. It may be doubted, however, whether Gustavus ever could have carried his arms into Italy. For Cardinal Richelieu certainly never would have permitted Sweden to acquire such a preponderance in Europe, since it was for that preponderance that France herself was striving. The cardinal's eyes were fixed on Piedmont and the passes over the Alps to Italy as well as upon Alsace, Lorraine, and the Rhinelands. Already after the battle of Lutzen France had occupied the two imposing fortresses on the Rhine, Philipsbourg and Ehrenbreitstein. Soon afterwards, under the pretext or in the belief that the duke of Lorraine was planning in concert with Spain and the emperor to invade France, Richelieu by a sudden stroke of arms seized Nancy which at that time passed for one of the strongest places in Europe. From a military point of view it was an inestimable acquisition, checkmating Spain in the Netherlands and the Austrian Habsburgs in Alsace. To the cardinal the old medieval rights of the empire in Lorraine were a mere scrap of paper. There is no doubt that his ambition was fixed upon French acquisition of the Rhine. To many towns in the Rhinelands, French protection seemed the only means of safety from the frightful havoc which ensued after the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

Although nominally in command of the Swedish army after Gustavus's death, Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar was in French pay, while the conduct of Sweden's foreign affairs was in the hands of the able chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, who immediately set to work to reorganize the Protestant cause in Germany by effecting an alliance known as the League of Heilbronn between Sweden and the four circles of Swabia, Franconia, Upper and Lower Rhine. Catholic-imperialist and French-Swedish-Protestant affairs swung backward and forward in the next year (1633) Wallenstein fought against Saxon, Brandenburger, and Swedish troops in the North and threatened Berlin, while Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar took Regensburg in Bavaria. The failure of Wallenstein to come to the relief of Maximilian of Bavaria made a breach between him and the emperor, which widened into enmity. The great adventurer at this time was playing a bold hand. He was suspected of planning to seize the crown of Bohemia for himself. He was certainly in secret negotiations with Sweden, France, and Saxony. To what end?

His plans

War continues

One theory is that Wallenstein planned, with the aid of his army and the two northern Protestant electors, to compel Emperor Ferdinand II to make peace in Germany. Wallenstein was to combine with Sweden, Brandenburg, Saxony, and France to give a new form to the empire, and perhaps even to make the French king emperor. The last seems to have been Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar's idea. All the great army captains were to be provided for with territories and titles. Wallenstein on paper found places for his captains, Bernhard was to be Duke of Franconia, Oxenstierna Duke of Mainz, etc. Nor was Italy forgotten. The Milanais was to be divided between Savoy and Parma, Tuscany to annex Genoa, the pope to get Naples. Another theory is that Wallenstein was in collusion with Spain, which wanted peace in Germany that she might be free to make war on France, whose occupation of Piedmont and Lorraine and threatened seizure of Franche Comté would effectually break Spain's road through central Europe between Genoa and the Netherlands.

The plans, whatever they were, were too grandiose to be kept secret. Alarmed, Emperor Ferdinand II bribed Wallenstein's chief generals away from him and declared Wallenstein deposed from his command. On February 18, 1634, Wallenstein came to Eger in Bohemia for a conference with Bernhard, and there exactly a week later he was assassinated. "The emperor had not commanded the murder, nor had he definitely desired it, but he had given rein to the party which he knew 'wished to bring in Wallenstein dead or alive,' and after the deed was done, he rewarded the murderers with honor and riches." Thus passed one of the most daring and enigmatical figures of modern history. The defeat, in the spring, of the Swedish army at Nordlingen by the imperialists ruined the Protestant coalition. Lutheran Germany (electors of Brandenburg and Saxony) made peace with the emperor at Prague (May 30, 1635). The German Calvinists and the Swedes continued the war alone.

Peace was not in the interest of France, which used Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar to protract the war. Bernhard was a young and impecunious Protestant prince. When only sixteen years old he had thrown himself into the war, following the example of his older brothers. When he saw that he could not conscientiously follow the Lutheran colors, he fought for the Protestant cause first under the Swedish, then under the French flag. Gustavus Adolphus had at once perceived the young man's ability, and when Gustavus fell at Lutzen it was Bernhard who won the battle. No one contributed more than he to the closure of Lorraine and the western frontier of Germany to the imperialists. But if fighting for the Protestant faith Bernhard also fought for himself. Scion of a princely but impoverished family, he dreamed of carving out a principality for himself in Alsace—a Protestant prince in an ancient Austrian territory. Bernhard had the religious zeal of his ancestors. He required prayers twice daily.

Wallenstein's plans

Assassination of Wallenstein

Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar leads Protestants

in the army, divine service was celebrated each Sunday, and when on the march the soldiers sang psalms set to military music. He prayed before battle and thanked God for victory when he won. He consoled the wounded and dying by reading passages from the Bible to them. In the most barbarous of all modern wars, war did not make a barbarian of him. He was and remained to his death a gentleman.

The chief object of Bernhard's ambition was possession of Breisach, an ancient stronghold on the Rhine opposite Strasbourg which had been fortified by the Romans and ever played an important part in history. Gustavus Adolphus had had his eyes fixed on it. To Spain it *French seize Breisach* was the key-point of her route through central Europe and the link connecting Alsace and Lorraine. The Catholics in upper Germany regarded Breisach as a citadel protecting their religion. French possession of Breisach meant a wedge driven in between the territories of the two branches of the House of Habsburg.

The death of Bernhard, not in battle but of illness, in July, 1639, left France master of the field. French soldiers occupied Breisach. The future of Germany, the empire, yes, of Europe was in the hands of France—or rather Cardinal Richelieu.

✓ Richelieu now unveiled his whole policy in Germany. Hitherto France had been fighting indirectly through Gustavus Adolphus and Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Now Richelieu openly inter- *Open French intervention* vened. French generals with French troops were thrown into Germany. It would be tedious to narrate details of the remaining years of the war.

At bottom, the war was an attempt on the part of France and Sweden to prevent the Habsburgs from establishing their sway over all Germany. France coveted possession of Alsace, Lorraine and the Rhinelands, and Franche Comté and the Spanish Netherlands *Political causes of the war* (Belgium). Sweden was out to dominate the Baltic. Acting in concert the two powers had destroyed Austrian power in Germany and paralyzed Spain by fomenting rebellions in Portugal, Catalonia, Naples and Sicily. It now remains to examine how the peace settlement was made at the expense of the Austrian House of Habsburg in 1648.

The Congress of Westphalia was the first great diplomatic conference in European history. Hitherto the only institution analogous to a great political congress was a great church council. But the differences were greater than the similarities. Modern diplomatic methods, *Congress of Westphalia* which originated in the Italian Renaissance, crystallized at Westphalia, and the practices have been preserved ever since, except in one particular, i.e., the use of Latin instead of French in conduct and record of the proceedings.

Preliminary negotiations for peace dated as far back as 1640, but were

delayed by hostile interests and quarrels over precedence and diplomatic forms

*Meeting at
Munster and
Osnabruck*

Finally, in 1648, the delegates met at Munster and Osnabruck, the Catholics in the former place, the Protestants in the latter

This division was required because the papal nuncio could not appear in a Protestant assembly. The first difficulty arose over the question as to who should be the negotiators. There was no doubt as to the emperor, Spain, France, Sweden, and the United Netherlands or Dutch Republic. But the imperial ambassadors claimed the right to represent all Germany which angered the Protestant princes, and France and Sweden demanded that the German electors be separately represented. The design was obvious — to keep Germany as it was in 1618, a loose agglomeration of jarring states. After protracted argument the individual electoral representatives were admitted.

The issues at stake may be divided into three classes: (1) How to settle territorially the map of Germany? (2) How to satisfy the emperor and the kings of France, Spain, and Sweden? (3) What to do with the officers and soldiery of the armies, whose delegates actually took a hand in the conferences?

*Three issues
at stake*

The religious cleavage was less important than the political division. France, Spain, the pope, and the Jesuits wanted to continue the war, but for very different reasons. France, because she was victorious and was determined to compel the emperor to abandon Spain, and thus to separate the two branches of the Habsburgs, Spain, because continued war in Germany would prevent France from supporting the rebellions in Portugal and Catalonia, and at the same time relieve Spain of fear of French encroachment in the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté, the pope and the Jesuits because they still hoped to enforce the Edict of Restitution.

*Franco-Spanish,
Papal desire
for war*

Sweden claimed Pomerania, Bremen, Verden, Silesia, as well as equality of the two religions in Germany. France demanded certain places in Alsace and Lorraine, but not the duchies themselves, and a seat in the German diet. The Dutch resented Sweden's design to monopolize the commerce of the Baltic and sustained the elector of Brandenburg's protest against Pomerania being delivered to Sweden.

Swedish claims

Each party negotiated secretly with every other party concerned, and then all the various arrangements were ironed out in a general committee. In the issue all the enemies of the empire were satisfied by wholesale "indemnifications." Sweden got Pomerania, and the cities of

*Political
settlements*

Stettin, Garz, Damm, Gollnow, Wollin, and Usedom in Farther Pomerania, Wismar in Mecklenburg and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which were secularized into duchies. France received in absolute sovereignty the Three Bishoprics in Lorraine, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had captured from the empire in 1552, the Landgrave of Upper and

Lower Alsace, which was within the Duchy of Alsace, together with ten small towns in Alsace and the fortress of Breisach on the left bank of the Rhine opposite Strasbourg, but not the latter. Brandenburg received the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Cammin, which were secularized, and the territory of the archbishopric of Magdeburg as a duchy, Mecklenburg was similarly compensated by the secularized bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Schwerin.

As to imperial matters a general amnesty was declared and return to conditions as they were in 1618. The Rhenish Palatinate was given to a collateral branch of the Wittelsbach family to indemnify Bavaria for her distinguished services in the Catholic cause, and made an eighth electorate. The sovereignty of all the princes of the empire was affirmed. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were formally recognized as republics and separated from the empire.

*Territorial
settlement*

In religion the Calvinists in Germany were put on an equal footing with Lutherans and Catholics. With reference to the vexed question of changes in ecclesiastical property it was decreed that January 1, 1624, should be the "normal year," i.e., that ecclesiastical property conditions as they were on that date should be permanent and the Ecclesiastical Reservation should be binding for the future. All the Austrian lands remained exempt from these provisions. All Protestant sectaries were required to emigrate unless they returned to Catholicism.

*Religious
settlement*

Finally the clamorous soldiery were placated by the promise of five million *rix* dollars among them, of which 1,800,000 were paid upon the spot. The effect of the Treaty of Westphalia was the systematic disorganization of Germany, for which France and Sweden were primarily responsible. The single positive and good result was the permanent settlement of the religious issues raised by the Reformation.

*Effect of the
treaty*

The destructive effects of the Thirty Years' War cannot be overestimated. Contemporary descriptions show how disastrous the war was. In 1636, for example, the Earl of Arundel was sent by Charles I on a mission to Germany. He travelled up the Rhine and the Main, and in the year after his return his secretary, William Crowne, published *A True Relation of the Travels of the Earl of Arundel* — it is a pamphlet of seventy pages — and among many things seen, this is what the noble earl saw: "The people of Bacharach dead with grass in their mouths. . . One village hath been pillaged eight-and-twenty times. In the valley of the Main all towns, villages and castles be battered, pillaged or burnt."

*Disastrous effect
of the war*

"The Thirty Years' War, though it undoubtedly had very serious effects, is no longer thought to have been so overwhelming in its consequences for German trade and industry as used to be imagined. All the leading powers except England had something corresponding to such a war of religion,

yet only Germany was finally prostrated, for the main causes of her down fall were independent of the war and already effective before it. We must not, however, go to the other extreme and shut our eyes to the enormous loss of life, the reckless destruction of the fruits of long labours and the disastrous moral consequences of this most irregular of all modern wars. The peculiar brutality with which it was waged on both sides was due partly to the leaders who, however ideal their motives at the outset, were in the end fighting for material and political gains, aims which were still more openly pursued by their allies, and partly to the nature of the armies they commanded. That they should be made up of mercenaries was inevitable since the decay of the feudal system, they were given their peculiar stamp, however, by the way in which they were recruited. The task was entrusted to entrepreneurs, war-merchants, who were given a fixed sum to provide an agreed number of men in fighting trim. The pay of these rough troops was so difficult to raise that they were frequently given authority to shift for themselves, with the consequence that the direct losses of the inhabitants through their marauding were even greater than the heavy contributions demanded by their rulers for the upkeep of the armies. All armies in those days had a camp following two or three times as numerous as themselves, by whose combined demands the districts they visited were sucked dry of all existing supplies, while they were prevented from cultivating the land by the military operations. The atrocities and the wanton destruction for which these troops were responsible more than equalled even the worst achievements of the twentieth century. Many villages disappeared entirely. In Wurttemberg there were for instance in 1654 eight towns, 45 villages and over 30,000 buildings in ashes. Great stretches of cultivated land were nothing but desolate moorland after the war, in Saxony in the years following the war the country was so wild that wolves would attack the villages.

"The country population suffered more from direct violence than the townsmen behind their walls, but those who survived the war appear to have been better situated than the average town dweller, for wheat was cheap for lack of purchasers and there was a great demand for their services to reclaim the damaged lands. Comprehensive and reliable statistics are not available, but even allowing for great exaggerations in the local estimates, historians agree that the population of towns and villages was frequently reduced to a third, a quarter, even a tenth of its former number. That of Wurttemberg was reduced from 313,000 to 65,000 between 1634 and 1645, that of Bohemia from four millions to 800,000, that of Augsburg from 80,000 to 18,000 and so forth. It is generally agreed that Germany did not recover the population lost in the war till well in the eighteenth century."¹

¹ W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1935), 151-153

CHAPTER XLI

THE DECLINE OF SPAIN FROM 1598 TO 1659

The Spanish monarchy, in spite of the political deterioration and economic impoverishment which it had suffered under Philip II, in the seventeenth century nevertheless enjoyed a unique prestige. It dictated the style, manners, and fashions to every court in Europe, and Spanish literature rivaled, if it did not surpass, that of England and France. The same may be said of Spanish art. This transformation of the Spanish monarchy, which had already begun under Philip II was consummated under Philip III (1598-1621) and remained unchanged under his successors Philip IV (1621-1665) and Charles II (1665-1700), whose reigns are without interest.

Superiority of Spain

With Philip III a new life for Spain commenced. Instead of living in morose seclusion in the Escorial, the gloomiest royal habitation in Europe, the king lived in Madrid where he erected a new and magnificent palace, surrounded himself with an immense court, and ordained a rigorous and imposing etiquette so that every act of king and courtiers alike was ceremonially regulated. So stiff was it that Philip III actually was smothered to death by the fumes from a charcoal brazier with which he was warming himself on a cold winter day with all the windows closed, because when he fell unconscious the first gentleman of the bedchamber was not present and could not be at once found, and no other official dared be so intimate with the royal person as to touch him, or even open the windows. This Spanish ceremonial is important because it became the characteristic institution of the European monarchies. It may be traced back to the court of the dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, and was introduced into Spain by Philip the Handsome and Charles V.

Ceremonial life under Philip III

The administrative system of Spain, created by Philip II, was simple in spite of its seeming complexity. Public business was not distributed among ministers, but among various councils, each with secretaries, keeper of the seal, etc. There was a council for Castile, for Aragon, for the Indies, for finance, for war. Above these was a Grand Council of State. All of these bodies operated very slowly; communications were made always in writing between them and the king, or between one council and another. Six months might elapse between moves. Indirect taxes were farmed, direct taxes voted by the Cortes. Local government was administered by judges, *corregidores* in cities, *alcaldes* in the country.

Spanish administrative system

districts, under whom were the police Spanish judges were under the royal authority which paid them and might depose them, and this was true also of other officials. They had no such independence as had French officials, who purchased their offices of the crown and often exploited them to their own advantage.

In theory the Spanish monarchy was absolute in its authority. But such intense centralization threw an intolerable burden upon the king, so that the delays in enforcement of the law often worked injustice or harm because the king was unable to delegate any responsibility. Even the heir to the throne was excluded from any participation in the administration so that each new sovereign came to the throne without any previous political experience. Accordingly, in practice the king's favorite minister was the actual ruler of the kingdom. This, indeed, was a tradition, almost an article of Spanish ceremonial. Under Philip III the royal favorite was Sandoval, Duke of Lerma, under Philip IV it was the duke of Olivarez, and later Louis de Haro, it was worse still in the long reign of Charles II, when the chief ministers were either favorites of the queen-mother or of the king's successive wives.

Fiscally the condition of the Spanish monarchy was one of almost chronic bankruptcy. No budget existed. When money was in hand, it was spent lavishly. This was when the galleons arrived from Spanish America or the Cortes had granted a subsidy. In the intervals the government lived on forced loans which it might or might not repay. The only regular source of income was from indirect taxation—the *alcavala* or sales tax of one-tenth, taxes on consumption, monopolies, and internal tolls for transport of goods from one province to another. According to an official statement for the year 1608-1609, the revenue was 25 million ducats, or nearly \$50,000,000. But almost the entire revenue was mortgaged in advance, less than five millions were free. Philip II, after thrice repudiating the public debt, had left a debt of one hundred million ducats.

In religion the government remained as intolerant as it was in the reign of Philip II. The Moriscos, the name given to the converted Mohammedans, descendants of those Moors who remained in Spain after the proscription in 1492 and accepted Christianity, and had been good Catholics for centuries, were expelled in 1609, as the Moors and Jews had been earlier. The policy seriously impaired Spanish prosperity, for the Moriscos had preserved the agricultural and industrial skill of their race, both of which rapidly declined after their expulsion. The old soldiers to whom their lands were allotted were unwilling to do manual labor and the same may be said of the Spanish artisans who preferred basking in the sun to work. The cloth-making of Segovia, the silk manufacture of Granada, the steel work of Toledo disappeared. The

*Excessive
centralization
of monarchy*

*Bad financial
conditions*

*Expulsion of
Moriscos ruins
economic life*

expulsion of the Moriscos, the *alcavala* and the internal tolls wrought the ruin of Spain's agriculture, industry and commerce. This is proved by the fact that Catalonia and Valencia, where the *alcavala* did not obtain, were the richest provinces of the realm. Finally, brigandage within the country and the forays of the Barbary pirates upon the coast, climaxed Spain's distress. Population declined and entire villages were deserted. In 1619 the total population was between five and six millions, having sunk perhaps from eight millions in 1500, of whom 625,000 were hidalgos, and 170,000 monks, an absurd disproportion of classes. Internal revolts were frequent. Catalonia rebelled in 1639, Portugal in 1640. Both rebellions were encouraged by Cardinal Richelieu, who seized the occasion to acquire Roussillon for France. Catalonia was not pacified until 1652 and then on condition that her ancient liberties should be preserved. Portugal won her independence under the Duke of Braganza, who founded the royal house anew. Later the Spanish rebellion spread to Naples and Sicily.

A process of decay was eating the heart of the Spanish nation. It is not strictly accurate to ascribe Spain's decadence to intellectual and moral decline. The existence of such writers as Cervantes, author of *Don Quixote*, that immortal satire upon the absurdities of Spanish chivalry, of Gracian's *Oraculo Manual* (1653), a series of essays on life and conduct as suggestive and as penetrating almost as the *Essays* of Montaigne in France in the previous century, of the painters Velasquez and Murillo, shows that there were still some creative forces in Spain.

The ultimate cause of Spain's decay was largely economic. The flood of American treasure and the price revolution helped to undermine Spain. Thanks to the researches of an American scholar,¹ who spent nearly seven years of study in the Spanish archives, we now have full and convincing information on this subject. The total import of gold and silver, principally the latter, from Mexico and South America between 1503 and 1660 was 447,820,932 *pesos*. The highest figures were those of the last ten years of the sixteenth century, when the average was just under 7,000,000 *pesos* annually. Contrary to popular belief, little of this immense treasure fell into the hands of the buccaneers of the Spanish Main, or gentlemen marauders like Drake and Raleigh. The galleons usually pursued their way unmolested; for the "plate fleet" was convoyed by ships of war. In only two years were significant portions of a treasure fleet seized by enemies: in 1628 the Dutch took the fleet returning from New Spain, and in 1656 the English prevented most of the specie on the Tierra Firme fleet from reaching the motherland. For the most part the flotillas, teeming with men and bristling with arms, sailed at regular intervals over usual courses, almost, if not absolutely, without regard to the operations of enemies.

¹ Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasurer and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Harvard University Press, 1934).

The effect of this immense amount of the precious metals thus steadily poured into Spain was a price revolution of astonishing dimension. It was inflation with a vengeance. Money was "cheap" and prices were "dear." Ruinous taxation, depreciated currency, market manipulation, high labor costs, vagrancy, depopulation, luxury, enclosure of common pasturage, destruction of forests, all directly or indirectly proceeded from the influx. Of what benefit was the increased amount of money if prices rose excessively? The facts are luminous. By the second half of the sixteenth century the price of eggs had risen nearly 325 per cent, olive oil 60 per cent, wheat 350 per cent, sugar and beef were double. The wages of ordinary laborers rose 50 per cent between 1500 and 1550, and a further 350 per cent between 1550 and 1600, cooks' wages rose 90 per cent in the century, the price of building materials increased nearly 500 per cent. At the opening of the seventeenth century the price level in Spain was 3.46, that of France 2.19, that of England 2.56, as compared with a hundred years earlier.

"Out of the conflict between penury and the zeal for reform issued an endless succession of inflationary and deflationary measures that perturbed economic life and played a conspicuous part in the decline of Spain." A bad economic system, interference with and taxation of private treasure, sometimes amounting to confiscation, a decrease in the fertility of the mines and a rise in the expense of mining were some of the other causes.

We now pass to the history of the Spanish Netherlands. In 1596 France, England, and the United Provinces (Holland) formed a triple alliance against Spain of primary importance in European history. It was up to Philip II to save the Flemish and Walloon provinces to the Spanish crown. As a measure to this end he united the *Pays Bas*, Franche Comté, and Charolais into a principality which he gave to his daughter and to her future husband, the Archduke Albert of Austria, at the time when the Peace of Vervins was made (1598). He was the sixth son of the Emperor Maximilian II, and grandson of Charles V. Though born in Austria, he was educated in Spain where at the age of twenty he became Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor-General of Spain. When Philip II conquered Portugal he made his nephew governor of it, and in 1595 he was made governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands. The pope secularized him in order that he might marry Philip II's daughter and found a Spanish dynasty to rule Belgium. The marriage contract provided that the provinces should revert directly to Spain if the archduke died without posterity. Although attached to the crown of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands henceforward played the rôle of a new and independent state in Europe whose position and policy had always to be taken into account by other powers.

When the archduke arrived in Belgium he found the soldiery unpaid and

mutinous, the country wasted and worn by the long conflict with France and Holland. The papal nuncio described the country as a desert. Austrian money placated the soldiery and the Peace of Vervins opened the door to partial internal improvement. But real prosperity did not return to Belgium until the Twelve Years Truce with the Dutch was made in 1609. Albert was an intelligent and humane ruler, whose policy was actively sustained by the archduchess. The laws were codified, commerce and agriculture promoted. The great Belgian painter, Peter Paul Rubens, achieved a European reputation. But the archduke never forgot that he once had been a priest. In his zeal for religion he built or rebuilt over three hundred churches, an enormous expense for an impoverished country. All education was in the hands of the Jesuits and rigorous censorship of books and printing prevailed. Intellectual life was suppressed. Nevertheless, when he died in 1621 he was mourned as one who had been a father to his adopted country. As Albert died without issue, Belgium reverted to Spain, but Philip III wisely permitted his sister to carry on the government.

*Belgian rule
under Archduke
Albert*

It was a critical time, for the Twelve Years Truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic elapsed in 1621 and the old war was resumed. Philip III demanded that the Dutch recognize his authority which, of course, they rejected. The Thirty Years' War had now begun and Spinola, the Spanish general who was operating in the Palatinate in conjunction with an Austrian army, was sent into the Low Countries against Maurice of Nassau and took Breda (1625) to the alarm of France and England. What saved the Dutch was the French alliance which Henry IV had made. It had fallen into desuetude since 1609 but Richelieu revived it in 1635—the year when France intervened in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The alliance provided that France and Holland were to urge the Spanish provinces to revolt against Spain and if they refused to do so, then Belgium was to be overcome by force of arms and the provinces divided between them, France to take the Walloon provinces and the Dutch to have the Flemish ones.

*Franco-Dutch
alliance*

War was declared. The new Archduke Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV of Spain and also an ex-archbishop of Toledo, displayed brilliant military ability, invaded Picardy and wrenched some places away from Holland as well. For five years (1635–1641) it was a war of sieges of border towns. France managed to seize Arras. The Archduke Ferdinand died in 1641 and his enemy Cardinal Richelieu in 1642. The new Spanish governor in the Belgian provinces sought to profit by the difficult position of the regent, Anne of Austria, and the minority of Louis XIII. But the brilliant victory of the young prince of Condé at Rocroy (May 16, 1643) foiled the Spaniards. Condé and Turenne both emerged as brilliant commanders, the first of Louis XIV's long line of able marshals. In rapid

*Franco-Spanish
war in the
Netherlands*

succession after Rocroy, Gravelines, Courtrai, Bergues, and Dunkirk fell into French hands

In fact, the French conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were so impressive that the Dutch began to fear lest the whole country be conquered by France

French victories It was a relief to them when the progress of the French arms was stayed by the Treaty of Westphalia, and at the same time the estuary of the Scheldt River, where Antwerp was situated, was closed to navigation in order to destroy its commercial competition with Amsterdam. Yet the inquietude of the Spanish Netherlands was not yet over. Mazarin shrewdly made an alliance with England (1657), then under Cromwell, who lent the English fleet and 8,000 troops to Turenne, the latter crushed Spain's army in the Battle of the Dunes (1658) and captured Dunkirk, which Mazarin gave to England as the price of her assistance.

It was the last effort of the Spanish monarchy. Philip IV made peace with France in the Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659) on Mazarin's own terms. France acquired several towns, some of them fortresses, in the Belgian provinces, and Roussillon on the French-Spanish frontier, the latter filled a salient at the east end of the Pyrenees. The treaty also provided that Louis XIV should marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV, who renounced her claims upon the Spanish throne for herself and any children she might have in consideration of the payment of a dowry of 500,000 crowns by Spain.

In a subsequent chapter we shall see how this provision became the root of a new epoch of war waged by Louis XIV.

CHAPTER XLII

STUART ENGLAND

THE REIGNS OF JAMES I (1603-1625) AND CHARLES I (1625-1649)

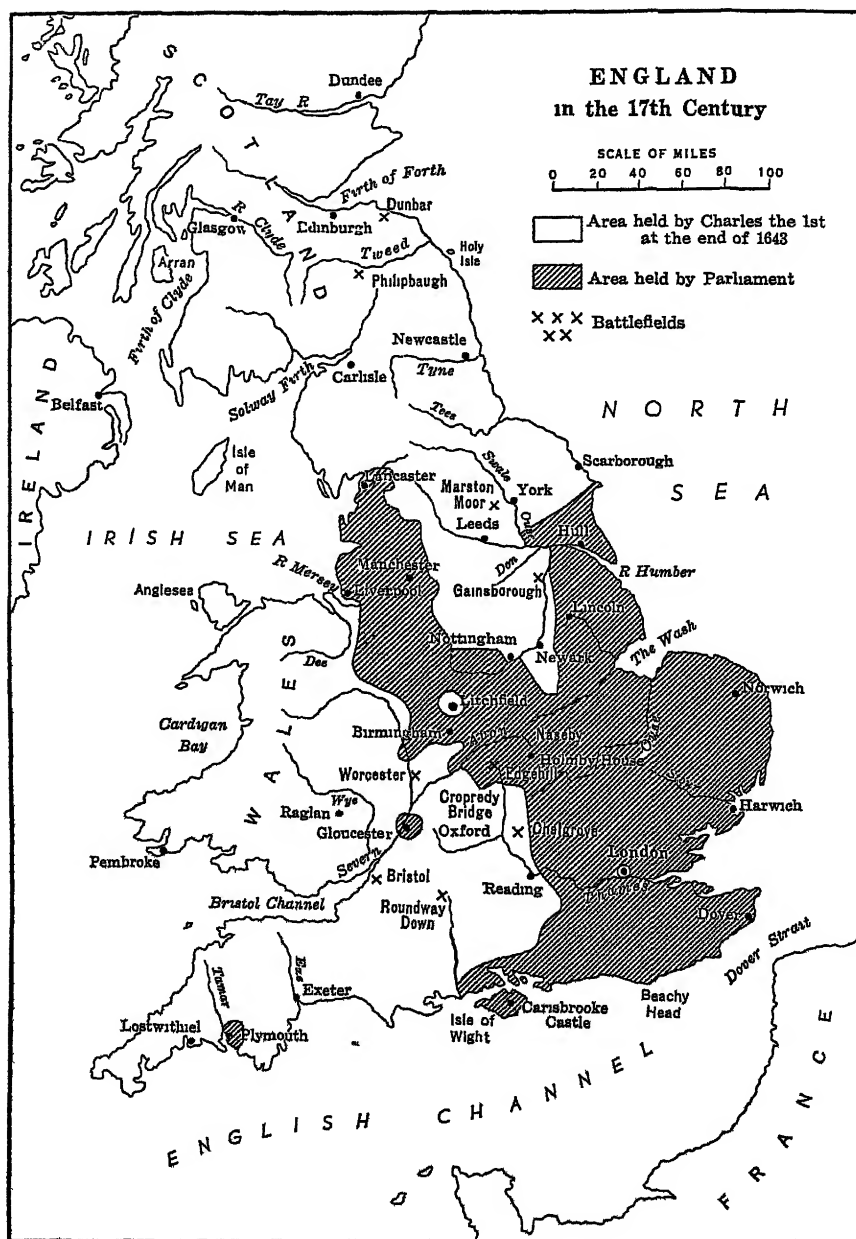
Queen Elizabeth of England died on March 24, 1603. The succession passed to James I of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots. James condoned his mother's execution in order to get Elizabeth's recognition of his right of succession. James I was not an admirable character. He seems to have inherited the weak characteristics of his father and nothing of the charm and intelligence of his mother. If his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, had really been guilty of all the charges alleged against her, still her son's conduct toward her deserves to be censured. James was arrogant and coarse in manner and speech. The only thing which may serve to exculpate him is the probability that he contracted from Darnley, his father, who was notorious for his innumerable amours, a common social disease. It was no scandal that Darnley was a "pockie," as was also the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose disease was so marked that Queen Mary feared that he might communicate it to the infant James during the baptismal ceremony.¹ We have contemporary testimony from a gentleman that "King James loved best of any discourse to talk of dirt and such stuff." There are letters of his in manuscript which show that his mind was foul.

*James I's
low character*

In England, as on the continent, at the beginning of the seventeenth century religious questions were overshadowed by political and constitutional ones. This is shown by the increase of Puritanism, which was doctrinally Calvinistic and politically in favor of reform of abuses. It is significant that when James I entered London on May 7th for his coronation, he was presented with a petition for reform signed by one thousand ministers, who complained of the rules and orders of the Established Church. The king, who held that the Established Church was a support of the crown — "No bishop, no king," he said — promptly issued a proclamation enforcing the Act of Uniformity, and another banishing seminary priests and the Jesuits. In the next year (1604) at the king's instance, convocation or ecclesiastical court and legislature in one, assembled for the settlement of church questions, enacted some new canons which bore so heavily on the Puritans that 300 clergymen resigned their livings rather than

*Religious
questions*

¹ For full information on this question, see Karl Pearson, "The Skull and Portraits of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley," *Biometrika* (July, 1928)



conform To make matters worse, the old recusancy laws of Elizabeth's time were revived The effect of this drastic course was to draw together into an opposition almost all the various separatist sects, the Puritans, Presbyterians, Brownists, and others

Meanwhile a political struggle had broken out between James I and the Parliament, in which the non-conformists were aligned in opposition to the king The pedantic James I prided himself upon being a theologian In 1598 he had published a book entitled *Basilicon Doron*, or *The Royal Gift*—his usage of a Greek title showed his pedantry—in which he advocated the old political theory of the divine right of kings to rule their subjects as they pleased This doctrine especially enraged the Puritans who were strongly represented in Parliament

*Struggle with
Parliament*

In order to understand the nature and importance of this question it is necessary to explain the form of government of England at this time The central organ of administration was the privy council composed of the highest officials of the realm and some favorites of the king, neither its composition nor its powers were clearly defined There were three courts of law (1) King's Bench for criminal cases, (2) Common Pleas for civil cases, and (3) Exchequer or Chamber of Accounts which had to do with revenue and taxation cases only In all three the judges were appointed by the crown In the intervals between sittings of the court the judges of the first two traveled on circuit dispensing justice in the shires

*Form of
government*

Parliament, the representative body of the nation, was formed of two houses the House of Lords and the House of Commons The lords were hereditary except for the bishops, but the king could create new peers and thus command a majority in the House of Lords if it was necessary The Tudors had created 146, and the Stuarts were to create 376 This explains why the House of Lords usually sustained the crown The House of Commons was made up of two kinds of representatives knights of the shires, i.e., county representatives, and burgesses, or representatives of cities and towns The number of the former was fixed but that of the burgesses varied London was the greatest city, Bristol next, and Norwich third England was still an agricultural country and land was the chief form of wealth The landed proprietary class represented the counties In the Parliament of 1605 there were 231 knights, 140 squires, 71 gentlemen, and only 9 merchants, 9 aldermen, and 4 lawyers The rights of Parliament consisted in the right to vote subsidies, to concur with the House of Lords in the making of laws, and to present petitions or remonstrances to the king A statute was a law which had passed both houses of Parliament and been approved by the crown The king was free to reject or to accept a remonstrance. Among the privileges of Parliament were liberty of speech and freedom from imprisonment for speaking on any matters touching the

*Composition of
Parliament*

business of Parliament, and the right to impeach the king's ministers for maladministration or corruption in office. But Parliament could not convene of itself but had to be summoned by the crown, which also could dismiss it at will.

The king's revenue was derived from two sources: (1) crown lands or domains which the king possessed as suzerain, this was a legacy of medieval conditions, (2) tithes of the clergy, which had long been secularized. The king was not dependent upon Parliament for the collection of these incomes, for they were not "grants," but vested and inherited rights of the crown. This was the normal income of the king and inclined to increase. In 1603 it amounted to 300,000 pounds, in 1610 to 460,000 pounds. As these revenues were not always sufficient for the needs of the crown, especially if the king was extravagant or inclined to indulge in an expensive and ambitious foreign policy, from time to time he was compelled to apply to Parliament for a subsidy, such as, for example, an income tax of 4 shillings in the pound upon the annual value of lands, and a property tax of 2 shillings 8 pence upon the actual value of goods. Those whose lands were not worth 20 shillings in value were not taxed, and the lands were rated very low. The custom of granting subsidies went back to the reign of Edward III when Parliament took advantage of this power to exact concessions from the crown and to curtail the royal prerogative. Another kind of royal tax, also subject to Parliamentary approval, was tonnage and poundage, the former was a tax of 1 shilling 6 pence to 3 shillings on every tun of wine or beer, the latter a tax of 6 pence on every pound of dry goods, except staple commodities, exported or imported. Both forms were as old as 1373.

The English kings since the reign of Edward III had never defied Parliament in any serious issue and had governed with its consent, although sometimes resorting to questionable measures. The Stuart monarchs, James I and Charles I, tried to govern according to their own pleasure and not in accordance with the will of the nation as expressed in Parliament. This was called the "divine right of kings."

In the first year after James I's accession, the House of Commons drew up the famous *Apology* (1604) which clearly indicates that the Commons were ready to assert their rights and privileges, and that they had withheld this assertion earlier out of reverence for the great queen who was now dead.

"We have been constrained," runs this remarkable document, "to break our silence and freely to disclose unto your Majesty the truth of such matters concerning your subjects the Commons, as hitherto by misinformation hath been suppressed or perverted. Against these misinformations we most truly avouch, first that our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance no less than our very lands and goods. Secondly that they cannot be withheld from us, denied or impaired, but with apparent

wrong to the whole state of the realm Thirdly that our making of request to enjoy our privilege is an act only of manners Fourthly we avouch also that our House is a court of record (and) there is not the highest standing court in this land that ought to enter into competency, either for dignity or authority, with this high court of Parliament"

These declarations were home-thrusts at James I's theory of the "divine right of kings" The question was Where in the English constitution did sovereignty lie? In the monarchy? Or in Parliament, as the representative body of the nation? The issue touched the form of government, the practice of administration, justice, taxation, personal liberty

James I was a lavish spender and constantly in need of money, for he expended much more than his normal revenue, in consequence of which he convoked and dissolved Parliament according as he could or could not obtain satisfactory subsidies from it Thus he *James's struggle with Parliament* summoned four Parliaments of varied duration The first lasted for eight years from 1603 to 1611, the second was almost immediately dissolved when it convened (April 5-June 7, 1614), the third lasted for little over a year (1621-1622), and the fourth was convoked and dissolved in the same year (1624) The debates turned upon the Established Church which the Puritans abhorred, and upon grants to the king No Catholic voice was raised, for the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (November 5, 1605) to blow up the houses of Parliament was followed by the trial and execution of the conspirators, chief of whom was Guy Fawkes, and the exile of 140 priests and heavy penal laws against "Papists" In the speech from the throne the king formulated his theory of the divine right of kings The Parliament replied that the king erred in thinking that it had no privileges and no rights. The king demanded a grant of 240,000 pounds The Parliament offered 210,000 pounds, but on condition that he would moderate his policy towards the Puritans James I refused and dissolved Parliament Failing to get a grant, he resorted to arbitrary impositions, which Elizabeth had also used to a small degree James I initiated the practice of selling baronetcies or hereditary knighthoods For seven years he racked along in this way, and was encouraged by his favorite Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and later Duke of Somerset, who was condemned in 1616 for the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury—one of the greatest court scandals of the seventeenth century

It was not the king, but ardent Parliamentary leaders, like Sir John Eliot and John Pym, who forced the fighting The Parliament was not willing to confine itself to making laws and voting taxes, it wanted to become a "government-making organ." In Eliot's mind was born the idea of ministerial responsibility

Evidently the time had come for an important change in the English constitution But it was unfortunate that in this critical period the country was ruled by a king who was not of English birth, who was hostile to

English constitutional tradition and practice, lacking in political understanding, and unable to see but one side of the controversy

More than one issue was at stake. The question of the Church was also involved. Was the Church to continue to be the state in its ecclesiastical and religious capacity? What was to be its government and doctrine? Was it to be Anglican or Puritan? How was it to be governed? By bishops or presbyters? Was its creed (Catholicism was out of the question) to be Lutheran or Calvinist? Or should the Elizabethan compromise continue to stand? Was the unity of state and Church to be preserved? Or was diversity of creed and worship and government to be admitted? Were all creeds and churches to be on an equality? Or was the state to identify itself with one particular creed and one particular form of ecclesiastical government? And if so, which was it to be?

The religious question

The English Catholics hoped for toleration of their religion. Unfortunately the old Elizabethan laws were not revoked, and the ill-advised Gunpowder Plot impelled the government to additional penal legislation. And yet the condition of the Catholics slowly improved. The new penal laws could not consistently be enforced when negotiations were going on looking to the marriage of Prince Charles with a Spanish princess. The Catholics presented no political problem because their loyalty to their religion did not prevent them from being politically loyal.

The Catholics

The religious issue was wholly among the Puritans of whom there were three distinct parties—Conforming Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents. The one bond of union among these was adhesion to the Calvinistic creed, but they did not agree on the form of church government. The Conforming Puritans were reluctantly willing to accept episcopacy. The Independents—or Brownists or Separatists as they were also called—favored the separate and independent organization of each congregation. From them the Congregational Church in the New England colonies sprang. The Presbyterians were the real opponents of both religious unity and toleration. They demanded exclusive religious, ecclesiastical, and political ascendancy. They wanted the Church in England to be Calvinistic in faith, Presbyterian in form of government, and politically to control the government. James I had good reason to regard them as hostile to the monarchy. "Presbytereanism," he declared, "agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil." In other words, the Presbyterians were politically the most radical and religiously the most intolerant sect in the country.

The Puritans

At the Hampton Court Conference (1604) the Conforming Puritans had gone over to episcopacy and support of the Stuart monarchy, accepting the king's famous maxim, "No bishop, no king." The religio-ecclesiastical issue then became more clearly defined between episcopacy and the other two parties.

As events moved on, the Independents grew in power in England, whereas in Scotland Presbyterianism held sway, with the result that political conflict, and even war, developed between the two countries. At the same time the political alignment grew more distinct. For the Independents (Congregationalists) were the Parliamentary party bent on establishing the ascendancy of the Parliament over the crown and ministerial responsibility. *Power of Independents*

Meanwhile foreign politics intruded upon the scene. In 1613 the Princess Elizabeth had married Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine who, five years afterwards, imprudently accepted the crown of Bohemia after that country rebelled against the emperor, and so precipitated the 'Thirty Years' War. Furthermore, in 1615 James I conceived the ambitious design of marrying his eldest son Charles to a Spanish princess, despite the fact that Spain was Catholic and that the Elizabethan tradition was one of hostility towards Spain. *Foreign politics*

The king asked for a subsidy for his exiled son-in-law, Frederick, but at the same time refused to aid the German Protestants for fear of offending Spain, and declared that the Parliament had no right to pronounce upon the conduct of foreign affairs, to which the members rejoined that they had the privilege of free speech. The king furiously tore out the page of the *House Journal* on which this resolution¹ was recorded, and dissolved the Parliament. The Spanish match was broken off. In the last year of his life, James I made a treaty with France for the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, which was not consummated until after the king's death (March 27, 1625).

There are two things for which James I may receive honorable mention. He established the ecclesiastical commission of scholars who made the King James translation of the Bible, and he planned the improvement of London. The story goes that in a fit of annoyance with the city he threatened to move his capital elsewhere, and that the lord mayor asked him to be pleased to leave the Thames behind him. James deserves to be remembered as one of the founders of modern London. His municipal ambition is set out in one of his proclamations. Its odd mixture of magniloquence and homeliness is not unattractive, even though it recalls Macaulay's harsh phrase that he talked in the style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue. Thus it runs *James's two positive achievements*

"As it was said of the first Emperor of Rome, that he found the city of Rome of brick and left it of marble, so We, whom God hath honored to be the first of Britaine, might be able to say in same proportion, that

¹ This "Great Protestation," as it was called, reads "That the liberties, franchises and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state and defense of the realm . . . are proper subjects and matters of council and debate in parliament."



we found our Citie and suburbs of London of stickes and left them of bricke, being a material farre more durable, safe from fire and beautiful and magnificent "

James I had continued Elizabeth's drastic practice in Ireland The whole island was made "shire land" by a stroke of the pen, the ancient Celtic land system was broken up, tribal rights and traditions were stamped out, and English law and institutions introduced by *James's Irish policy* royal decree Confiscation proceeded pitilessly Six counties in Ulster were appropriated by the crown through the attainder of the great earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell These areas were all brought under English tenure The Church of the Pale now became the Established Church of Ireland, it engrossed the whole ecclesiastical wealth of the country, its bishops and clergy forced out the old Irish priesthood, it exacted tithes from the conquered race But the proscribed faith lived on in the hearts of the Irish people In Ulster, a policy of comprehensive colonization was begun This was known as the Plantation of Ulster The history of it is a tangled record of risings and repressions, of attempts at conciliation, of battle, murder and sudden death, of the practice of buying off enemies at the expense of friends Thus, when Rory O'Donnell was rewarded for insubordination and breach of parole by being made the heir to Donegal, in the hope of securing his loyalty, Sir Henry Docwra's comment was "The public good—the old song!" The Munster Plantation which followed the Desmond Rebellion was a house of cards, the whole of which collapsed When the Plantation of Ulster was undertaken in the reign of James I Munster was constantly held up as an example of what to avoid Legend, history, and mystery are inextricably interwoven

The plan was, in fact, to mingle the new settlers with the Irish, partly in order that the latter might be weaned from their more than primitive ideas of agriculture, partly that the tribal system might be broken up Figures show that not only were loyal Irish chiefs given *Colonization in Ireland* large grants of land but that numbers of humbler Irish folk were settled on the escheated estates It is clear that the plantation meant a distinct advance in civilization, new methods of agriculture were introduced, stone houses replaced the old wattle-and-daub huts with which even the chiefs had sometimes to be content, towns were built and walled and castles erected And since the settlers came with their families and dependents, the settlement survived

Laud, to whom church ritual was a fetish, prepared a liturgy for the Scottish Church in face of the fact that the Calvinistic Scotch were devoted to the Presbyterian system and hated episcopacy, liturgy, and ritual Tumult and rioting ensued A provisional government *Scottish religious revolt* was set up by the rebels under a written instrument called the Covenant on February 27, 1638 The Covenanters prepared for war,

seized fortresses and garrisoned them with troops, levied taxes, invited Scottish officers and soldiers fighting for the Protestant cause in Germany

Laud's mind was more inclined to politics than to theology. How far he really cared about religion, except as the acute political question of his time, is debatable. He believed in union of Church and state, and that the Church was an aristocracy of which the bishops were the rulers, the bishops having certain powers paramount to all human authority, closely connected with and forming the natural support of the king, whose office also was divine.

Charles I succeeded his father James I in 1625, and faced all the problems that troubled his parent's reign: taxation and finance, church organization, foreign policy. These issues, in fact, grew more acute under Charles I. The new king was a more attractive personality, but even haughtier and more uncompromising than his father, and just as extravagant, except that he spent his money less on favorites and more upon art. Since Charles was now allied with France, he embraced France's policy of war against Spain, and got a grant of tonnage and poundage for one year only for that purpose. The unsuccessful expedition against Cadiz, the inglorious effort of Buckingham to relieve the Huguenots in La Rochelle which Richelieu was besieging, the exaction of a forced loan by the king, and the imprisonment of five members of Parliament for refusing to contribute, brought matters to a head. The third Parliament of Charles I (1628) is dear to the memory of free-born Englishmen for its passage of the Petition of Right, the chief article of which was that no taxes could be levied without consent of Parliament. For a wonder this Petition passed the Lords, and after hesitation was assented to by the king, in return for which Parliament complacently granted five subsidies. Nevertheless Charles I, after Parliament was prorogued, faithlessly continued to levy tonnage and poundage. When the new session of Parliament opened in January, 1629, turbulent scenes followed. On March 2 when the speaker of the House, by the king's command, refused to read a remonstrance framed by Sir John Eliot on tonnage and poundage and on religion, he was held in the chair by some of the members while the remonstrance was passed. Three days later Eliot and others were imprisoned in the Tower, where Eliot died three years afterwards.

For the first three years of Charles I's reign, the opposition leaders in Parliament had half-believed that the king's favorite, Buckingham, was the one really responsible for the obduracy of the crown's policy, and not the king. But when the murder of Buckingham by the assassin Felton hardened instead of moderated Charles I's course their eyes were opened. Matters came to a head on March 2, 1629, when the doors at Westminster (where Parliament sat) were forcibly closed, not to be reopened until 1640. The Prerogative Courts spread their arbitrary jurisdiction like a net over the land. Among them were the Court of the

Marches, the Council of the North, the Stannary Courts in the South West, the Court of High Commission, which, as it was complained in the Grand Remonstrance in 1641, "grew to such an excess of sharpness and severity as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition", and above all, the notorious Court of Star Chamber, "whereby his Majesty's subjects have been oppressed by grievous fines, imprisonments, stigmatisings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, etc."

Eleven years of arbitrary government in England followed, during which the king raised money by forced loans, benevolences, illegal taxes, monopolies, sales of titles, etc. Charles I's advisers in this time were hard men, like Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The ritualistic inclinations of the former enraged the Puritans, and the "thorough" policy of the latter angered almost all men except those of the court party.

The king, deceived by the success of his fiscal exactions, failed to measure the gravity of the situation. From 540,000 pounds revenue in 1624, the royal income rose to 618,000 pounds in 1635, yet there was still a deficit of 636,000 pounds,—figures which speak eloquently of the extravagance of Charles I. To bridge the gap between credit and debit, the king pretended that the country was in danger and in 1634 levied the notorious ship-money tax under an ancient statute which empowered the crown to lay such a tax on seaboard towns only in event of war. But this new ship-money was imposed upon the whole kingdom. This crafty advice had been given to Charles I by his attorney-general.

"The king," wrote the Venetian ambassador to his home government, "moves among the rocks by which he is surrounded, slowly but surely. The judges explain the law in his favor, as there are no parliaments to contradict them, and his subjects do not venture to resist him."

But one Englishman dared to withstand the king. This was John Hampden who refused to pay his allotment, it was a mere twenty shillings. Two others supported Hampden—Oliver Cromwell, his cousin, and John Pym. Public opinion was so intense against the levy, though there is no doubt that the king was within the law, that the case was argued at great length before the Court of the Exchequer, whose twelve judges, with exception of two, sustained the crown. The ship-money case for the first time in English history raised the issue that, since the king was ruling without a Parliament, taxation without representation is tyranny, an issue to be later asserted by the American colonists in 1776. So discouraged were Hampden, Cromwell, and Pym that they planned to go to America, but were prevented by a royal proclamation (April 30, 1637) imposing restrictions on emigration.

By this time the tension in England was so great that Thomas Hobbes was moved to translate Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* between Athens and Sparta into English (in 1628) in order to warn his countrymen against civil conflict

Charles I's legal victory hardened his policy and drastic measures were taken in the Court of the Star Chamber, first established by Henry VII in 1487 as a court for the trial of political offenders, for strengthening the royal prerogative, and suppressing seditious writings and restraining the freedom of the press The chief victim of this law was a Puritan pamphleteer named Prynne, who had once before been committed to prison for a book entitled *Histriomastix* (1633), a violent tirade against the theatre and plays at court, which was supposed to cast reflection upon the queen who sometimes took part in the masques and other diversions Undeterred by this experience, Prynne had lately issued another Puritan blast called *A Divine Tragedy, containing a catalogue of God's judgments against Sabbath-breakers*, in which Archbishop Laud "that arch-wolf of Canterbury" was virulently inveighed against for "persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs" The activity of Puritan "libellers" was more than a match for the law, and their literature had a wide, if surreptitious circulation

What Englishmen had hesitated to do, that the Scotch did — they revolted against the growing tyranny of the king, who fatuously believed that absolutism was firmly established in England, and that it could be extended to Scotland as well. As a result, Charles I was destined to lose his crown and his head and England for eleven years to be converted into a Puritan Commonwealth The fight of the Scottish Church against successive Stuart kings was not merely a struggle for the faith most acceptable to the Scottish people, it was also the spirit of local independence of men wishing to manage their own affairs without the interference of king or court, against sovereigns who believed that bishops were the most trustworthy of government officials

Yet events moved slowly Neither the Puritans in England nor the Scotch were disposed to wage open war against the king, and hoped for a peaceful solution of the issues at stake, while Charles I, angry as he was at the Covenanters, was without money to pay an army In this strait the king feigned a moderation he did not feel and summoned Parliament after a lapse of eleven years (1640), and again the old wrangle as to voting supplies before or after grievances were redressed, was resumed After ineffectual conferences between the two Houses, the Parliament was dissolved Charles I then turned to the clergy for financial aid, and obeying Laud's command, they voted a subsidy of 120,000 pounds Other contributions, voluntary and forced, added 300,000 pounds more to the royal treasury. Strafford's preparation for the invasion

*Charles I recalls
and dissolves
Parliament*

of Scotland was under way when the Scots suddenly took the initiative, crossed the Tyne on August 20, 1640, and took Newcastle

Unlike Charles I, who wished to govern without Parliament, Strafford believed in Parliament as an instrument of government and was confident that it could be bent to the king's pleasure. Charles I yielded and on April 13, 1640, the so-called Short Parliament met. *The Short Parliament* Again Parliament was dissolved by the king, and desperate endeavors were made to raise money—ship-money, forced loans. The Genoese bankers would not make a loan unless it was underwritten by the city of London. The pope offered to advance money but only on condition that the king would declare himself a Catholic.

On November 3, 1640, convened Charles I's fifth and last Parliament, known to history as the Long Parliament, since on and off through many vicissitudes and changes of fortune it sat until 1660. The fact that the Scottish army could not be disbanded until paid *The Long Parliament* gave the Parliament the whip-hand over the king. The Long Parliament was split into the Court party, which was centered in London, and the Country party, made up of country squires and local landed gentlemen, whose representatives in the election were greater than their number justified. "Men of country lives," commented Harrington, author of *Oceana*, an important tract of the times, "have constantly had an aversion to the ways of the Court." Not a few of them were country lawyers who regarded opposition to the crown as the way to prominence. Among these lawyers were expert constitutionalists like Sir John Selden, Sir Roger Twysden, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who "came from Sudbury with many curious parchments, prepared to assert rights and privileges which had not been heard of since the Wars of the Roses."¹ "The Great Rebellion then was carried through by a Parliament composed of reactionary country squires, discontented aristocrats, fanatics who dreaded innovations in religion, lawyers and antiquarian theorists."²

Strafford, the king's most stalwart supporter, had come to the conclusion that a "benignant absolutism" was best for England. His first appearance in Parliament had been as a moderate member of the Court party. He had opposed the forced loan. His attitude towards *The king's minister Strafford* the Petition of Right in 1628 had been in the spirit of compromise, which infuriated Eliot. He has often been accused of being a turncoat and a traitor to the Parliamentary party because he went over to the king's side and accepted a peerage. He became convinced that the hope of England rested in a strong monarchy and that he could best serve his country and his king by becoming the leader of that policy in the House of Lords, seeing that a compromise between king and Commons was for the time being impossible.

¹ Forster, *Grand Remonstrance*, 121.

² H. Maynard Smith, *John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1920), 133.

Strafford "was not a doctrinaire politician like Pym and his associates, and had no interest in their theoretical constitutionalism. He was from start to finish the upholder of strong government"¹ "Alone among his generation," Professor Gardiner, who spent a life-time in study of this period, has written, "his voice was always raised for practical reforms." Pym's hatred of Strafford was implacable. When Strafford was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant, Pym said to him "You are going to leave us, but I will not leave you while your head is upon your shoulders."² Grounds for Strafford's impeachment were found in his alleged misgovernment in Ireland. The insistence laid upon the corruption and "anarchy" in Ireland when Strafford arrived will not bear scrutiny. Ireland had had only some twenty-eight years to recover from the longest, most devastating and most savage of the four great Tudor rebellions. She had made a remarkable recovery, her population, certainly in the ravaged North, had increased, apart from the influx of colonists under the Plantation scheme. There was a fair measure of prosperity. There might still be highwaymen on the roads, but the days were gone when Omagh was practically a station for robbing and murdering travelers from the Pale. In his attack upon the "City Companies" for maladministration of their colonies in Derry and Coleraine, Strafford was justified. The real source of the animus against Strafford was the fact that he harried the planters because most of them were Presbyterians and therefore in his mind radicals, whom he angered by exacting from them an oath of loyalty which hitherto had only been required of the Catholics in Ireland, for he perceived that they concealed revolutionary purposes under a cloak of loyalty. Moreover, he assiduously courted the Catholics and formed his army of them.

Strafford was impeached, but Charles I hesitated to support him and the Lords refused to hear his defense. The whole trial was probably a miscarriage of justice and an *ex parte* proceeding. Not without reason Sir John Evelyn described it as of "the greatest malice and the greatest innocence." In the charges made against Strafford, Pym invented the doctrine of "constructive" treason, in retort to Strafford's question "How can that be treason in the lump or mass which is not so in any of its parts?" Unable to convict him of treason, Pym devised a constitutional theory, the Bill of Attainder, for which Strafford had to be sent to the scaffold in order to prove it to be true. Strafford was followed on the scaffold by Archbishop Laud, who was executed on January 10, 1645.

On February 15, 1641, an important act in the history of the development of constitutional government was passed, providing for the meeting of Parliament at least once in three years (Triennial Act), and that both houses might not be prorogued or dissolved under fifty days from their first meeting.

¹ Smith, *op cit*, 140

² Mozeley, *Essays*, I, 151

without their own consent. Meanwhile pacification with Scotland was ratified by Parliament and "friendly assistance and relief promised to our brethren of Scotland." Further acts of this Parliament of 1641 were imprisonment of five of the judges who had decided in *Parliamentary* favor of the crown in the ship-money case and the expunging *victory* of the record of the court, the abolition of the two courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, and the disbandment of both armies after they had been duly paid off. A bill for the complete abolition of episcopacy, the "Root and Branch Bill," was read in the Commons, it was not passed but the purport of it was ominous for the future. Oliver Cromwell sat in the Long Parliament as a member for Cambridge.

In the autumn (1641) the Parliament recessed but soon assembled again, for in October a formidable insurrection broke out in Ireland, which soon became the occasion of new strife between Charles I and the Parliament, for the king had abated nothing of his *The Grand* hauteur and still firmly believed in absolutism. As Hooker, *Remonstrance* one of the wisest writers of the time observed, "Charles I knew not how to be, nor to be made great." The king demanded an army to repress the rebellion. The Commons refused, fearing it might be used against themselves. At the same time the question of episcopacy grew more acute, and the Commons replied by the Grand Remonstrance (November 22, 1641) which consisted of 206 articles, in which a long series of unconstitutional acts of the government since the beginning of the reign was particularized. Practically the Remonstrance was a vindication of the Parliament and an appeal to the country. It was passed in the House of Commons by a vote of 124 to 101, but failed in the Lords, where most of the bishops voted against it. Cromwell said to a friend "If the Remonstrance had been rejected, I would have sold all I had the next morning and never have seen England more; and there are many other honest men of the same resolution."

The Grand Remonstrance marked the parting of the ways. Unquestionably it is one of the most important documents ever declared by a legislature. Article 197 has been called "the protoplasm of constitutional evolution."¹

"That his Majesty," so the section reads, "be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such counsellors, ambassadors, and other ministers in managing his business at home and abroad as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his own estate."

It was the formulation of Sir John Eliot's principle of responsible ministers—a principle which did not finally triumph until 1688. In the Grand Remonstrance in 1641, Pym had carried through what Eliot had died in prison for in 1632.

¹ J. R. Marriott, *Falkland*, 221.

"All the king's foreign policies had come to disastrous ends. Parliament after two tempestuous sessions had been dissolved, with no promise of continuance, and the king, Charles I, who had been acclaimed with so much enthusiasm four years before, was bringing only disappointment and gloom. A state of depression was spreading over the country, a plague was devastating the continent and threatening England, grain was becoming scarce, unemployment was increasing, trade and industry — notably the cloth trade of the eastern coast towns, due to the closing of Spanish ports to English textiles in 1622 — were declining, poverty and distress, rioting and robbery were more prevalent than ever, and the government at that time (it did better afterwards in the matter of poor-relief) seemed powerless to check the disorder. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission were inflicting penalties upon those who broke the canons of the Church or their ordination oaths, and while the hardships and injustices were less real than the Puritans thought them, and the authority of courts and Church was exercised without undue severity, the effect on the minds of Parliamentary and Nonconformist alike was as profound as if both had become instruments of tyranny."¹

The Grand Remonstrance was a declaration of war, and active preparations were made. Hull, the most important arsenal and perhaps the most important seaport in the kingdom, was seized by Sir John Hotham by order of the Lords, who had already excluded the bishops from the House of Lords for refusing to vote for the Grand Remonstrance. But Newcastle on the east coast and Portsmouth in the South-West on the Channel were secured for the king. However, these ports were of little value to the king without the fleet, and on July 2, 1642, the navy declared for the Parliamentary cause. What the insurrection of the German navy achieved for the ruination of the Hohenzollerns in 1918, the rebellion of the English fleet did for Charles I in 1642. Years later, Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, in his *History of the Rebellion* wrote "This loss of the whole Navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the King's affairs." Parliament, having command of the sea, was able to support the resistance of Gloucester, Plymouth, and Hull — three ports in the heart of royalist territory. The strategy of the Civil War, even when admitting Cromwell's military ability, was at least as much determined on the sea as on the land.

The Civil War now began. The territorial cleavage of the country is of interest. The king was in possession of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Shrewsbury, and in general the north and northeast of England. The Parliamentary party held London and the south. The "middle border" between the combatants was Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, with the crossing of the Thames at Oxford the crucial point, which was held by Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, who was the son of

¹Charles M. Andrews, *Our Earliest Colonial Settlements* (New Haven, 1933), 70

the Princess Elizabeth, ex-queen of Bohemia. The line of separation between the combatants extended from the Humber to the Severn — or perhaps more accurately to Southampton.

"The strength of the king lay in the comparatively wild districts to the North and West of the line. To the parliament adhered the rich and comparatively civilized districts of the East and South. The great agricultural plain contained at that day almost the whole wealth of England. London was at least as pre-eminent among the towns as it is today. Exceptionally bitter in its Puritanism, and containing not less than a tenth of the whole population, its support was a tower of strength to the parliamentary party. Bristol and Norwich, the only considerable towns outside London, were both parliamentary, though Bristol fell before the intrepid attack of Rupert. Hull, Plymouth and Gloucester were secured to Parliament by the adhesion of the fleet. The industrial towns in the West and South-West not less than in the South-East were at the opening of the struggle on the same side, but they were unable to resist the pressure of the surrounding country. Wales, with the exception of Pembroke, was solidly Royalist from the first, as were the four Northern Counties."

This sectional cleavage is a familiar one in English history. The North and Northeast had been the region of greatest resistance to William the Conqueror, in the twelfth century it had been the part which adhered to King Stephen in the conflict between him and Henry Plantagenet, it had been the area of the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses, and a similar cleavage had obtained in the thirteenth century in the Barons' War. In Wales and Cornwall the king also found many sympathizers.

"Socially, the line is fortunately less easy to draw. The Civil War was a war of creeds and parties, it was not a war of classes. The townsmen were generally on the side of Parliament, the great lords and their retainers fought mostly for the King (yet the commander of the fleet was Lord Warwick), but the Puritan trained-bands were officered by squires and many a stout yeoman rode with Rupert. Pym could count on thirty peers and Charles I on nearly two hundred members of the Lower House. There was, therefore, no question of property at issue. Later on the Levelers developed socialistic opinions, but they got no countenance from the responsible leaders."¹

The war was carried on for the most part in four areas — between Oxford and London, in Yorkshire, in the eastern counties, and in the West. One battle, that of Edgehill, was indecisive. The Royalists defeated the Parliamentary army in two engagements. Cromwell won *Four areas of the war* in the eastern counties, but Prince Rupert sacked Bristol. Essex, Parliamentary captain-general, — son of Elizabeth's former favorite, whom she executed in 1601 — successfully covered London, and Lord Falkland, one of

¹ Sir John A. R. Marriott, *Falkland and His Times*, 248-249.

the royalist commanders, was killed. When winter came the odds were in favor of the king. Little fighting took place in 1643. The king had no money except the plate of the Oxford colleges which he had seized. The time was filled with tedious negotiations between the Parliament and the Scots.

The winter of 1644-1645 was employed by Parliament in organizing the famous "new model" army under command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, joined by Cromwell's cavalry, totally defeated Charles I in the battle of Naseby in Leicestershire (June 14). The king fled into Wales and the Parliamentary forces captured Carlisle. In the meantime a new development took place in Scotland, where the earls of Montrose and Antrim had raised the royal standard in the summer of 1644 and ravaged the east coast, plundering Elgin, Aberdeen, and Dundee; they defeated Covenanter forces in three engagements and threatened Glasgow. This backfire created such consternation in Scotland that the Scottish army began to return to Scotland when Montrose, who had advanced to the English border, was totally defeated on September 13.

"Both on strategic and political grounds the choice of Oxford was a wise one. Surrounded on three sides by rivers, with an outer circle of low hills, the city itself was easily defensible. Geographically it was also well placed. Lying just on the line which roughly divided the country of the King from that of Parliament, it formed, until its surrender on June 24, 1646, the most easterly outpost of the King. It was within easy striking distance of the capital and in touch with the King's principal recruiting grounds in the North, the West Midlands and in the South-West. But for the enormous advantage given to the Parliamentary forces by the command of the sea, the wisdom of the King's choice would have been even more clearly demonstrated. Even as it was, the immense strategical importance of Oxford is shown conclusively enough by the fact that so many of the battlefields of the first Civil War are within a small radius from the city. Edgehill itself lies just over twenty-five miles to the North, Cropredy a little less, Newbury is twenty-five miles to the South-West, Chalgrove Field is ten miles to the South-East, while Oxford itself compelled Essex, at the head of the London train-bands to deviate to the East on his famous march to the relief of Gloucester in September, 1643."¹

For nearly four years (October 1642-June 1646) Oxford was the seat of Royalist England where convened the Royalist Parliament—a majority of the House of Lords, a minority of the House of Commons. All the machinery of the royalist government was centered at Oxford, there the courts sat and there Charles I dwelled. Oxford ceased to be a university town; the college buildings were converted into places, barracks, and mess halls. The king dwelt at Christ Church Col-

Royalist government at Oxford

¹ Marriott, *op. cit.*, 265

lege, the queen was lodged at Merton. The grounds of the various colleges were trenched and embanked.

In the long run the odds were against the king. The wealth of England was primarily in its commerce and industry and these sources of supply were in the hands of the Parliamentary party. To the latter, revenue with which to purchase arms and ammunition was always available, and an efficient army was being whipped into shape. *Odds against the king*

The balance between the two belligerents was turned by a fatal error of judgment on the king's part. Prince Rupert, it has been pointed out, had taken Bristol, but Gloucester was still in the hands of the Parliamentarians. The question was: should Gloucester or London be next attacked? From the purely military point of view, perhaps the argument was in favor of the former action. Political considerations argued for an immediate advance on London, the capture of which might perhaps have ended the war. Charles I chose to move against Gloucester, which put up an unexpected and obstinate resistance, giving the Londoners time to put 15,000 men in the field under Essex, whose march to the relief of Gloucester was the most impressive achievement of the war. The king, however, still kept his head. Withdrawing his army from before Gloucester, he marched eastward to Newbury where he straddled the road to London and cut Essex's army off from the capital. The bloody battle of Newbury (September 20, 1643), from the military point of view, was a drawn engagement, but the political effect was in favor of the Parliamentary army. For Charles I, not having won a positive victory, was compelled to retire upon Oxford, and Essex, with his shattered force, was able to regain London. The mettle displayed by the London trained-bands in this battle commanded the admiration even of Clarendon, the royalist historian, who wrote that they "behaved themselves to wonder, and were in truth the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampart to defend the rest." They were to become the nucleus and core of the New Model Army which Cromwell was soon to create. *Battles at Gloucester and Newbury*

Five days after the battle of Newbury, Parliament signed the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant, and on January 19, 1644, the Scottish army crossed the border. Desultory and ineffectual fighting filled the year 1644 except for the victory of Cromwell at Marston Moor (July 2) over Prince Rupert. The king slipped through the ring around Oxford, and when Essex pursued him, defeated him at Lostwithiel in August. Unable to get into Oxford again, Charles I stormed Leicester. Thereupon Fairfax, who had succeeded Essex in command of the Parliamentary infantry (New Model Army), and joined by Cromwell in command of the cavalry, totally defeated the king at Naseby (June 14, 1645) in Leicestershire. The king's baggage was taken in which were found letters to the queen and to the Irish leaders, which were published by the Parliament. *Charles defeated at Naseby*

But other letters were written in a cipher so difficult that it has not yet been unravelled

For almost a year events swung in the balance Montrose's failure had left the king in a desperate plight Cromwell and Fairfax were gaining ground all over the country Finally, as the lesser of two evils, Charles I threw himself on the mercy of the Scottish army rather than into the hands of the Parliamentary army under Cromwell and Fairfax This was on May 5, 1646, at Newark Six weeks later Oxford surrendered to Fairfax The canny Scots used the king as an instrument to compel Parliament to pay them the 400,000 pounds which had been promised them,¹ and on January 30, 1647, handed him over to the Parliamentary commissioners empowered to receive him

It was a critical moment For during the course of the war jealousy and resentment had developed between the Parliament and the army, and the former had passed a resolution that the army had no business to meddle with state affairs This explains why Parliament was so favorably inclined towards the Scottish army Politically the Parliament wanted the king to reign but not to govern, and to deprive him of all real power The army, on the other hand, was anti-monarchical and wished to set up a democratic republic — which was realized in 1649 in the Commonwealth The difference between the two is illustrated by a conversation before the battle of Naseby between Cromwell and one of his officers. "If the king is beaten," said the latter, "he will still be king, and if he beats us he will hang us as traitors" To this Cromwell replied "If I meet the king in battle, I will fire my pistol at his head as soon as at that of any other man" In religion Parliament wanted to impose uniformity of belief and of form The army was for a "moderate" tolerance, by which was meant exclusion of Catholics, Episcopalians, and "monsters who did not believe in the Trinity" by which was meant Arminians, a unitarian sect which originated in Holland but had spread widely If—or when—matters reached a crux the Parliament expected to use the Scottish soldiery both to impose religious uniformity and to crush the army and the Independents

The Parliament was Presbyterian, the army was Independent, an appellation which united in loose association many of various opinions but who agreed in their hatred of the Established Church, episcopacy, ritual, liturgy, and favored congregational government Even Presbyterianism was too highly organized for them Cromwell inclined towards the Independents because his best soldiers seem to have been of this persuasion After Naseby, when the predominantly Presbyterian Parliament wanted to restrain and oppress the Independents, Cromwell hotly defended them. In May the Presbyterian commissioners from the

¹ One-half was paid, the balance secured on "the public faith."

Parliament attempted to disband the army, which refused to do so. The commissioners counted on having a trump card in their hands in the person of Charles I, but on June 2 a cornet named Joyce, with a small battalion of men, boldly kidnapped the king. The party cleavage had now greatly changed. On one side were the Royalists, the Presbyterians, and the Scots, on the other side was the army. In 1648 Royalist insurrections broke out in Kent and Wales, the fleet went over to the king's cause, the disgruntled Scottish army entered England. The retaliation of the army to these threats was swift and decisive. Cromwell smashed the Scots at Preston (August 17) and two other engagements, and on December 6, Colonel Pride of the army expelled the Presbyterian majority (140 members) from the House of Commons by military force. This is what is known as "Pride's Purge." The Independent minority of 53 members which were all that the Commons now consisted of (derisively called the "Rump Parliament"), protected by the triumphant army then resolved itself into a special High Court of Justice and in spite of the protest of the House of Lords — there were only twelve members left — tried and condemned the king. On January 30, 1649, Charles I was beheaded. "I reckon it," Carlyle has written, "perhaps the most daring action any body of men to be met with in history ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do."

It was the end of monarchy in England for eleven years to come. The period of the Commonwealth (1649-1660) began.

Charles I seems to have inherited the graces and charm of his grandmother Mary Queen of Scots. He was handsome of face and figure, his manners were engaging, he wrote and spoke with ease and sometimes with brilliancy. He was an admirable letter-*Charles I's personality and policies* writer, and a connoisseur of works of art. At times he showed political insight, as for example when he advised Wentworth, not yet Lord Strafford, to dissolve the Irish Parliament, with the words

"My reasons are grounded upon my experience of them here, they are of the nature of cats, that ever grow cursed with age, so that if you will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age, for young ones are ever most tractable."

He was to find that this was far from true in the case of the Long Parliament. He has often been accused of dishonorable conduct in his dealings with the Irish, but it cannot be said that the letters support the charge. Charles I's letters in the days of his adversity, to his Royalist supporters, to members of Parliament, to army officers and the Scottish leaders, do not bear out the charges of duplicity made by many historians, although it is true that he tried to play off one party against another.

In his last days at Oxford, Charles's reply to the queen's suggestion that he should sacrifice the episcopacy for the sake of a settlement, was a dignified

one In comparison with the flagrant illegality of Pride's Purge and the whole machinery of the trial, his conduct was superb He was not afraid to look back upon the past or forward into the dreadful future

"It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all, and I thank God I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments, for this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things

"None will be more loyal and faithful to me and you, than those subjects who, sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel, in their own souls, most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desire to make some reparations for their former defects"

This chapter may be terminated with a more pleasant note In spite of misgovernment, bitter partisanshship and civil war, England materially prospered during these years The improvement of roads and
England of water transport excited much attention in the reign of
prosperous Charles I, for the narrow, fenced roads caused by the en-
despite conflict closure of common lands and the great increase of vehicles distributing iron and coal all over the country had caused a "traffic problem" John Taylor, the water poet, rowed himself over a great part of England and planned several canals, including a Thames-Severn canal There was already in 1637 a bi-weekly service of large boats from London to Maidenhead and Reading The drainage of the Fen District, begun under Charles I, was opposed by many on the ground that the water-meadows provided first-class fodder for cattle and sheep and increased the supply of wool, hides, and butter In 1622 there was a "shipping problem," for the bulk of English exports and imports were carried by Dutch ships The chief causes of this were that the Dutch ships, like the French, were worked by much smaller crews than the English, and that the English fishing fleets had greatly dwindled Even Newcastle exported most of its coal in foreign bottoms, though by 1615 the increased demand for coal in England kept 200 Newcastle ships busy.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE (1649-1660)

The remnant of the Parliament left after Pride's Purge, which its enemies called in derision the Rump, created a new government in England, the Commonwealth, or Republic. In form it was simple, being composed of the Parliament and a Council of State of 41, in ^{The} *commonwealth* which were 3 judges, 3 military officers, 5 peers and 30 members of the Commons. The two bodies were practically one under different names. But it was the Rump which governed until 1653 when a written constitution known as the *Instrument of Government* was substituted by which Cromwell was made Lord Protector.

The Rump lost no time in getting into action. On February 6, 1649, a resolution was passed declaring that the House of Lords was "useless, dangerous and ought to be abolished." This was accomplished on 'Rump' May 19 when *An Act declaring and constituting the People* ^{Parliament's} *of England to be a Commonwealth and free State* was passed ^{supreme authority} and proclaimed. Nominally the Parliament was the ruler of England, but in fact Cromwell was the ruler and governed through the army. The government was a military autocracy—or, as would be said today, it was a Fascist dictatorship.

The New Model Army was Cromwell's creation and had come into being in the stormy year of 1645. The Royalists in derision dubbed it the "New Noddle," but the Battle of Naseby soon proved its prowess and ability. It was of Puritan composition, made up ^{New Model} *Army* almost wholly of Independents, 14,000 foot and 7,000 horse, actuated by the fiercest fanaticism and held under the most rigorous discipline. Europe had never seen such an army before. The soldiers were well and promptly paid, disorderly conduct, drunkenness or profanity were severely punished. Prayers were said every day in camp and divine worship held on Sundays. It was a religious army though not of a uniform belief. Cromwell recruited his men without distinction of sect. The captains were professional soldiers appointed by Cromwell, but the rest of the officers were elected by the men themselves.

The deadly earnestness and religious temper of the New Model was shown again after Naseby, in the Army Resolution passed at Windsor in 1648.

"After serious seeking His face we have come to a very clear and joint resolution that it is our duty, if ever the Lord bring us back again to peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he has shed and mischief he has done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation "

There was immediate work for the army, for a rising in favor of Charles II took place in Ireland under the Marquis of Ormond Strafford's former notorious policy of "thorough" coercion of the Irish had been mild treatment compared with what Cromwell now did in Ireland After the capture of Drogheda on September 11, 1649, he wrote to the Parliament

Massacre of Irish

"It hath pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda After battery we stormed it The enemy was about 3000 strong in the town We refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives, those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes (in the West Indies) This hath been a marvellous great mercy(!) through the goodness of God "

Wexford suffered a similar fate Limerick was subjugated In all, three whole counties in Ireland were laid prostrate, the people killed or driven out and the territories repopulated with immigrants from England whose descendants today constitute the six Protestant counties of Ulster

Cromwell was "the incarnation of Puritan passion, the instrument of English ambition" Historians are still divided between those who approve

*Cromwell's
Irish policy*

— or at least extenuate his policy in Ireland, and those who condemn it

"That Cromwell intended to exterminate the Irish is an exploded fable," Goldwin Smith has written. "From the moment when the rebellion was suppressed he bade the mass of the Irish people dwell in security and peace His rule unhappily was that of a Puritan over Papists, of an Anglo-Saxon conqueror over conquered Celts . But still it was the best government that Ireland had ever had "

Against this opinion may be set the verdict of Lecky that "The Cromwellian settlement is the foundation of that deep and lasting division between the proprietary and the tenants which is the chief cause of the political and social evils of Ireland." This was written before Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and the later liberation of Catholic Ireland in the Irish Free State (1922)

Ireland was committed to the administration of four commissioners (1650–1654) and afterwards to Henry Cromwell, Oliver's son, who ruled in a conciliatory spirit. Thousands of Irish entered the armies of various European states where they formed Irish Brigades. Some managed to get to America The Catholics in Ulster

*Irish
administration*

were "transplanted" to Connaught. The conquered lands were partitioned among the new settlers, many of whom were soldiers who were thus paid in lieu of money.

Soon after the Irish campaign a royalist outbreak had occurred in Scotland where Montrose, who had been a fugitive in France, had landed in the spring of 1650, but was betrayed, captured, and executed at Edinburgh (May 21). A month later Charles II, the son of Charles I, landed in Scotland and after taking the oath to support the Covenant, was proclaimed king. Cromwell was recalled from Ireland and sent into Scotland where he badly defeated the Scottish army in the Battle of Dunbar (September 3) and captured Edinburgh and Glasgow. Exactly a year later Cromwell again totally vanquished the Royalists in the Battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651), but Charles II eluded his clutches and escaped in disguise to France. Great numbers of the king's followers were deported to the colonies in America, and 1500 of them were granted to the Guinea merchants and sent to perish in the mines. The subjugation of Scotland was completed by General Monk, of whom we shall see more later. Scotland, like Ireland, was treated as a conquered country. Estates were confiscated, heavy taxes imposed, forts erected and garrisoned, English judges sat in the Scottish courts.

*Cromwell defeats
Scottish royalists*

*English naval
victories over
Dutch*

The pacification of Ireland and Scotland was completed in the nick of time, for a naval war broke out in 1652 with the Dutch (1652-1654) on account of the bitter commercial competition between the two nations. The Parliament on October 9, 1651, had passed the Navigation Act which forbade the importation of articles of trade except in English vessels. This practically destroyed the Dutch carrying and colonial trade with England, and was a drastic method of protection of home industry—in this case ship-building—and promotion of employment. The English sea captains Blake and Monk (who fought as successfully on water as on land) were pitted against the Dutch sea captains De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The English fleet won four victories at sea, the Dutch fleet won one before peace was made.

Meanwhile political tension in the country became more acute. There was a great friction between the army and the Rump. A new Parliament seemed necessary, but the members of the Rump were determined to retain their seats in event of a new House of Commons being elected. Yet the difficulty was deeper than this. Cromwell

*Struggle between
army and Rump*

knew well that England as a whole was monarchical and was afraid to risk an election. Therefore, in order to preserve the Commonwealth government, England must be given another type of monarch. Matters came to a crisis in August, 1652, when a bill was introduced to make the new House of Commons consist of 400 members, with all present members eligible to retain their seats. Months of bickering and remonstrance followed between the army and

the Rump Finally on April 20, 1653, with the aid of the army, Cromwell expelled the members and destroyed the Rump To save their faces most of the members resigned their collective power as a Parliament into Cromwell's hands, and a bloodless revolution transpired Cromwell appointed a Council of State which sent letters to the Independent ministers to confer with their congregations and to send up the names of persons competent to sit in a new Parliament From these names the Council selected 139 persons to form a new Parliament, which, from the circumstance that a fanatical leather-seller named Praise-God Barebone was a member thereof, came to be known in derision as Barebone's Parliament But soon the deputies, finding that they could accomplish nothing, resigned their power into Cromwell's hands and recommended that he make himself sole ruler

Cromwell made a gesture of declining the offer, but when the written document signed by a majority of the House was put in his hands, he consented and had the *Instrument of Government* proclaimed, according to which he was declared Lord Protector (December 16, 1653), to rule with the assistance of a Council of 21 and a triennial Parliament of 460 members The number of the army was fixed at 30,000 Between sessions of Parliament, the Protector, and Council might issue ordinances having the force of law, but only Parliament could levy taxes and grant supplies The latter part of this arrangement did not last long On January 22, 1655, the Parliament was abolished and Cromwell ruled as a military despot with the aid of the army England was divided into twelve military circuits, each under a major-general with a force of soldiery supported by a tax of ten per cent on royalist estates It was a state under permanent martial law

The devious way in which political liberty sometimes develops in history has admirable illustration here Why was it that the conservative Royalists were liberal in religion, and even tolerant of Catholicism, while the narrowest and most bigoted views of religion were held by men like Eliot and Pym, who were striving for larger political liberty? The Royalists, with a few exceptions, were opposed to the laws suppressive of the Catholics, which it was the object of the Puritans rigorously to enforce One thing is certain Oliver Cromwell made no contribution to the furtherance of English liberty and limited monarchy The *Instrument of Government* and the Act declaring the people of England to be a commonwealth and free state were verbiage in this particular instance Neither the Commonwealth nor the Protectorate made any endeavor to promote the idea of a parliamentary executive and the cabinet system of government.

Perhaps some excuse for Cromwell may be found in the circumstances It required a man of iron to govern England in these years Intended risings and plots against the Protector's life were constant anxieties The Royal-

Cromwell
becomes Lord
Protector

Cromwell no
promoter of
liberty

ists were secretly active. Various sectarian groups were hostile, as the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Levellers, a radical political, economic, and social group which wanted to "level" every-
Plots and agitations
 thing and make a new heaven and a new earth. Only the pacific Quakers gave no offense. The political agitation was stimulated by thousands of pamphlets.

Cromwell's Navigation Act in 1651 founded the merchant marine of England. He was also the re-founder of the navy which had decayed under James I and Charles I. Even his enemies admitted pride in the maritime greatness of England. Although Cromwell made many
Cromwell's interest in commerce
 speeches in public, advocating an alliance of Protestantism against Catholicism, these were meant for home consumption. His greatest interest was in the protection and promotion of English commerce abroad. This was really his whole foreign policy. He offered his alliance to Spain in return for freedom of trade in the West Indies and when Spain refused he sent Blake to the Caribbean to plunder the Spanish settlements. He forced Denmark to reopen the Sound between Denmark and Scandinavia. He repeatedly sent warships to the Mediterranean to pursue the Barbary pirates. He acquired Dunkirk from France, which Condé had captured from the Spanish in 1658, and thereby got a door for entrance of English trade into the continent, which freed it from the tolls and tariffs imposed in Antwerp and Amsterdam.

This was the last event in Cromwell's life. His great admiral, Blake, died on August 27, 1658, and a week later the Protector died, while a storm raged over England, the superstitious said that it was raised by his terrific struggle with the devil to seize his soul which
Cromwell's death
 he, like Faust in the legend, had sold to the devil for earthly power.

The mist of partisanship about Cromwell has been lifted by modern historical scholarship. "Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him, and never did anything, how ungracious or imprudent soever it
His character
 seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design," wrote Clarendon, the historian of the Great Rebellion. "He had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man." Milton wrote of him

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
 Not of war only, but distractions rude,
 Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed."

The possession of religious ideas different from his own was intolerable in Cromwell's mind. He could never allow freedom of belief to Romanists or Scottish Presbyterians or English High Churchmen, or Quakers. After the

taking of Tredah in Ireland he cynically wrote "I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously, save two" — and they were killed later in cold blood. At Carrick "we took a Popish Priest, who was caused to be hanged." The last time a Catholic was executed in England for the offense of being a priest, was by Cromwell's orders. He sold numbers of Scottish Presbyterian prisoners as slaves to Venice. Royalists were shipped to the Barbadoes as bond-servants to labor on the sugar plantations — a condition little less than slavery. To Cromwell the Puritan position, as he himself said, was the only real Christianity. It was this control of religion by the state which made Cromwell's policy so offensive to the Scots.¹ It was the severity of that control of all form of religious belief except that of the Puritans which gradually brought about that revulsion of feeling in almost all quarters which culminated in 1660 in the restoration of monarchy in the person of Charles II.

Puritanism was the political term, Presbyterianism the ecclesiastical term, to describe the government of England from 1646 to 1660. The establishment of Presbyterianism involved the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, the dismissal of its ministers, the seizure of its property. The Book of Common Prayer was suppressed. The cathedrals were in many cases used as military storehouses, if not for stables. Church bells were melted down for cannon. By act of Parliament passed on August 24, 1653, only marriages solemnized before a justice of the peace were declared lawful. Marriage was to be a civil, not a religious institution. In consequence of this act, the parish registers show a complete blank for seven years in regard to marriage. And yet two of Cromwell's daughters "were married according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer, and this with the privity of Cromwell, who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters" (Clarendon). The observance of Christmas Day was discouraged, and riots ensued in consequence. Evelyn has described in his Diary how in 1657 a whole congregation was arrested for observing "the superstitious time of the Nativity." The condition of the dispossessed clergy was always precarious and full of hardship. Until 1655 it was possible in some cases for them to obtain employment as schoolmasters and tutors. Many went abroad. Many lived in penury and obscurity. The places of the dispossessed clergy were filled by men who for the most part had inadequate theological training. Weavers, tinkers, cobblers, saddlers got religion and "took on them the ministry of the Word."² So liberal an historian as the late John Morley has thus described the state of religion and politics in 1653: "In the settlement of the nation no progress was made. Dangerous reefs still showed at every hand on the face of the angry sea. The Parliament in 1646 had ordered the estab-

¹ Scottish Presbyterianism was opposed to the connection of Church and state.

² S. R. Gardiner's third volume is full of examples of the tangled and often absurd condition of religious affairs.

lishment of the Presbyterian system, but the country was indifferent or hostile

Presbyterianism had become frankly a name for a party purely political"¹

Thus the last years of the Protectorate went on towards the inevitable reaction. One can hardly use stronger words of condemnation of Cromwell than those of his last and greatest historian, the late Samuel Rawson Gardiner, himself a descendant of the Protector. "Having no thought of rendering account for his actions, the Protector grew more and more careless whether they were in accordance with the law, suiting them just to his own sense of what was just and fitting, and thinking less and less of the impression created in the minds of the multitude outside of his own sphere of influence"² Equally significant is Morley's severe judgment: "Wherever force was useless Cromwell failed"

"He attempted those things in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted anything or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty"

The following generations, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, execrated Cromwell's memory. Hume, in his *History of England* (1756), heaped libel and ridicule upon him. But the nineteenth century pronounced him one of the greatest of the human race.

The reason of this change of attitude is not far to find. The movement for popular democracy generated by French revolutionary ideas, after the Napoleonic wars were over, shook England out of her smug ideas of aristocracy and privilege. The Reform Bill of 1832 profoundly altered the texture and the spirit of Parliament. Cromwell, who had fought kings and cavaliers, came back to his own and swayed the hearts of the common people of the Victorian Era. The nineteenth-century historical writer, Thomas Carlyle, was the first man responsible for the rehabilitation of Cromwell. That the form of government which he established did not endure is not a criticism of him. There is ground to think that he himself felt that the Puritan Revolution was a passing phase, a salutary interval in English history between monarchy before and after it. But he had the deep conviction, in which he was justified, that future England would be better than it was in the reigns of James I and his son. The very excesses of the Restoration confirmed his judgment. The nature of the English government needed to be changed. The temper of the people required discipline, a rod of iron laid across their backs, and Puritanism was that rod. Attacked by all parties, Royalists, Presbyterians, Republicans, Levellers, Cromwell was a "conservative revolutionist" who might have governed constitutionally if it had been possible. He was a partisan — what strong man is not brave in adhesion to his ideas? — and a sin-

*Changing
circumstances of
Cromwell*

¹ Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, 338-39

² III, 258-259

cere and earnest Puritan in religion Cromwell was neither a saint nor a hypocrite Hard, harsh, reserved, one to be feared or admired, he was loved by few

But after all, the root of the question is the nature of Cromwell's final achievement taken in the "round" In the eyes of his most recent biographer, Mr John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), this answer must be an adverse one

"The glamour of his triumphs must not blind us to the fact that most of them were transient and unsubstantial They rested on no secure foundation He was attempting to put forth the strength of England at the same time by land and sea, a task to which, a hundred years later, France with her far greater resources proved unequal His pressing need was a settlement at home, but with such a settlement foreign adventures were inconsistent, for they involved the maintenance at full strength of that army which formed his most difficult constitutional problem They meant, too, a crushing burden of taxation, which daily increased the unpopularity of his Government Before his death it was plain that this burden was becoming too heavy for the land to bear, and the efficiency of the fleet and the condition of the seamen were deteriorating through sheer lack of money Had Oliver lived longer he could not have surmounted these difficulties"¹

To this indictment may also be added Cromwell's succession of Parliaments summoned and dissolved, the almost wanton illegality of Pride's Purge, the rule of his major-generals, the trend towards
Cromwell's military greatness bankruptcy As a soldier, however, there is no difference of opinion among historians Cromwell is the greatest cavalryman in British history and one of its ablest tacticians

"The only problem regarding his military capacity is a rather artificial modern one Some students have striven to read into his campaigns strategical subtleties founded upon theories which were at any rate not put on paper until long after his time We must agree with his two biographers that such ideas are far-fetched Cromwell may have been a strategist, but he gave small proof that he was, and had not much opportunity to do so Until after Naseby he was never in supreme command in a pitched battle, and the conduct of the war on the Parliamentary side was singularly barren of strategical conceptions — distinctly inferior in this respect to that of the Cavaliers The Preston campaign is comparatively simple with a small but compact and well-trained force he appears suddenly on the flank of a large force, ill-trained, ill-led, strung out over many miles in column of rank, and destroys the central body to begin with The rest is easy Before Dunbar there was manoeuvring, but there he was out-generalled in manoeuvre by Leslie, to atone for which he put into force a brilliant tactical scheme, preceded by a surprise, and made of Dunbar the climax of his military career Before Worcester he does indeed show himself a strategist There seems no doubt that he intended to manoeuvre the Scottish Army into England, and that was the boldest and most effective strategy conceivable.

¹ John Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1934)

By the time he came up with the Scots the issue was a foregone conclusion, any reasonably competent commander could have won the Battle of Worcester. Yet we may admire the tactical skill he showed once again, and, above all, the terrific energy he put into his attack. He had learnt, in Mr Buchan's phrase, the surest way to win campaigns, not battles only. Earlier, as if by instinct, he was almost unique in his disregard of fortresses when they could be disregarded, but it must be added that he was not uniformly successful when he attacked them.

"Most remarkable of all, he came to warfare when he was over forty, with no training, little reading, and no example except of what to avoid. He was entirely a self-made soldier, with an extraordinary natural talent improved by deep reflection and bold innovation. He was far from the only cavalryman in the Civil Wars who could break infantry. Goring, with inferior numbers, utterly smashed the Roundhead right at Marston Moor. Rupert rarely charged without breaking through, but, though it is a myth that Rupert always pursued until he had lost touch with the main battle, yet he never had over his horsemen that iron control which enabled Cromwell, after dispersing the cavalry on the enemy's wing to wheel swiftly and hurl himself upon the flank of the infantry. He is a lone figure in the annals of warfare, just as he is unique—almost incredible, in fact—in British political history."¹

Some observations of a general nature may conclude this chapter. Neither side had a monopoly of either the virtues or the vices of the age. There were good men and bad, honest men and crooks, liberal men and bigots, gentlemen and scoundrels, sober men and true, on each side.

Several of Shakespeare's plays ridicule Puritanism, when the movement was in its incipency in the reign of James I. Thomas Hobbes's description of the Puritans is a caricature but caricatures are not untruthful—they are distortions and exaggerations of the truth, to be taken with caution but not to be wholly rejected. This is what he wrote of the Puritans:

*Ridicule of
Puritans*

"They went abroad preaching in most of the market towns . . . and so formed their countenance and gesture as that no tragedian in the world could have acted the part of a right godly man better than they did. For the matter of their sermons, they did never, or but lightly inveigh against the lucrative vices of men of trade or handicraft (but) against two sins—carnal lusts and vain swearing . . . so that the common people thereby inclined to believe that nothing else was sin."

It must be admitted that the Puritan raised his eyes to heaven but that did not prevent him from deriving profit from the things of earth.

The theatre was seriously restrained even before the age of Puritanism. Already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, unlike conditions on the con-

¹ From review of John Buchan's book in *London Times Literary Supplement*, October 6, 1934.

tinent, there were laws against markets and the transaction of business on Sundays, though there was yet no restraint or recreation. With the Reformation the medieval religious plays were suppressed, and few of them survived for Cromwell's censure. The normal secular plays, however, survived until 1642 when the public playhouses were closed by act of Parliament and did not reopen for eighteen years. Groups of strolling players wandered into the "provinces" acting their "drolls" when and where they could. Occasional performances were even given surreptitiously in London. The Restoration stage was a halfway house between the Elizabethan stage and that of the eighteenth century.

Restrictions on the theatre

The Puritans also suppressed bear-baiting and bull-baiting not because the sport was brutal but, as Macaulay wittily wrote, "because it pleased the spectators." Piety was commercially exploited. The very taverns changed their old names and adopted Biblical titles in order to catch trade. The baptismal records in the parish churches reveal almost a mania for Biblical proper names. All the patriarchs and heroes of ancient Israel, all the major and minor prophets were so honored—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi.

Puritan piety

English art suffered severely under the Puritan regime. The extreme and austere Calvinism which the Puritans represented with furious iconoclasm destroyed statuary, paintings, and stained glass windows in the churches, and stripped the sacristies of jewels, plate, and illuminated manuscripts. All theatres were closed as places of ribaldry. Even before the fall of Charles I the Long Parliament in 1643 appointed "parliamentary visitors for the taking away of all scandalous pictures out of churches," and a county to county crusade of demolition ensued. We have the diary kept by one of these iconoclasts named William Dowsing. Some of the entries read:

Destruction of art

"Sudbury Peter's Parish We brake down a Picture of God the Father, 2 Crucifix's and Pictures of Christ about an hundred in all, and gave order to take down a Cross on the Steeple, and diverse Angels, 20 at least on the Roof of the Church. Haver We brake down about an hundred superstitious Pictures of God and Christ, and diverse others very superstitious; and 200 had been broke down before I came. We took away two Popish Inscriptions with *ora pro nobis* and we beat down a great stoneing Cross on the top of the Church. Clare We brake down 1000 Pictures superstitious, I brake down 200, 3 of God the Father and 3 of Christ and the Holy Lamb, and 3 of the Holy Ghost like a Dove with Wings, and the 12 Apostles were carved in Wood on the top of the Roof which we gave order to take down, and 20 cherubims to be taken down, and the Sun and Moon in the East Windows, by the King's Arms, to be taken down."

Dowsing goes on at length to recite his achievements in destroying organs,

holy water basins, baptismal fonts, pictures, and statuary. Evidently he worked hard and enjoyed his job.¹

The Parliamentarians worked havoc at Hampton Court. When, in 1645 they took possession of the old Tudor palace, the chapel was stripped of its ornaments and a man was hired at a half-crown a day to break the beautiful stained glass windows. Immediately after the king's execution a bill decreeing the sale of Hampton Court with all its parks, gardens, and furniture was passed and a careful inventory was taken of all its contents in October 1649. The sale, which began that winter and lasted nearly three years, was one of the most gigantic ever held in England. The splendid furniture of Wolsey, the priceless tapestries which he and Henry VIII had collected, and a thousand objects of rare value and antiquity were auctioned to the highest bidder. The magnificent collection of pictures formed by Charles I, including as it did the gems of the Mantuan gallery and some of the finest Titians and Velasquez in the world, was dispersed. Cromwell interfered to save the remnant of the choicest treasures. As soon as Cromwell was made Lord Protector he fixed his residence at Hampton Court. He was very fond of music and had two large organs put up in the great hall. Here Milton, the poet who was Cromwell's Latin secretary, used to make "the pealing organ blow" under "the high-embowed roof."

Beards had become fashionable in Tudor times, after having been discouraged in the later Middle Ages. Under Elizabeth and James fantastic cuts prevailed, "some like a spade, some like a fork, some square, some round, some mowed like stubble, some stark *Puritan beards* bare, some sharp, stiletto fashion, dagger-like." In the reign of Charles I, the T-beard or Spanish form of beard was fashionable. Beards were even dyed with various colors. Lawyers' beards were short, "not above three weekes growings." The common man's beard was cut round, "like a half of a Holland cheese." During the Civil War many Puritans vowed not to trim their beards until the war ended. They were ridiculed as "comets' tails," and some of them were so long that the wearer covered them with cardboard cases at night. The Puritan ministers were famous for the length of their beards which they fancied added venerability to their countenances. One of them said that his beard reminded him that "no act of his life should be unworthy of the gravity of his appearance." After the Restoration, beards became out of fashion and were seldom seen in the eighteenth century.

Coffee was introduced into England by Portuguese Jews in Cromwell's time, who raised the ban which had been imposed on the Jews since 1292.² Cromwell wanted the Jews back in England to promote trade both at home and abroad and to stimulate growth of the towns *Return of Jews*

¹ *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 1st ed 1786, 2d ed 1818. These extracts and others reprinted in Arthur Ponsonby, *English Diaries* (London, 1923), 120-122.

² H. Maynard Smith, *John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1920), 78-80.

Higher education suffered severely, but secondary schools were unharmed. Since Oxford and Cambridge universities were strongly conservative and therefore of royalist sympathy, the Commonwealth government dealt hardly with them. Much of their property was confiscated and their libraries and halls plundered and pilfered. Similarly the precious collections of books in many a rich royalist's manorhouse were rifled. The old professors of the universities were deprived of their livings, and ill-educated and even ignorant place-hunters put in their chairs. The *Complaint of Cambridge* reveals the degree of degradation and desolation to which the universities were reduced. Yet the Puritan Era produced some great literature, both prose and poetry. Most of the former kind is of an "edifying" or moral nature, but it is magnificent and sonorous prose. Among such writers were John Hales (1584-1656), Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, Richard Baxter (1615-1691) author of *The Saints' Rest*, and Joseph Hall (1574-1656). The greatest of them all was Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) whose "Thoughts on death and immortality" in his *Hydriotaphia or Urn Burial*, in which he advocated cremation, is one of the finest monuments of seventeenth century prose in the English language, at least before Dryden who wrote under the Restoration. But these writers were not Puritans. The only great literary name on the side of the Commonwealth is that of John Milton whose fame as a poet outshines his fame as a prose-writer. Milton's *Areopagitica*, the noblest plea for liberty of the press is a great piece of prose literature. Milton, who became blind in Cromwell's service, was so little known as a man of letters that he was spoken of by Whitelock, one of the Puritan leaders, as "one Mr Milton, a blind man who wrote Latin."

Some of the scholars of this unhappy epoch wrote works of erudition which are still prized, as Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Sir Matthew Hale's *Analysis of the Civil Law*, Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, Prynne's *Records of the Tower*. Two eminent works in political theory were Hobbes's *Leviathan*, which argued that a *de facto* ruler has the right to exact absolute obedience, and Harrington's *Oceana* "containing remarkable anticipations of modern reforms in regard to education, the franchise and the ballot, imposing a limit on accumulation of land and filling the offices of state by rotation." *Oceana*, written in 1656, was an appeal to the Protector to reorganize the government. Finally we must not forget Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* (1653), one of the best beloved books from the day of its publication until now.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE FORMATION OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC (1609-1672)

In the chapter on the Reformation and the Religious Wars we have seen how the seven northern provinces of the Spanish monarchy in the Low Countries under the leadership of William of Orange, better known as William the Silent, denounced the domination of Spain in 1579, and united into a federation called the Union of Utrecht. This was the origin of the Dutch Republic, or — to designate it more particularly — the Republic of the United Netherlands. This federation was very loose, owing to provincial tradition and separatist feeling. It has been compared to the Thirteen Colonies during the American Revolution under the Articles of Confederation, when, as Benjamin Franklin said, "If we do not hang together we shall hang separately." The comparison is an apt one, for in both cases, if a more perfect union had not been developed, political disaster probably would have ensued.

*Origin of the
Dutch republic*

These seven provinces differed in physical features, in history, in economy, and to some degree in language. Over-Yssel and Groningen were marshy and poor, the Duchy of Gelderland was a poor country but ruled by a warlike nobility both poor and proud. These three northeastern provinces were close to Germany and reflected German influence. The province of Utrecht was a former diocese whose bishop had been a formidable feudal prince in the Middle Ages, the bishopric was overthrown by the Reformation. The other three provinces of the Union bordered upon the sea. Friesland was peopled by a free and hardy peasantry used to wind and wave, and intensely democratic in spirit. The other two provinces, Holland and Zealand, were the most important, their preponderance was like that of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia in our own Thirteen Colonies. Both were commercial and industrial provinces, dominated by the bourgeois patriciate of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, Dordrecht, and Middelberg.

*The seven
provinces*

Each province had its own local estates, or legislative body. Municipal organization varied according to the province, but in the large towns the burgher class was predominant. It was a rich patriciate. The capital of the confederation was The Hague — literally The Hedge — where the old palace of the counts of Holland was situated. The chief official of the county of Holland was the Grand Pensionary who was appointed for five years by the comital assembly. Nomi-

*Government of
the provinces*

nally the Pensionary was the chief executive of the province of Holland only, but owing to the preponderance of Holland in the confederation he had very great influence throughout the whole country. But the evolution of the dignity and power of the Grand Pensionary was a gradual one. When William the Silent was assassinated in 1584 there was instituted a Council of State composed of twelve members: two for Gelderland, three for Holland, two for Zealand, two for Friesland, one for each of the other provinces. Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the son of William the Silent, had two votes. Actually the Council of State rapidly declined before the rising power of the Estates General, which by 1593 became the ruling body of the republic. The number of deputies in the Estates General was not fixed, but this made no difference for each province had only one voice in the deliberations, that is to say, the deputies of each province voted *en bloc*. The Estates General directed foreign affairs and regulated matters common to the Union, but were careful not to trespass upon the "states rights" of the several provinces. A comparison with the government of the United States before 1861 is pertinent at this point.

The chief executive of the united Dutch Republic was the Prince of Orange, who combined the authority of commander-in-chief of the army and fleet and the presidency of the state under the titles Captain and Admiral General Stadtholder, both of which functions became hereditary in the House of Orange. Although only seventeen years of age when his father was assassinated, Maurice of Nassau was at once named Stadtholder on the motion of John of Olden Barneveldt, then Grand Pensionary of Holland.

Maurice of Nassau wrought the liberation of the Netherlands from Spain. He was one of the great commanders, from whom Gustavus Adolphus and Cromwell learned the art of war. He was also a great civil engineer whose dikes and canals and causeways and siege operations utterly discomfited the Spanish troops. In his first offensive campaign in 1591 he captured Zutphen, Deventer, Nimwegen, in 1594 he took Groningen, in 1598, Turnhout. It was a gruelling conflict and in spite of his genius the United Netherlands might have succumbed to Spain if it had not been for the intervention of Queen Elizabeth of England and Henry IV of France.

It was a cruel disappointment to the Dutch that Henry IV did not insist that Dutch independence be recognized by Spain in the Treaty of Vervins in 1598. But Henry IV, with the immense burden of domestic problems within France, was unwilling to drive Spain to exasperation. But the young Prince of Orange fought intrepidly against an adversary almost as able as he. This was the Archduke Albert, son-in-law of Philip II. In 1600 Maurice captured Nieuport and Ostend but the archduke recovered the latter after a three years' siege and the

The House of Orange

Maurice of Nassau

Exhausting war with Spain

loss of 80,000 men (August 1604), but in compensation Maurice seized Bois-le-Duc, Grave, and Sluys. Both sides were exhausted. Trade was ruined, the countryside devastated. The Dutch fleet held the sea and intercepted the supply ships sent from Spain. The Spanish government dared not ship gold and silver bullion to the archduke and the soldiery rebelled for lack of pay. Peace was a mere matter of time. Henry IV intervened between the belligerents and in 1609 a truce to last for twelve years was signed. In reality it was the recognition of Dutch independence in all save the theory of international law. *Peace 1609*

With the coming of peace the United Netherlands rapidly recovered and its prosperity soon astonished Europe.

We must now consider the internal politics of the Dutch Republic. The period from 1609 to 1650 was one of bitter party conflict. During the long war with Spain this party antagonism had been latent, for the pressing interest was liberty and independence. But when these were secured the ancient factional hostility flared up. It was a struggle over the constitution. *Domestic party conflict*

Again it will be well for the teacher and the student to perceive a parallel to this condition in the party strife in the United States between the Federalist and Republican parties after 1789 led respectively by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. For like that rivalry, the issue in the Dutch Republic was one of political theory and administrative practice. The first article of the Union of Utrecht in 1579 had declared that *Struggle over centralization*

"the (aforesaid seven) provinces shall unite, bind, and confederate one with the other, as they unite, bind, and confederate with these, and stand forever by the others in all ways and manners as if they were *one* Province alone, without the same being able at any time to separate, allow to separate, or recede by . . . It being well understood that any question which any of the aforesaid provinces . . . belonging to this Union has with other provinces . . . concerning their particular and special privileges, liberties, exemptions, laws, statutes, laudable and ancient customs, usages and other rights, shall be decided by ordinary justice

Here was the question identical with that which vexed the United States from the formation of the Constitution to the Civil War (1861-1865). Was the United Netherlands a real union, or only a confederation? Was the Dutch constitution an organic instrument, or a compact? The issue between the doctrine of state-rights and national sovereignty is manifest. The Dutch Republic had no supreme court like ours; and unlike the United States, which fought a four years' war to preserve the union from secession of the Southern states, the Dutch solved the problem of giving simultaneous and just expression to central and provincial rights without a civil war.

This party cleavage was exacerbated by other differences. The Orange

party, sustained by the army, warlike so far as European affairs were concerned, was monarchical in spirit, orthodox Calvinist, intolerant in religion, and wanted to establish a state church. The opposition party, which may be called the Republican party, was composed of the wealthy bourgeoisie, merchants, and the professional class, they wished for peace for the sake of trade, were tolerant in religious policy, for there were still many Catholics in the Netherlands, were opposed to the establishment of a state church, and jealous of the rights and liberties of the provinces and the towns. The leader of this party was the Grand Pensionary, John of Olden Barnevelt. The struggle lasted under the successive stadtholders of Maurice of Nassau (1609–1625), his half-brother, Frederick Henry (1625–1647), and his son, William II (1647–1650).

The rivalry of the two parties broke into a flame of enmity over the difference in religious policy — an issue to which every other antagonism soon became attached on one side or the other. This was the quarrel between the Gomarists and the Arminians. Calvin had asserted eternal predestination as a dogma. But Arminius, professor of theology at Leyden, contended that predestination was conditional, which his colleague, Gomarus, hotly denied. The Republicans aligned themselves with the Arminians, the Orangists with the Gomarists, and a flood of pamphlets inundated the country, the over-current of which was theological, the under-current political in nature. The province of Holland, and especially the city of Amsterdam, was strongly Arminian, and under Barnevelt took up arms. But the six other provinces were politically Orangist and religiously Gomarist. Before civil war could break out, the rebellion was suppressed, Barnevelt put to death, Arminianism condemned, and a state church established (1619). When Maurice died in 1625 he was a king in all save the title.

His half-brother and successor, Frederick Henry (1625–1647), was the son of William the Silent and his second wife, Louise de Coligny, daughter of the great admiral who lost his life in the Massacre of St Bartholomew. From his French mother he inherited grace and charm, which his brother had lacked. He was easy-going though not weak. No one was opposed to him. He pleased every one and antagonized none so that the twenty-three years of his rule did much for the popularity and permanence of the House of Orange. His achievement was the establishment of the Dutch navy which in after years (1665) not only defied but defeated the fleets of England in a war over commercial rivalry. It is significant of the abiding fighting spirit of the Dutch that they opposed to the last the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Under William II (1647–1650) the old party antagonism broke out again. But the situation was now different. The stadtholder was an advocate of absolute power, and a man of energy. His ambition to become a prince was further stimulated through his marriage with

Religious conflict

*Frederick Henry
of Orange*

William II

Henrietta-Marie Stuart, a daughter of Charles I of England. The people now accused William of striving to be king. The burgher Republicans strenuously opposed his policy and William II, having the army with him, on July 30, 1650 caused the simultaneous and sudden arrest of all the prominent members of the party, among them Jacob De Witt, burgomaster of Dordrecht. The logical climax of this stroke would have been the erection of monarchy in the United Netherlands if it had not been that on November 6, 1650, William II suddenly died of smallpox. His only son, William III, was born six days after his father's death. The Orange party was without a leader. The party of the Estates for the time-being at least was triumphant.

This meant, in fact, the preponderance of Holland over all the other provinces, the political leader in which was John De Witt, the Grand Pensionary, who was the actual ruler of the Netherlands for the next twenty-two years (1650-1672). Three periods may be distinguished. For the first ten years his predominance was uncontested. The restoration of the Stuart dynasty in England in 1660 gave encouragement to the Orange party, although between 1660-1668 De Witt's ascendancy continued. Between 1668-1672 the power of the Grand Pensionary declined, finally culminating in his murder and the triumph of the House of Orange in the person of William III. John De Witt was the youngest of the four sons of that John De Witt who had been the leader of the Republican party in the time of Frederick Henry and William II. His brother Cornelius, who was two years older, was closely associated with him in all the politics of the time, and fell with him at the end. Their grandfather Cornelius De Witt had been an intimate friend of William the Silent. The young John De Witt was a graduate of Leyden University and highly educated. In addition to a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin, he spoke and wrote French and English fluently, and knew the literature of both countries. He was a man of talent and charm, his portrait, of which there are several, reveals a strong and swarthy countenance with dark and brilliant eyes. There may have been a strain of Spanish or Portuguese in the De Witt family.

*Holland and the
De Witt family*

At the moment when John De Witt became the virtual ruler of the United Netherlands the political situation was a tense one. On January 30, 1649 Charles I had been executed and England declared "a commonwealth and free state" under Oliver Cromwell the Protector. But the government of the Netherlands covertly favored Charles II, who was supported by the Scotch. The real reason for the ensuing war, however, was Dutch resentment against the English Navigation Act (October 9, 1651) which forbade the importation of goods into England except in English vessels, and was primarily aimed against the Dutch carrying trade. In the summer of 1652 a naval war broke out between Holland and England in which the honors of war were divided between the Dutch admirals De

Anglo Dutch war

Ruyter and Tromp and the English admiral Blake. But victory in the end was with the superior naval power of England. De Witt's clever effort with Denmark's aid to close the Baltic to English shipping was cancelled by an Anglo-Swedish alliance. Moreover the Hanseatic cities were interested in ruining Dutch trade and navigation in the Baltic. Finally France which since Henry IV's time had been friendly to the Netherlands, changed its traditional policy under Cardinal Mazarin, who wanted to unite France and England in a war against Spain, and therefore would give no aid to the Dutch.

This external combination reacted adversely upon internal conditions in the Netherlands. Prices rose and hard times prevailed. There was great popular discontent. The name of John De Witt was execrated and public opinion looked towards the House of Orange for relief. But the Estates General stood firmly behind the Grand Pensionary. Peace was finally made on April 5, 1654. The Dutch government pledged itself not to give shelter or assistance to the English Royalists, to pay an indemnity of £270,000 to the East India Company, whose trade relations with the Dutch had been regulated by treaty in 1619, to compensate the Baltic merchants for their losses and to concede "the honor of the English flag" in the North Sea and the Channel. The Dutch had lost above 1100 vessels in the course of this short war. Humiliating as the conditions were to the Dutch, De Witt was compelled to accept them, for otherwise a revolution probably would have broken out. John De Witt at least preserved his office and remained in power.

What saved John De Witt from overthrow at this time by the Orangist party was the ineradicable sectionalism which pervaded the country. William III was a boy of fourteen, but his uncle William Frederick of Nassau was stadtholder of Groningen and Friesland, Gelderland and Yssel were strongly Orangist and the domains of the House of Orange in Zeeland were so numerous that they almost engrossed the province. But the province of Holland and the burgher class in almost every city were staunchly Republican. Skilfully utilizing this sectional and class antagonism, and by means of adroit concessions, John De Witt deviously steered his way through rocks and shoals to political mastery once more.

The restoration of commerce and rehabilitation of the finances were the primary problems of the government. It arbitrarily lowered the interest of 140 millions on the public debt from five percent to four percent, reduced pensions; abolished all exemptions from taxation and suppressed many offices. The problem of foreign affairs was more difficult. Open rupture with France impended. Mazarin was offended over the peace made by the Dutch with England, for since he had failed to lure Cromwell into an alliance with France for war upon Spain, he was eager to see England continue to be embroiled with the Dutch. Ac-

*Humiliating
Dutch defeat*

*John De Witt's
difficult task*

*Difficulties with
France*

cordingly in April, 1657, he confiscated all Dutch merchandise and all Dutch shipping in French ports on pretext that the Dutch admiral De Ruyter had seized two French vessels in the late war. The Estates General energetically protested against this violent act, but Mazarin demanded a "favored nation" commercial treaty for France, which the Dutch were unwilling to make.

In the nick of time the death of Cromwell on September 3, 1658, which threw England into political turmoil, came to the relief of the United Netherlands. Liberated from English tyranny on the seas, the Dutch invaded the Far East in defiance of the threats of the East India Company, expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon and the Celebes Islands, nominally in revenge for Dutch commercial losses suffered in Brazil, and laid the foundations anew of the Dutch East India Company and the Netherlands' colonial empire in the East Indies. Furthermore, by making an alliance with Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, against Sweden and by lending naval assistance and money to little Denmark, which Sweden planned to crush, John De Witt preserved Dutch shipping and commerce in the Baltic. By 1660 the Dutch were again prosperous and politically a power to be reckoned with.

*Emergence of
Dutch commerce*

Between 1660 and 1668 John De Witt was at the height of his power. Nevertheless the opposition to him grew. The restoration of Charles II in England gave heart to the Orangist party in Holland. Zealand and Holland demanded that the stadtholderate be restored in the person of William and the previous act of exclusion which had barred him from that office was rescinded, with the proviso that he was not to be considered eligible for it, however, until his eighteenth year. Four years later, when he had reached that age, De Witt was too well entrenched in power to be ousted, and William, in order to avoid conflict, feigned a republicanism which was not sincere.

*Claims of the
Orange party*

De Witt's foreign policy at the same time was a conciliatory one. The Treaty of Westminster (1654) with England had annoyed Mazarin, who had effected an alliance with Cromwell, and retaliated by imposing a tonnage tax on all Dutch shipping, which entered French ports. The government of Louis XIV at this time was engaged in weaving a net of French alliances around Spain and both England and Holland were necessary parts in this web. On April 27, 1662, a Franco-Dutch alliance was signed by the terms of which the Netherlands were to furnish 6,000 men and France 12,000, and the French tax on Dutch shipping was greatly reduced. This compact naturally implied a treaty with England which was made on September 4 following. Nominally this alliance was a defensive one against Spain. But the expression was sheer pretence. Spain at this time was too decrepit to have been able to make any offensive move. Behind the word "defensive" lurked the secret intention of France and the Dutch Republic to partition the Spanish Netherlands.

*De Witt's
foreign policy*

between them, while England was to get her reward in the Caribbean at the expense of Spain. Portugal, too, was drawn into this network. For Charles II had married Catherine of Braganza, princess of Portugal, and part of the price which De Witt had to pay for retaining English friendship was to restore Brazil to the Portuguese crown.

But this conciliatory policy of De Witt failed, owing to English colonial ambition. The Dutch and English trading companies on the coast of Africa¹ entered into hostilities which speedily drew the mother-countries into the fray. As England had preyed upon the Spanish colonies in the reign of Elizabeth, so she now preyed upon the Dutch colonies. In 1664, without a declaration of war, Sir Robert Holmes, dispatched by the African Company, captured several Dutch settlements on the coast of Africa, and then crossed the Atlantic and reduced New Amsterdam (now New York), and great numbers of Dutch vessels were taken in the North Sea and the Channel. Finally on February 22, 1665, England formally declared war against the Netherlands, and on January 16, 1666, Louis XIV joined the Dutch against England. Fierce sea-fighting fills the annals during the year 1666-1667. After the ravages of the plague in London, of which 100,000 persons died in 1665, and the great fire in the next year (September 2-6) which almost destroyed the city, England made overtures for peace, which were concluded on July 21, 1667, at Breda. The terms provided that England retain the New Netherlands, i.e., the Dutch territory in North America from the Connecticut to the Delaware Rivers, including New Amsterdam and the valley of the Hudson as far as Albany, and New Jersey, which was organized as the colony of Nova Caesarea — from which "New Jersey" is derived. The name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York in honor of Charles II's brother James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II. France received Acadia and the Dutch got Surinam.

At this moment John De Witt was at the height of his power. It is true that the Dutch had lost their colony in North America but they had gained Surinam and retained their colony in Africa, moreover, an equilibrium between the Orangists and the Republicans had been established at home, and the Dutch fleet had been victorious generally in the North Sea and the Channel. The United Provinces seemed to hold the balance of power in western Europe, while their economic prosperity was enormous. In the history of Dutch art this was the period of the great painters Ruysdael, Teniers, Gerard, and Dow, while across the line, in the Spanish Netherlands the great artists Rubens and Paul Potter had flourished in the same time.

But the years 1668-1672 were a deceitful calm like that before a great storm.

¹ The guinea was first coined in England at this time, the gold being brought from the Guinea coast by the African Company, of which Prince Rupert was the head.

CHAPTER XLV

LOUIS XIV AND THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE (1660-1685)

The domestic policy and history of a country may usually be clearly distinguished from its foreign policy, although this is not to be understood as saying that the two can be wholly separated. But for the sake of clarity it is necessary to regard the history of France, England, and the United Netherlands after 1668 as a single chapter in the history of international relations.

Distinction between domestic and foreign policy

The year 1660 was a turning point in European history. In that year Louis XIV had personally assumed the reins of government, and the reign of the *Grand Monarque* began. In the same year the Puritan domination, which Cromwell had established in England after the execution of Charles I in 1649, collapsed. Charles II was recalled and the Restoration took place in England.

The year 1660

Louis XIV had a sound though not brilliant mind, he was good-natured, firm in his resolutions, and neither cruel nor mean. It must always be remembered that in his time the enlargement of a state by conquest was regarded as the chief mode of advancing its progress, and war was thought to be the proper business of kings.

Character of Louis XIV

Diplomacy and war in this period were above all a matter of money to pay soldiers and to bribe the ministers of foreign states. Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV reduced both practices to a method. Every European sovereign had his ambassador at the principal foreign courts. The envoys were kept instructed by dispatches, the most important passages in which were ciphered. For the first time armies began to be uniformed and to have a regular armament, the more portable musket with which the Duke of Alva had first armed his troops in 1572 had supplanted the heavy and cumbersome arquebus or old fashioned blunderbuss, the bayonet, essentially a sword-blade fixed to a gun barrel, had taken the place of the pike, so that the soldier had two weapons in one. The art of fortification had greatly advanced; the French marshal Vauban was the greatest military engineer of the seventeenth century. As field-m Marshals, Louis XIV had the services of the most brilliant commanders of the age—Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Vendôme, Boufflers, against one or another of whom were pitted William of Orange, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Duke of Marlborough.

Diplomatic and military innovations

Among the circumstances which favored the growth of French ascendancy in the reign of Louis XIV, three are of especial importance (1) The attitude of the restored Stuart kings of England, and their conflict with Parliament, (2) the hostility of the republican "Amsterdammers" in Holland against the restored House of Orange, (3) the disunion in Germany due to the desire of the princes to preserve their "liberties," and of the Protestants to defend their religion against the centralizing and persecuting policy of the Habsburg emperors. The favorable circumstances for France were largely lost in the decade between 1680-1690, owing to the conduct of Louis XIV himself. His persecution of the Huguenots antagonized the Protestants in England, Holland, and Germany. His aggressive policy in Germany forced the princes, headed by the Great Elector, in 1684, to abandon the French alliance and to support the emperor. Furthermore, his economic measures exasperated the Dutch mercantile classes. Finally the English Revolution of 1688, which owed its easy victory to French blunders, drove the male line of the Stuarts from the English throne and transferred it to William III, the most implacable enemy of Louis XIV and champion of a European coalition against France.

The beginning of the personal reign of Louis XIV in 1660 precipitated the first war of the new era, known as the War of Devolution (1667-1668) which arose over the question of the reversion of the Spanish Netherlands when Philip IV of Spain should die, as he did in 1665. It will be remembered that by the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) the Infanta Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Spanish king, had married Louis XIV, but had expressly renounced her claims upon any Spanish inheritance for herself and her heirs in consideration of the payment of a dowry of 500,000 crowns by Spain. Unfortunately for the peace of Europe poverty-stricken Spain had not paid the dowry. Louis XIV negotiated with the Spanish government for some years and offered his alliance against Portugal and England on condition that his wife's renunciation was revoked and that Spain would cede the Free County of Burgundy (Franche Comté), the Duchy of Luxembourg, the County of Hainaut and the Cambrésis—all of which pertained to the Spanish Netherlands—to France. When refused, Louis XIV prepared to take by force what he could not get by diplomacy. Philip IV turned to the House of Austria, the other branch of the Habsburgs, for aid and in 1663 he married his younger daughter Margaret to the Emperor Leopold.

The French king's claim was a piece of effrontery. For the law of devolution, which he pleaded, was a principle in Flemish *private* law whereby in the event of the dissolution of a marriage by death, the survivor enjoyed the usufruct only of the property, the ownership being vested in the children, from which it followed that daughters of a first marriage inherited before sons of a second marriage.

*Circumstances
favoring French
Ascendancy*

*War of
Devolution*

*Louis XIV's
fraudulent claim*

The renunciation of her heritage which the French queen had made, Louis XIV claimed was invalid because the promised dowry had not been paid

Europe had not yet discovered the new power of France, but was soon to do so. For in anticipation of his invasion of the Spanish Netherlands Louis XIV had made treaties with France's old allies, Holland, Sweden, and England, whose newly restored King Charles II secretly sold Dunkirk and Mardyck, Cromwell's late conquests, to France. The conflict which broke out at this same time between England and Holland benefited Louis XIV who united his forces with those of the Dutch Republic. At the same time the emperor was unable to help Spain because the Turks had invaded Hungary and advanced as far as the Raab River. In 1667 Turenne conquered a part of Flanders and Hainaut. But the Dutch and the English soon took alarm over the rapid progress of the French arms and through the exertions of John De Witt and Sir William Temple, with Sweden formed the Triple Alliance (January 23, 1668) which induced Louis XIV, after Condé had over-run Franche Comté without resistance, to sign the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668) according to the terms of which France restored Franche Comté to Spain—after dismantling the fortresses—but retained twelve fortified towns along the border of the Spanish Netherlands, the most important of which were Lille, Tournay, and Oudenarde.

The Triple Alliance inaugurated a new system of alliances. Before this time the European coalitions had been formed against Spain and Austria. For the next fifty years they were to be formed against France. Louis XIV's wrath was soon to descend upon Holland which he regarded as the soul of the coalition against him. But before declaring war, the French king practiced his successful diplomacy upon Charles II in order to break the Triple Alliance. Charles II needed French money in order to make him independent of Parliamentary grants. In an intrigue of this sort Charles II could not trust any one of his ministers, crooked as some of them were. Madame, the famous princess Henriette of England, Charles II's sister, and sister-in-law of Louis XIV, adroitly negotiated the secret Treaty of Dover (June 1, 1670) by which Charles II became a French pensioner bound to assist the French king in his designs against the Dutch with his army and his fleet, in return for which he looked to French support in establishing arbitrary government after the Stuart model of kingship. Thus to England the issue was one between constitutional and absolute monarchy.

In Germany at the same time French diplomacy formed a coalition of the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Munster, the duke of Bavaria and the elector palatine against Holland. As for Sweden, French gold bribed her away from the Triple Alliance. The result was that by 1672 the Dutch Republic was politically isolated.

and seemingly to become the victim of French aggression. In this critical situation John De Witt lost his old popularity, while that of William of Orange, now a grown man possessed of political astuteness, rose. On February 24, 1672, as the war-cloud grew darker, William was made Captain and Admiral General of the Republic.

Three weeks later (March 17), England formally declared war upon Holland. The French declaration was not issued until April 6. Louis XIV was cleverly concealing his designs and his responsibility behind his puppet Charles II's English perfidy.

In France an army of 120,000 in three divisions under command of Turenne, Condé, and Louis XIV in person, advanced with unprecedented swiftness down the right bank of the lower Rhine, which was crossed by a brilliant manoeuvre at the point where the Rhine divides into two branches — the Vaal and the Lech (June 12, 1672). William of Orange could not cope with such a host and retired upon Utrecht. The invaders poured over the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel, compelling capitulation of every town. On June 25 they entered Utrecht. In desperation William cut the dikes on August 4, and three whole provinces were put under water. It was the old tactics of Maurice of Nassau against the Spaniards. When the Duke of Buckingham, whom Charles II had sent to Holland to act in the French cause — though William was unaware of the secret alliance between Charles II and Louis XIV, he might have suspected it — said to him "Do you not see that your country is lost?", the intrepid Stadtholder replied "There is one sure means of not seeing it perish and that is to die on the last dike." Amsterdam was in a panic, and some rich merchants conceived the idea of trying to bribe Condé with two millions of florins. Meanwhile John De Witt had worked furiously night and day to fortify Amsterdam, at the same time an English fleet had defeated the *Admiral De Ruyter* and driven it into harbor (May 30). The frightened Estates General offered to yield to Louis XIV the Dutch cities on the Rhine, in Brabant and Dutch Flanders and Maastricht, together with the sum of ten million florins. Fortunately for the Dutch, Louis XIV was so swollen with pride over his swift and easy victories that he committed the stupidity of rejecting the offer. He demanded Nimwegen, part of Guelders, an indemnity of twenty millions, and freedom of the Catholic religion in the Netherlands as the price of peace.

A popular revolution broke out in Holland. On July 8 William of Orange was declared Stadtholder. In order to escape drowning, Louis XIV withdrew his whole army. Dutch liberty once more was saved from foreign and Catholic oppression. John and Cornelius De Witt, who had been thrown into prison when fear and feeling were at its height, were murdered by a mob. Hugo Grotius, the great Dutch

*Anglo French
war on Holland*

*French victorious
invasion of
Holland*

*Revolution in
Holland*

scholar, author of the pioneer work on international law, had been a friend of the De Witts and was also thrown into prison, he made his escape by concealing himself in a chest of books, and found refuge in France

Henceforth William of Orange was ruler of the Dutch Republic and the master-spirit of opposition to Louis XIV. His whole career was dominated by exterior circumstances. The important acts of his life and his policy depended upon what Louis XIV and Charles II *William of Orange* and James II did. The Stuart dynasty in England had yet sixteen years of reign. In 1688 the great revolution took place by which the Stuart house was overthrown and William of Orange became William III of England. William of Orange shortly was in correspondence with half the rulers of Europe in the endeavor to build up an alliance against France. The Emperor Leopold by now regretted his hasty treaty with France in 1668 for partition of the Spanish Netherlands, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick and Hesse, the Kings of Denmark and of Spain were all uneasy over Louis XIV's designs. The result was the formation of the Grand Alliance in August, 1673.

Louis XIV, foiled of his prey in Holland, had determined to indemnify himself for his losses there by falling upon the Spanish possessions in Central Europe. In person he conquered Franche Comté, while Turenne made a brilliant campaign on the Rhine where he *Grand alliance against France* was pitted against the imperial general Montecuculi and the Great Elector of Brandenburg. The latter, however, was recalled on account of an invasion of his territory by the Swedes, who had refused to join the Grand Alliance and preferred to take French gold instead. The decisive Battle of Fehrbellin (June 18, 1675) destroyed the last remnant of Swedish continental ambition which she had cherished ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus and strengthened the Great Elector as an antagonist of Louis XIV second only to William of Orange in importance. Meanwhile the allies projected a triple invasion of France: in the south by Spain, which planned to recover Roussillon, from the north, William of Orange with 80,000 Dutch and Spanish troops advanced up the Somme and compelled the French Marshal Luxembourg to make a masterly retreat, on the east, a German and imperial force struck at France through Alsace. The peril of France was real. Worse still for France, however, was the political change which took place in England. Public opinion, though it had no positive evidence of Charles II's connivance with Louis XIV, grew suspicious and pressed urgently for overt English co-operation with the Dutch. Charles II yielded, for if he had not done so he might have been overthrown. Further, in order to cement the Anglo-Dutch alliance on November 15, 1677, Charles II's niece Mary, the eldest daughter of his brother James, Duke of York, was given in marriage to William of Orange, who already in 1674 had been declared hereditary Stadtholder of the United Netherlands, which meant that he, too, was a



EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE (1648-1713)

king in fact, and worthy of marrying a royal princess. The historical results of this event reached a climax in 1688 when the English Parliament expelled the Stuart dynasty and called William and Mary to the throne of England.

Fortunately for Louis XIV, the coalition which had been formed against him was a rope of sand and its grand designs for a triple invasion of France collapsed, so that after the conquest of Franche Comté he turned his arms against Spain in the Netherlands and took Ghent and Ypres after a siege, in March, 1678. If he had followed with the capture of Antwerp and Ostend, the French domination in the Low Countries would have been as formidable to the rest of Europe as Spain had been in the sixteenth century.

*Louis XIV again
invades Belgium*

By this time, however, Louis XIV had other and more immediate interests to look after, and needed peace for their execution. A congress of plenipotentiaries had been sitting for three years at Nimwegen, in Holland, vainly trying to strike an agreement between the belligerents. In 1678-1679 peace was made in a series of separate treaties inclusively called the Treaty of Nimwegen, by the terms of which Holland received back all the territory which France had conquered. The emperor ceded to France Freiburg in Baden, which gave France a stronghold across the upper Rhine in return for which France withdrew its garrison from Philippsburg on the middle Rhine, which it had seized during the operations of war. Spain suffered the most, for she was in no condition to prolong the war and her late allies were unwilling to fight in her behalf when their contentions were satisfied. Accordingly Spain was compelled to cede to France the Free County of Burgundy on the northeast together with ten fortified places in the Spanish Netherlands along the French border of which Valenciennes, Cambrai, St. Omer and Ypres were the most important, in return for which Louis XIV withdrew his troops from other places in Belgium occupied by them. Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, suffered, however, in the settlement. None of the allies would support him, in consequence of which Brandenburg had to re-cede to Sweden the province of Pomerania, which the Elector had over-run after the victory at Fehrbellin. All that he got was the promised reversion of the little principality of East Friesland which actually did not become Prussian until 1744. In his intense anger and injured pride Frederick William is said to have dramatically exclaimed, quoting the Roman poet Vergil, "The future shall see an avenger arise from my bones" — a prophecy which became true in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 when Prussia stripped France of Alsace and Lorraine.

*Treaty of
Nimwegen*

Between the Treaty of Nimwegen in 1678-1679 and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Louis XIV was at the height of his power and the shadow of France fell across Europe. Accordingly at this point we must turn from the history of France's foreign and military policy to a consideration of the internal history of France in the first period of the reign of the

Grand Monarque, who proudly styled himself *Le roi soleil* or the Sun King

Louis XIV was at once king and premier. For fifty-four years no European ruler worked harder or kept longer at his desk than Louis XIV. His reign

marks the climax in majesty and power of the French monarchy. In theory it was absolute. In his person and

Louis XIV's role and appearance

inheritance and ancient tradition, Louis XIV incarnated the type of absolute monarch. The maxim attributed to Louis XIV, "I am the State" (*L'état c'est moi*), was true in practice, if not in law. The royal authority, he held, was not of human but of divine origin. God established kings, and kings were His lieutenants. "The will of God is that every subject shall obey without question," said Louis. The only limitation upon the king was his own discretion and his fear of God. In person, Louis XIV was of medium height, graceful carriage, handsome countenance, gracious manners when pleased, menacing when offended, dignified always, and on state occasions of majestic appearance. Louis XIV never moved except to measure, and lived and died according to etiquette; he was a magnificent poseur, this actually little man with a pock-marked face, a great perwig and red heels to his shoes to make him look taller. With illusion of grandeur, he possessed a keen sense of duty, but his assiduous application was often squandered on petty details. In this he was like the Spanish Habsburgs, from whom he was descended through his mother. He was unable to delegate responsibility and was jealous of his ministers, from whom he would not take advice and whom he treated like glorified bureaux clerks.

The most important administrative office was that of comptroller-general or minister of the treasury and finance, next to whom was the secretary of war,

as one might expect in view of the great series of wars which France waged in the reign of Louis XIV. There was no

minister of foreign affairs, for the king was that himself. As a whole, the system of government was that which Richelieu had fashioned both in the organs of the central government and in provincial organization. The thirty-two intendants remained all-powerful in the provinces. In establishing a lieutenant-general of police, however, the king made a salutary improvement. La Reynie, the first incumbent of the office (1667-1697), found Paris a city of dark and crooked streets and narrow fetid alleys infested by footpads and robbers at night. He left it well policed, with paved streets, having 5,000 street lamps, a sewerage, and a water system. Every activity in France, the post, the press, the theatre, commerce, trade, industry, was watched and regulated.

While Paris was the capital of France, actually Louis XIV's habitual place of residence was at Versailles, fourteen miles from Paris. During his first

years of rule, the king like his predecessors, had resided at St. Germain in summer, but conceived a dislike of the place, though the view from the heights above the winding Seine is very beautiful, because it looked down upon St. Denis, and the tombs of the

Versailles

French kings The site of Versailles was a waterless plain and the expense of bringing water to the palace and vast gardens was immense, even more expensive was the palace on which the king expended over one thousand million francs No fewer than 36 000 men and 6 000 horses are said to have been employed at one time in formation of the terraces gardens, road making, and excavation for miniature lakes After 1682 Versailles was the permanent place of royal residence

The most characteristic creation of Louis XIV was etiquette The court, that is the household of the King and all its civil and military attachés and visitors, became an institution It included the separate households of the king, the queen, the dauphin or heir-apparent, *Court etiquette* the princes of the blood, so that it was not unlike the solar system, everything revolving around the king, a simile which accounts for the term *Le roi soleil* or Sun King, which was attributed to Louis XIV The court lost all its former military character Instead of wearing military costume as previous kings had done, Louis XIV wore ruffled shirts with lace cuffs, silk breeches and stockings and buckled shoes He was fond of ribbons and laces In brief, Louis XIV dressed like a rich bourgeois, not as a soldier He wore a pompous wig, carried a cane, rode in a carriage instead of on horseback, and neither hunted nor fenced

The dominant internal problem of France in the seventeenth century was the double one of taxation and finance Richelieu and Mazarin were masters of the art of diplomacy but deplorably bad financiers In the thirty years between 1610 and 1642 the amount of taxation exceeded that of the last year of Henry IV by 53 million *Taxation and Finance* livres, of which 13 millions only were available for the increased expenses of government! Richelieu in his *Political Testament* states the annual taxation during his ministry to have been 79 millions, from which the net receipt was only 33 millions At the accession of Louis XIV in 1643 the anticipations of the revenue included that for three years in advance, i.e., for 1646, and the old evil of selling titles of nobility was resorted to again, the sale being stimulated by cancellation of all previous patents of nobility acquired in the preceding thirty years Loans were contracted for at 20 percent and 25 percent in interest Under Mazarin the average current expenses of the government were 60 millions and the revenue 48 millions Of these 48 millions, 23 millions were reserved for secret service This explains how every plenipotentiary at the Peace of Westphalia was in French pay

The oldest of the taxes in France was the *taille*, or tallage, which went back to the feudal age and was tax upon real and personal property of the common people but from which the nobles and clergy were exempt, since they had levied this form of tax upon their *Taille and gabelle* serfs in the Middle Ages The apportionment of it was regulated by commissioners under the treasury until the intendancy was

instituted, after which time it was collected by each intendant in his district. Another tax — and the most unpopular — was the *gabelle*, a tax on salt, the manufacture of which was a government monopoly. The amount of salt to be purchased was strictly defined. The consumer was compelled to purchase in proportion to the number in his family and could not sell to another any surplus quantity he might have. This was not all. Different provinces were subjected to different rates of exaction, and a few were exempt. The price varied from two to nine *livres* the quintal. In some provinces (*les provinces de grandes gabelles*) the average quantity required to be purchased per head was above nine pounds, and the price sixty-two *livres* per quintal. In other provinces twenty-five pounds weight per head above eight years of age was required to be purchased. Conceive next door neighbors unequally supplied, in proportion to their wants, throughout all the provinces subject to the tax, and adjacent provinces separated only by imaginary lines, supplied at such very different rates, prohibited under the severest penalties from accommodating each other's wants and subjected to a baneful system of spying to prevent infraction of the laws. Much salt was illicitly made along the seacoast and smuggled to the inland provinces. Almost every history of Old France dwells with execration upon the injustice of the *gabelle*. It should be pointed out that Great Britain also taxed salt very heavily as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and that salt in Scotland cost fifteen shillings a bushel while in England it cost only six shillings.

Another heavy tax in France under the ancient regime was the Transit Tax imposed on commodities of interchange between provinces. It was as if interstate commerce in the United States was taxed, which *Transit tax* is forbidden by our constitution. Taxation of exports out of the country, also was heavy. For according to the prevailing economic theory of the seventeenth century, the Mercantilist Theory, it was believed that goods going out of a country impoverished it, and that exportation should be discouraged by a tax from which imports, for a like reason, should be exempted.

The exemption of the French nobles from taxation was not, as generally supposed, quite universal. They were subject to the *taille* for lands in their own occupation and to the capitation or poll tax, from which even the Dauphin was not excepted. The nobles in Old France, having pecuniary privileges, titles of nobility became an object of speculation and purchase, and the kings from the late Middle Ages had practiced the sale of patents of nobility. To such an excess did this practice reach in the seventeenth century that it was calculated that there were not less than four thousand offices conferring hereditary nobility, and all vendible, there were also many inferior places, the possession of which exempted from the *taille* and other burdensome or degrading taxes. Successive administrations increased the number of these. Then again, the crown

Sale of tax-exempt titles

sold "special appointments" to tradesmen, as glove-maker, wig-maker, etc to the king. The regulations governing apprenticeship were unjust and a severe inhibition on industry. To be a draper, a young man was required to serve three years as an apprentice and two as a journeyman, to pay 300 livres on being bound and 3,000 when he set up for himself. A cobbler served three years as an apprentice and four as a journeyman, he paid 15 livres when he was indentured and 360 livres when he received license to practice his trade.

When Louis XIV's personal government began in 1660 the financial condition of France was desperate. One of his first acts was to appoint Colbert to be comptroller-general (1661-1683). He was one of the earliest European statesmen to think in economic terms. He ^{Financial situation} had had a long apprenticeship in subordinate positions in the administration, and had been recommended to the king by Mazarin. Colbert was a dour, sour man who worked sixteen hours a day, who hated indolence or waste of time, and was extremely parsimonious. His first care was to prosecute more than five hundred former officials of various sorts for peculation, by which he recovered over 110 millions of stolen revenue. The public debt amounted at this time to 430 millions, part of which Colbert liquidated and at the same time reduced the rate of interest upon the remainder. He drew up a double statement which showed the annual revenue and the annual expenses of the government. Instead of farming out the collection of taxes in some of the provinces to private corporations who paid the crown a lump sum for the privilege and then exacted as much as they could from the population, as had been the former practice, even in the time of Sully, Colbert compelled the farmers-general to compete for the privilege and accepted the bid which allowed the most to the government. The gain to the government is shown by the fact that in 1661 this form of revenue amounted to 36,738,000 livres whereas in 1681 it amounted to over 64,000,000 livres.

But these expedients were rather negative than positive remedies. A more constructive augmentation of revenue was necessary.

Of the three sources of revenue, agriculture, industry, commerce, the first was of least interest to Colbert and he believed that the stimulation of industry was more important than the promotion of commerce. In 1663 he presented a memoir upon manufactures, stressing the ^{Three sources of revenue} cloth industry especially and advocating protective tariffs upon importation of silk, wool, cotton, linen, and dye stuffs. He introduced into France Flemish weavers who manufactured the world renowned Gobelin tapestries, Italian silk workers, and Venetian glass makers. All these industries, it is to be observed, were luxury manufactures, a line in which France still excels. In sum, Colbert's policy was to regularize existing industries and to introduce new ones subsidized by the government.

This politically administered economy was carried to enormous lengths

The regulations of the textile industry alone for the year from 1666 to 1730 fill four quarto volumes of 2,200 pages, and there were three supplementary volumes later. The minutiae of requirements were meticulous. In some places a bolt of woollen goods had to measure one and three-quarter ells in width, and to contain 1,408 threads. In others the warp had to contain 1,376 threads, and still other places there must be 1,216 threads. What with protective tariffs, monopolies, smuggling evasion, secret police, etc., the small merchant and artisan found it hard to live. "It is estimated," says Heckscher, "that the economic measures taken in this connection cost the lives of some sixteen hundred people, partly through executions and partly through armed affrays, without reckoning the unknown but certainly much larger number of people who were sent to the galleys, or punished in other ways. On one occasion, in Valence, seventy-seven were sentenced to be hanged, fifty-eight were to be broken on the wheel, six hundred and thirty-one were sent to the galleys, one was set free, and none was pardoned. But even this vigorous action did not help to attain the desired end."¹

In the matter of internal commerce Colbert abolished or reduced many of the medieval inter-provincial tolls, built roads, and constructed canals, notably the one which connected Toulouse with a Mediterranean port. But he was only partially successful in abating the evil of custom duties within France, and they were not wiped out until the Revolution in 1789.

As the two maritime nations, England and Holland, were France's chief commercial competitors, a strong navy was required to enforce this mercantilistic policy. After Richelieu's death in 1642 the French navy had rapidly decayed. Mazarin had been indifferent to it. Before the Fronde, France still had 30 two- and three-deckers and 25 galleys. But by the time Louis XIV assumed the reins of government there were no ships of the first and second classes, and the few left were in so decrepit a condition that they dared not put to sea. Of the ships which existed in 1661, only eight were fit for service in 1671.

Colbert scrapped the whole antiquated fleet and created a new navy. He repaired old shipyards and built new ones, he caused hemp and iron to be wrought, he inscribed on ledgers the names of all able-bodied men living along the coasts of France so that between 1668 and 1681 60,000 enrolled seamen were distributed over the maritime provinces of France, he erected arsenals at Brest, Rochefort, Dunkirk, Havre, and Toulon. In 1672 Louis XIV was able to send thirty ships of the line to join the fleet of Charles II against the Dutch squadron of De Ruyter. Twenty years later, in 1692, France had 2,500 naval officers and 97,000 sailors and marines.

Colbert's policies were at first successful. But about 1675 difficulties began to

¹ Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, I, p. 157

multiply and revolts broke out in some of the provinces because of new and heavy war-taxes. There was partial surcease after the Peace of Nimwegen in 1679, but six years later the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) threw France alike into political, religious, and economic turmoil. Foreign and civil war, a famine in 1693, dearth of food, increased taxation, the exodus of the Huguenots, terribly reduced France. One wonders whether if Colbert had lived, he could have averted at least the worst of these evils. During the period from 1689 to 1715 the total net revenue of France was 1,370 millions (*livres*) but the government's expenses amounted to five millions in this same period. The difference between these sums was bridged by loans at prodigious rates of interest, 12 to 16 per cent. Between 1700 and 1714, 440 millions cost 25 millions in interest, or 18 per cent. It is no wonder that in 1715 Louis XIV's reign ended in worse condition than when it began. The government debt aggregated 1,320 millions of *livres*.

Notwithstanding this serious and chronic financial condition Louis XIV pursued his ambitious course, oppressing his people at home and increasingly antagonizing Europe by his external policy of conquest. Three subjects in particular need to be noticed. These were the Chamber of Réunion (1679-1684), the declaration of the liberties of the Gallican Church (1682), and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).

In spite of the territorial acquisitions which he had made by the Treaty of Nimwegen in 1679, Louis XIV was not satisfied. There were some ragged edges along the eastern frontier of France which the king resolved to round out, by forcible acquisition of what territories were necessary for this purpose. The most important of these were Alsace, Lorraine, Luxembourg, the bishoprics of Trèves, Saarbrück, and Zweibrücken or Deuxponts, though the king's ultimate ambition was to extend France to the Rhine. This would be the realization of France's long cherished doctrine of "natural frontiers" — the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

These territories with many others had constituted Europe's "Middle Border" ever since the break-up of the Frankish Empire in the ninth century, and for centuries had been a bone of contention between France and Germany. Every one of these territories possessed ancient and obscure claims of overlordship over adjacent districts roundabout them, which had not been defined in any of the great treaty settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Louis XIV took advantage of this anomalous political condition and absence of accurate legal definition, and instituted four special courts at Metz, Breisach, Besançon, and Tournay, entitled Chambers of Réunion. These chambers were commanded to investigate the mass of obscure, conflicting or concurrent claims, and to

*Miserable
economic
conditions*

*Louis XIV's
oppressive policies*

*Presses toward
"natural frontiers"*

*French occupy
Alsacian cities*

decide what dependencies had at any time belonged to the territories and cities which had been ceded to France by the last four treaties of peace. The word "réunion" was a euphemistic phrase devised to justify annexation by France of all the territories so engaged, for the king executed by military occupation the decisions of these tribunals. As a contemporary said, "He made war and called it peace." In this way Louis XIV seized possession of these territories and towns between the years 1680-1683. In Alsace alone was he only partly successful. In 1681 the French occupied Strasbourg, but the territory of Alsace as a whole escaped seizure. Germany and the empire were the chief victims of the practice, but all Europe resented it, though reluctant to go to war to prevent it.

Even the pope became an enemy of Louis XIV and sympathized with Protestant Holland and England, the two chief adversaries of France. This enmity arose over the question of the "Gallican Church" and its liberties. Louis XIV had no special respect for Rome. He followed Richelieu and Mazarin in the tradition of opposition to the Holy See. He conceived that his duty to the papacy consisted in maintaining the principles of Catholic dogma and worship, but that in every other capacity the king was head of the Church in France. This meant that the king filled all ecclesiastical vacancies and had the right, known as the *regale*, to appropriate to his own use a portion of the revenues of the Church as a landed proprietor—and the Church, be it remembered was the largest landowner in the realm.

This system had obtained since the Concordat of 1515 which was made between Francis I and the Holy See. But the cost of Louis XIV's wars and his court was so great that in 1673 the king increased the imposition upon the French clergy, in spite of their protest that it was extortion. In 1680 Caulet, the Bishop of Pamiers, who was the leader of the clerical opposition, appealed to Pope Innocent XI, one of the ablest of modern popes. Inevitably other issues were drawn into the controversy, such as the proper relation of Church and state, and even the right of the papacy to depose a king for misgovernment, as was done in the Middle Ages by Gregory VII and Innocent III. In the end Louis XIV won his point, and Europe witnessed the spectacle of a pope reprobating the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and morally supporting the Protestant coalition against France in the next war.

The most calamitous event in the reign of Louis XIV was undoubtedly the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and it is to this that we must now devote some paragraphs, for it climaxed the king's internal policy and at the same time intensified foreign enmity to France.

The Revocation is evidence of the fact that though the principle of religious toleration was admitted and erected into law by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, in practice it was more honored in the breach than in the observance.

— and this not merely in France but in England and Holland and elsewhere. Influential factors in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were the Jesuits, Louvois, the powerful minister of war, Madame de Maintenon, the king's mistress, most of the high clergy with the notable exception of the enlightened and liberal Fénelon, Bishop of Cambrai, and the guilds, whose members resented the competition of Huguenot workers. The last factor needs a further word of explanation. The tendency of the French government ever since the sixteenth century had been one of increasing control of industry and commerce. It is reflected in the Edict upon the trades of Henry III in 1581 and in Henry IV's similar legislation in 1597. The troubles of the regency and the Fronde had arrested the movement thus begun. Colbert revived the policy. The guilds were the chief object of regulation and the chief opposition emanated from them. In 1669 he abolished the old narrow regulations. He had no patience with their efforts to restrict trade for fear of competition, nor with their exclusiveness, corruption, and fraud. He organized new corporations and encouraged the establishment of new industries, as we have seen in the case of the Gobelin tapestries, and silk and glass manufacturing. Since the guilds would admit no Protestant, Colbert played the Huguenots against the guilds by granting "special appointments to the court" to Protestant tradesmen, jewelers, and perfumers, he imported foreign Protestant workmen, many of whom were Hollanders. One Dutch Calvinist manufacturer at Abbeville employed 6,500 workmen, another at Angoulême employed 500. Another fact which inclined Colbert to favor Protestant workmen was that they labored every day in the year except on Sundays and Christmas, whereas Catholic workmen took "time out" for all the holy days and saints' days in the Catholic calendar. Accordingly the productivity of Huguenot workmen was much greater than that of Catholic workmen, which gratified Colbert.

*Causes of the
revocation*

But the powerful minister was not strong enough to sustain his policy. The growth of Catholic religious associations and congregations in France in the seventeenth century is an impressive fact, for it reveals the existence of an organized public opinion. In the seventy-five years between 1610 and 1685, 136 such religious congregations were established, the most important of which were the Company of the Sacred Heart and the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith. Colbert's fall in 1681 ruined the reforms which he had introduced, assured the triumph of the guilds, and made the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes a certainty. On July 1, 1682, a petition signed by eight archbishops and twenty-five bishops, of whom the most eminent was Bossuet, and thirty-five other ecclesiastics, were presented to the king praying "for the conversion or reconciliation" of the heretic Huguenots with the Church. The latter word was an ominous one. The alternative presented was either discreet abjuration or compulsion by force. Tumult soon began in the provinces, especially in Dauphiné, and the Cévennes. In Vivarais an aged

On October 18, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked. The Protestant religion was forbidden, the church edifices confiscated and destroyed,

Cruelty of the Evocation

Disastrous effects of the Revocation

Sweden, even in Russia, Holland was filled with them and some found refuge in America. At the lowest estimate France lost 400,000 inhabitants, among them scholars, teachers, men of letters, artists, progressive merchants, skilled artisans and craftsmen.

CHAPTER XLVI

ENGLAND FROM 1660 TO 1688 THE RESTORATION AND SECOND FALL OF THE STUARTS

Whether the English Commonwealth was intended to be a model state, or was a hypocritical republic, has been argued by many historians. Perhaps it was both, by which is meant that mixed motives were engaged in its establishment and practices. But one fact is clear—it was a state created by revolution. The event of 1660, on the contrary, was a Restoration and not a revolution, for it was a reversion by the English nation to the immemorial tradition of monarchy.

*Restoration
a natural act*

The Commonwealth government was one man's achievement and could not long endure when he was gone. Two years before he died, Cromwell seems to have realized that a return to parliamentary form was necessary and inevitable and so he reduced the power of the major generals and recalled Parliament, even consenting to the restoration of the House of Lords, though with diminished numbers and authority. For nine months, from September 1658 to May 1659, after Cromwell's death his son Richard bore the title of Protector but soon, becoming involved in a dispute with Parliament, dissolved it, whereupon the remnant of the Long Parliament (the "Rump") was restored by the Army (May 7), Fairfax and Lambert, two of the major generals. Richard resigned and disappeared into oblivion.

But a sturdier soldier now took a hand. This was Monk who had been practically the ruler of Scotland under the Commonwealth government for seven years past. Monk was heartily sick of the shilly-shally way things had been going on in London, and perhaps had imbibed some Royalist sympathies from the Scotch among whom he had lived so long. Now he marched on London and on the battlefield of Cromwell's victory, Marston Moor, was joined by the forces of Fairfax and Lambert who had already declared for a new and free Parliament. The Long Parliament, as Monk approached the capital, dissolved itself in a panic of apprehension. Monk victoriously entered London on February 3, 1660, amid the huzzas of the populace which had grown heartily tired of Puritanism.

*General Monk
enters London*

Charles II, who was at Breda and well informed of what was happening across the Channel, on April 14 issued a declaration promising amnesty, liberty of religious belief, and settlement of confiscated estates. Meanwhile the

election of a 'Convention Parliament' chosen without restrictions and consisting of 556 members had taken place. It received the Declaration of Breda favorably and returned a loyal answer to the prince (May 1), who a week later was proclaimed King Charles II. On May 29 he entered London. What the people wished for was not a new constitution, nor an absolute sovereign. Charles II returned as an English king, limited by the constitution, as the Long Parliament had left it at the outbreak of the Civil War.

*New Parliament
invites back
Charles II*

Sir John Evelyn noted in his Diary 'the eagerness of men, women and children to see His Majesty and kiss his hands was so great that he had scarce leisure to eat for some days.' Evelyn also records his jubilation over the fate of some of the regicides who were hanged and quartered and their bloody remains paraded through the streets. At the same time the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, which had been interred in Westminster Abbey, were disinterred and buried under the gibbet at Tyburn. This revolting act, however, was not done by the Royalists, but in pursuance of an order of the Parliament, which was then mainly composed of Presbyterians, Cromwell's former associates, and later enemies.

Reaction

Charles II has come down in history as the "Merry Monarch." He once held a Parliament in convocation house at Oxford, whither he brought his mistresses, one of whom, Lady Castlemaine, was established in one of the fellows' rooms at Merton College, and who used to walk across the campus with a lute playing before her and attend chapel "like an angel, but half dressed" commented one of the dons who had never seen French fashions. No prince ever stood less upon his dignity, perhaps because he had less dignity to stand upon, than Charles II. He was a calculating opportunist who always kept his policy fluid, and never let his ministers know all that was in his mind. His father having been executed by the Puritans, and himself having been fed to repletion on long-winded Presbyterian sermons during his expedition to Scotland in 1651, Charles II possessed a hearty dislike of preachers and preaching. When his sister, who was married to Louis XIV's brother (she was called Madame and he Monsieur at the French court) once wrote to him complaining of the tediousness of the Protestant preachers in France—this of course was before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Charles replied "We have the same disease of sermons here that you complain of there. But I hope you have the same convenience that the rest of the family has, of sleeping out most of the time, which is a great ease to those who are bound to hear them."

*The easy-going
'Merry Monarch'*

"He was a prince of many virtues and many great imperfections;" wrote his friend, Sir John Evelyn, "debonair, easy of access, not bloody nor cruel

proper of person, every motion became him, a lover of the sea and skilful of shipping, not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory and knew of many empirical medicines and the easier mechanical mathematics, he loved planting and building and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense. He would doubtless have been an excellent prince, had he been less addicted to women."

Charles II was once in the king's house at Winchester with the Dukes of York, Monmouth, and Lauderdale, Lord Rochester and Sir Alexander Fraser, his physician. York was dull, Monmouth silly, Lauderdale a hideously ugly man, and Fraser notoriously ignorant. The king was bored and asked Rochester, a clever wit, to enliven things. In a few minutes Rochester produced the following lines:

Lauderdale the pretty,
And Monmouth the witty,
And Fraser the learned physician
There's the duke for a jest,
And to crown all the rest,
There's Charles for a great politician

The anecdote gives an idea of the ease of Charles II's society.

But for all his gaiety and frivolity, his extravagance, his loose morals, his lack of principles, Charles had learned much worldly wisdom during his wanderings and adventures in exile. He was a shrewd psychologist. He understood that the English nation as a whole was strongly monarchical in political sentiment and deeply attached to the fundamental institutions of the country which had developed through centuries. He tacitly admitted that his predecessors had grossly abused this great tradition, its ideas and its practices. An immense change had been made by the Puritan Revolution in the position of the kingship, notwithstanding the eagerness with which Charles II was brought back. He perceived, too, that the English people were tired of the excesses of Puritanism, its petty regulation of society, its irritating interference with the intimate things of private life, its intolerance, its austerity. It was natural in the circumstances that the Restoration was a social and moral reaction, but not a political reaction. In two respects, however, Charles II had reserved opinion which he discreetly did not express: one was to increase the royal prerogative as much as possible, the other to establish Catholicism if possible. He was not able to accomplish these two purposes as he hoped, and it was because his brother, James II, boldly and openly tried to do so that he lost his throne.

The crown still preserved the former prerogatives. The king chose his ministers, appointed judges and bishops. The Parliament was momentarily

inert Having abolished old feudal forms of knight service and purveance in consideration of an annual income for life of £1,200,000, the Parliament lost the whip-hand, though it was necessary for the king to summon it in order to get other subsidies But the *Triennial Act* Wakening of Parliament was repealed Charles II shrewdly flattered Parliament into believing that he thought it an important instrument of government, and at the same time gracefully prorogued or dissolved it whenever it showed resistance, thus insensibly paving the way for a party system and a constitutional monarchy

When the king was once asked why he read his speeches when he appeared in Parliament, he replied "Because I have asked them so often and for so much money that I am ashamed to look them in the face"

Hostile historians have alleged that it was in order to circumvent the necessity of Parliamentary grants that Charles II accepted bribes from Louis XIV, sold Dunkirk to France for £200,000, and in the secret *Treaty of Dover*, in consideration of a pension of the same Reasons for Anglo French Alliance amount, agreed to support Louis XIV in his war with Holland This needs elaboration In the seventeenth century Holland was England's most formidable commercial rival and her naval power the equal of England's When war broke out between France and Holland there were three courses open to Charles II He could have remained neutral, which would have been a difficult policy to sustain, he could have allied himself with France, or he could have joined Holland France might be domineering but she was not dangerous to England, for her policy was a continental, not a maritime one, military and not commercial or colonial This argument was forcibly made to Charles II by his sister, who, far from being the scheming agent of Louis XIV, as represented, could see things clearly and gave her brother wholesome advice This is her letter, which only recently has come to light

"It is true that by establishing your dominion on the ruins of that of Holland you will also contribute towards increasing that of the King [of France], who aspires perhaps not less than yourself to becoming supreme in commerce, but the situation of your Kingdom, the number, the extent and the order of your ports, which are suitable for the biggest vessels, the natural disposition of your subjects and the convenience you possess for building vessels remarkable for the manner of their construction and their power of endurance are advantages which France cannot possess I know well that there are some people who think that after France has increased her power by bringing about the downfall of Holland she would endeavour to take away from you your share of the conquests you will have made, but besides the ease with which you could hold the towns near to you it is easy to see that this opinion is not well founded when one considers that by the division of the conquests of the territories which the

Dutch possess in Europe the King will become more than ever a neighbour of Flanders and of several German States which, as well as Spain, would have an interest in combining to take measures to assure you your conquests ”

Charles II was not the pliant tool of Louis XIV that he is sometimes represented to have been Ever since the fourteenth century when the English claim to the “sovereignty of the seas” was first formulated, the English navy had exacted a salute from the ships of war of all other nations when in the Channel, and Charles II refused to waive this requirement when Louis XIV in his passion for magnificence resented the exaction, saying that if the French ships did not dip their flags to English men of war “my ships must do their duty, let what will happen ” As neither power would yield, in practice the fleets carefully avoided meeting each other, the French fleet sailing at night when the two were in the same waters

*Charles II no
tool of France*

Charles II owed his financial independence not to French payments dishonorably taken, not to French bribes, for these moneys amounted in all to less than a million and a quarter pounds, but to the increase in the crown’s revenues from customs and excise The growth of English trade and commerce in the reign of Charles II was very large London became the chief clearing-house of the world Moreover, the king was a great landed proprietor, and agriculture also prospered

*Increase in
revenue*

“The magnificent national inheritance of the royal forests had been alienated by royal favoritism and improvidence, or cut down by rebel greed There remained, indeed, some sixty royal forests, but they were no longer able to supply a tenth part of the tale of oaks demanded in the admiralty dockyards When Charles II came home and the belief in the solidity of the upper classes was restored Evelyn’s *Sylva* had taken its place on the bookshelves of the better-to-do gentry, it was a work of propaganda and preached to the governing class the national duty of planting and caring for trees, especially after the depredations of the late unhappy times The Restoration plantings matured in time to carry the Navy through the wars of the later eighteenth century ”¹

Religious factions still divided England In his *Diary*, Nicholas Luttrell under the year 1681 noted that there were two factions One of them championed what it called “the true religion,” and derided its opponents as “Tories, Tantivies, Yorkists and high-flown churchmen,” and in turn was derided by them as “Whigs, Fanatics, Dissenters, Covenanters and Bromigham protestants ”²

Religious factions

¹ Trévelyán, *England under Queen Anne Blenheim*, 7–8

² “Bromigham” was the current spelling and pronunciation of Birmingham

The most famous among dissenting preachers was John Bunyan, author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The quality of Puritan preaching had declined even before 1660. This was at least in part owing to the fact that too many parsons were insufficiently educated. At the

Puritans

Restoration 1,342 Puritan clergy, of whom 426 had formerly been tradesmen, went over to the Established Church. One peculiar evidence of decline of standard was in the substitution of unwritten for written sermons. On the other hand, the Restoration pulpit shone with great preachers, of whom Jeremy Taylor, author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, was, perhaps, the greatest.

The Established Church of England was a pillar of the throne. All magistrates and even town officials were compelled to take the sacrament according to the Church of England, and on August 24, 1661, the *Act*

of *Uniformity* required all clergymen, university fellows and school teachers to assent to everything in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Nearly 2,000 of such lost their livings and were known hence-

The Established Church

forward as Dissenters. In May, 1664, after a second rising of the "Fifth-Monarchy Men," as the former Levellers were now called because they hoped for "the reign of God on earth," the *Conventicle Act* was passed which forbade more than five persons meeting together for religious worship except in a household or in accordance with the Established Church. When this was not sufficiently effective, teeth were put into it by the *Five Mile Act* which forbade dissenting parsons from coming within five miles of any incorporated town or place where they had once dwelt.

In Scotland a royalist parliament was set up and the Covenant declared abolished. Persecution of the Covenanters, Conventiclers and Cameronians — so-called from a popular Scottish preacher, continued all through Charles II's reign. The rugged faith of the Scottish people today is largely due to their courage in these times when they held their meetings in secret in deep defiles and mountain glens, and fought a fight not unsimilar to that of the Huguenots when pursued by the "dragonnades" of Louis XIV after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Persecution of Scotch dissenters

The fall of Sir Edward Hyde, then Lord Clarendon the chancellor and chief minister in 1667, who was popularly regarded as the king's evil genius and was impeached and banished for life, was the one hopeful sign of the time in the eyes of liberals and dissenters. He died at Rouen in 1674, having spent his last years in writing a *History of the Rebellion*, one of the most artfully partisan of historical works, but couched in limpid and stately language. It was not published until 1704.

Death of Lord Clarendon

Charles II's politico-ecclesiastical policy grew bolder, as there had been little protest so far against it. In 1670 a *Second Conventicle Act*, more drastic than the previous one, was proclaimed. This was followed in 1672 by the *Declaration of Indulgence* which, while seemingly favoring greater toleration

of Dissenters, really was intended to secure toleration of Catholics. It proved so unpopular that it was rescinded in the next year. Finally in 1673 the *Test Act* required all persons holding office under the government to take the oath of allegiance and of supremacy, and accept the sacrament according to the Church of England. High Church Episcopalianism was becoming as intolerant and tyrannical as Puritanism had been a few years before.

The people would not endure the thought of popery or political Catholicism in England. After the scare over the Popish Plot (1678), a fiction trumped up by the Whigs to ruin their opponents, alleging a fantastic conspiracy to assassinate Charles II and establish the Church of Rome, a *Papists Disabling Act* was passed, excluding Catholics from Parliament. It was not repealed until 1828.

Charles II could get away with money extortions¹ but he could not go too far in destroying English tradition. Interesting lineaments of later constitutional government are foreshadowed at this time. The chief state officials began to be looked upon as collectively responsible for the course of government. In 1679 a new Cabinet Council was instituted largely at the suggestion of Sir William Temple, which may be regarded as the anticipation of the later developed cabinet government with ministerial responsibility. In the same year the *Habeas Corpus Act* was signed, one of the cornerstones of liberty of the individual, for it compelled prompt trial of an arrested person and protected him from again being imprisoned for the same offense. The Right of Petition also was given a new importance. In the Middle Ages petition to Parliament was the earliest form of a Parliamentary bill. Now since Parliament was rarely summoned, petitions were sent directly to the king, which were either in favor of, or against, administrative measures, policies and current issues. Thus an alignment of parties emerged, first known as "Petitioners" and "Abhorrrers," which in the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) became known as Whigs and Tories, the terms originally being names of a Scotch and an Irish faction. Party and Parliamentary government and the principle of ministerial responsibility all began to develop simultaneously in the Restoration. These institutions were worth all the price paid for them, for their creation is probably the greatest and most successful experiment in government in all history. The administration of the finances during the Restoration, while clumsy and wasteful, was not dishonest and some advancement was made in the endeavor to put taxation and finance upon a sound footing, as Pepys' revelations in regard to the Navy Office bear witness.

In Charles II's last years, the question of the succession became acute. The king's brother James, Duke of York, was notoriously a recusant, i.e., a

¹In 1672 he closed the exchequer and seized £1,200,000 which had been loaned to the government by the bankers. A panic ensued.

Catholic, and in 1680 an *Exclusion Bill*, designed to bar him from the throne when Charles II died, passed the House of Commons but was thrown out by the House of Lords. Some like Lord Halifax, believed that James probably would not survive the king, that his two ^{Charles II's} daughters, Mary, who had been married to William of Orange, ^{successor} and Anne, were Protestants, and that designation of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate son, would throw the country into civil war. It is of great interest to know, at this juncture, why James II's accession was unopposed in 1685, whereas previously (1683) there had been a strong movement to exclude him from the throne.¹ It was because Charles II, although a far abler man than his brother, was also of weaker will. The partisans of the Exclusion Act thought that Charles might be bluffed or frightened into surrender, but James would fight, and in 1685 he would have had the army and a great majority of the kingdom with him. Even after the accession of William of Orange, Halifax declared in March, 1689, that if James II would become a Protestant he would be King of England again within four months.

Charles II died on February 6, 1685, sincerely (or cynically?) professing the Catholic faith upon his deathbed. The Duke of Monmouth, a scatter-brained adventurer whom romance has made a "hero," proclaimed himself "king" and found 60,000 dupes. He was ^{Monmouth's} defeated and captured in the Battle of Sedgemoor (July 6) — ^{uprising} the last battle fought on English soil — imprisoned in the Tower and soon executed. His adherents, most of whom were in the southwest of England, kept up the struggle for a short time until "Kirke's Lambs," a body of brutal soldiery, were quartered on the country, and Jeffreys, Lord Chief Justice, established the "Bloody Assizes" which stamped out the vestiges of the insurrection.

James II (1685-1688) was the weakest and worst of the Stuarts — cruel, faithless, revengeful, autocratic. It may have been courage, it certainly was folly, for him at once to adopt a strong Catholic policy which he did in making official appointments, both civil and military, in endeavoring to have the *Test Act* rescinded, in instituting a New Court of Ecclesiastical Commission before which several

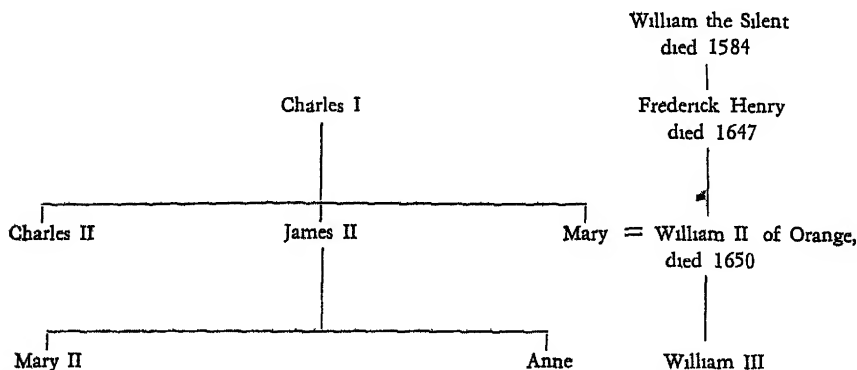
Reaction under James II

¹ This was the Rye House Plot which aimed to put William of Orange on the throne. The gallant Algernon Sidney was a victim of this plot, though his guilt has never been established, and his execution is perhaps the darkest blot on Charles II's memory.

Few histories of England quote the concluding words of Algernon Sidney's petition to the king, yet they are distinguished by a dignity, simplicity and calmness of mind in the presence of death seldom equalled. "Now, forasmuch as no man that is oppressed in England can have any relief unless it be from your Majesty, your petitioner humbly prays that the premises considered, your Majesty would be pleased to admit him into his presence, and if he doth not show that it is for your Majesty's honour and interest to preserve him from the said oppression, he will not complain, though he be left to be destroyed."

bishops were tried and acquitted, and in resenting the influx of exiled Huguenots into England. On the same day that the trial of the seven bishops, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury (June 30, 1687), culminated in their acquittal, a petition was secretly sent to William of Orange begging him to come over and save England from "Tyranny and Catholicism." It was signed by "seven patriots," or "seven eminent persons." They were the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Compton, Bishop of London, Lord Lumley, Admiral Russell and Henry Sidney, names almost as cherished in England's memory as those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence in ours. On November 5, 1688, William landed at Torbay. "It looks like a revolution," wrote Evelyn in his diary on December 2. On December 19, 1688, William entered London. It was one of the best Christmas presents England has ever had. James II fled to France on December 23, but his daughter, Anne, refused to follow him.¹ The lucky resolution made her Queen of England in 1704 when William III died.

A THE DESCENT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE



Ten years after the fall of James II, Matthew Prior, the English poet, who was secretary of the English embassy in Paris following the Peace of Ryswick, wrote to a friend

"I faced old James and all his court the other day at St Cloud. You never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn and riv'led. The equipages are all very ragged and contemptible."

The inventory of his goods and chattels taken after his death bears this out. Even two chamber pots were enumerated.

¹ Prince George of Denmark, the husband of James II's daughter Anne, afterwards Queen Anne, as reports of one desertion of the king after another came in, used to exclaim "Est-il possible?" (is it possible?) so much so that when he and his wife went over to William III, James is reported to have said "What? Est-il possible gone too?"

The brief account of England during the Restoration must include some notice of the Great Fire of London in 1666, for it was a blessing in disguise. It has already been observed that James I cherished the hope that it might be said of him that he 'found London made of stucces' and left it "made of bricke". Tudor London had outgrown itself in the seventeenth century and had become a national problem—a London with the City (the official mile-square of the metropolis) still the center of commerce, but with the Court, the Government and the houses of the aristocracy in the new London outside the walls of the City. This was the beginning of the West End where many of the streets today, with exception of Regent Street and Shaftesbury Avenue, still preserve the lines of the ancient lanes and the boundaries of the former fields. The expansion of London East and West seemed "mad intemperance" to Evelyn. But history was responsible for the changes, not the Londoners.

"The movement of population caused by wars, the unemployment which follows wars, the cessation of all building during a war and a great burst of building after it—these were experienced by London as a result both of the Elizabethan War with Spain and of the four years of the Civil War half a century later. They brought the same problems that beset London to-day—overcrowding, the dividing up of houses, the breaking up of estates and the covering of them with small buildings, the converting of barns and stables into dwelling-houses, the disappearance of open spaces, bitter complaints against the encroachments of speculative builders, and complaints of jerry-building. There was the problem also of roads unsuited to a new and more rapid traffic for which they had never been built, complaints of the insolence of drivers, complaints against people who soiled the countryside."

"Concern about the condition of London and its growth began towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen addressed to the council a statement 'of the vast increase of new buildings and number of inhabitants within the city and suburbs of London, chiefly occasioned by the great resort of people from all parts of the kingdom to settle here'. The result of this complaint was the first of the royal proclamations which followed one another at short intervals through the greater part of the century. James I issued no fewer than nine during the twenty-two years of his reign, all directed to control and check the growth of London. Charles I issued his first proclamation two months after he came to the throne. He issued another five years later, and just before the Civil War began the city petitioned Parliament to pass an Act in restraint of building. Under the Commonwealth such an Act was passed more severe than any of the royal proclamations, and one of Charles II's first actions on coming to the throne was to add yet another to the long list. They varied in their details but all were in their essentials the same. They forbade overcrowding, the sub-letting and the dividing up of buildings. They forbade rebuilding on old foundations except in brick or stone. They forbade all new build-

ings within a given distance of the gates of London. The distance varied from one to five miles. The Commonwealth Act of Parliament made it ten miles, and imposed a fine on every building which had been erected on new foundations within that vast area during the previous thirty-six years, unless it had four acres of land around it.

"These repeated and severe restrictions were inspired by several very real fears—the fear of impoverishing the rest of the kingdom by this great congregation of people in one city (it may be noted that at the end of the seventeenth century more than one-tenth of the population of England and Wales was concentrated in London, today it is more than one-fifth), the fear of destroying the city's water supply, the fear of a scarcity of food and fuel, and of an uncontrolled assembly of beggars and lawless men, the fear above all of fire and plague. The new London was growing too large for good government. That was why both the City and Crown desired so ardently to restrict its growth.

"In spite of petitions, proclamations and Acts of Parliament, in spite of fines and even of the pulling down of houses illegally built, the building continued."¹

To these perplexing and evil conditions the Great Fire in 1666 came as a deterrent and a relief. The razing of old London gave opportunity for the building of a new city in many respects, the genius of which was the architect Sir Christopher Wren. For thirty years he was surveyor-general to whom proposals for building had to be submitted and were passed or amended or rejected by him. Yet his dream of what the city should be was hardly realized, for private interests, landowners and contractors thwarted him constantly in their own interests. Yet even their selfish purposes sometimes redounded to the future benefit of London, which today has reason to be thankful for the squares and gardens, which originally were private estates, as Bedford Square still is. How little Pepys could see into the future when, with heavy heart he "saw the fire as one entire arch of fire from this to the other side of the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long."

*The great fire
and its results*

¹ *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 7, 1935 (a review of Norman G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London*)

CHAPTER XLVII

THE "GLORIOUS" REVOLUTION OF 1688 WILLIAM III OF ORANGE

The "Glorious" Revolution of 1688 was both political and institutional. It changed both the theory and the practice of the royal power. Hitherto the king had been above the nation. Now the nation was superior to the king, for it was the English nation, through Parliament, which called William to the throne. In October, 1689, the previous *Petition of Right*, with additions and amplifications, was passed as a statute, and became as permanent an ingredient of the constitution as Magna Charta. Almost everything which had been contended for since the accession of James I was embodied in this statute. After 1688, a ministry at odds with the Commons became impossible. Henceforth the ministry had to be chosen from the same party as the majority in the House of Commons, owing to the all-powerful right of the House of Commons to introduce and to pass money-bills, a privilege first claimed in the *Bill of Rights*. The most important clause was that which stipulated that levying taxes without grant of Parliament was illegal. Through the exercise of this power over money-bills from that day to the present, Parliament has had final control over the crown. For the first time now the floating national debt was consolidated in the form of annuities bearing ten per cent interest, and these bonds, later called "consols," sold as a form of investment. This created a class of national bond owners, who were naturally interested in honest and efficient administration, which steadied and at least indirectly controlled policy. The bond holders represented an organized public opinion. The development of party and cabinet government and the principle of a responsible ministry were promoted by this Parliamentary control of taxes and money-grants, though not until the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) may it be said that fully developed constitutional government obtained. Finally, in order to safeguard the future, since William and Mary had no heir and to prevent any effort of the exiled James II or his son James, the "Old Pretender" to recover the throne, the *Act of Settlement* or *Succession Act* was passed in 1701. This Act provided that the crown was to pass, after the death of Queen Mary, to her sister Anne — both, it must be remembered were daughters of James II, and had refused to become Catholic — and if Anne died without an heir, then the succession was to pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover.

The advancement of political liberalism and popular government, the spread of religious toleration in this period, is impressive. Whatever may have been the religious state in the age of Elizabeth, there is no doubt that England was almost solidly Protestant by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Catholicism was weakest in the towns, but made a certain sort of showing among the landowning class, especially in the northern counties and along the Welsh border. But in the midlands and the south there were almost no Roman Catholics. Though the old laws against them still stood on the statute books, none of them was enforced except that of exclusion from civil office, and the Dissenters also were so discriminated against. Nonconformity was strong among the working classes, lower tradesmen and seafarers. "All over the country they were stronger in the market towns than in the villages, in the cities stronger still, and in London they were strongest of all," where English Dissenters and French Huguenots made a fifth of the half-million inhabitants. The witch persecutions which had reached their height under the Commonwealth declined in the time of the Restoration and ceased in the reign of Queen Anne. The progress of science, the growth of rationalism, a broader charity at last won that battle for humanity. The last conviction for witchcraft in England was in 1712.

The Revolution of 1688 was bloodless, unheroic, but of lasting benefit. In a sense it was, as Edmund Burke said when our own American Revolution was in process, "a revolution not made, but prevented." For it saved England from that yoke of absolutism which was imposed upon continental Europe.

We must now look to events upon the continent. The majestic ridge of power upon which Louis XIV stood in the years between 1678 and 1685 was the edge of the declivity. He had angered nearly all Europe by his ambition and his arrogance, most of all by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in the succeeding years of his reign an outraged Europe was united against France to abridge her domination. France at the end of the seventeenth century was the greatest state of the civilized world. The decay of Spain, the impotence of England under the Stuarts, the political disintegration of Germany gave France the opportunity to become great. This is what Richelieu and Mazarin and Louis XIV had perceived and boldly acted upon. Her military power was greater than had been known since the Roman Empire.

Louis XIV's high-handed aggressions upon Germany — the Chambers of Réunion — had been followed by French seizure of the Palatinate after the extinction of the male line by the death of the Elector Charles (1685) whose sister was the wife of Louis XIV's brother, the Duke of Orleans. This new piece of territorial aggression brought about the formation of the League of Augsburg in 1686.

against France, to which the emperor, the electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, the duke of Savoy, and the kings of Sweden and Spain were parties. War hung in the balance. But when the Revolution of 1688 was impending, and England and Holland were certain to be united under a single ruler, and it was inevitable that they would soon join the League, Louis XIV perceived that another great war was looming against him. In wrath he frightfully devastated the Palatinate. Worms, Speyer, Mannheim, and Heidelberg were destroyed. The tombs of the medieval Salian emperors of Germany in the cathedral of Speyer and the beautiful Heidelberg Castle were demolished. This wanton act increased the anger abroad, already deeply stirred by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The supreme purpose of William of Orange's life was to curb France. Alone and single-handed, Holland was unable to do so. The event of 1688 brought England into alignment, not only with Holland but with the continent, against the French menace of political preponderance in Europe. Louis XIV, although he was aware of William's purpose to invade England, was so certain that he would fail that his fleet in the Channel made no effort to intercept William's crossing. It was a fatal error of judgment.

William's aim to curb France

"The reasons why England in the reigns of William and Anne felt constrained to take part in the wars against Louis XIV are the same reasons that have periodically guided her action in great European crises from the reign of Elizabeth to the reign of George V: commercial and colonial rivalry (and) the need to secure the safety of our small island by preventing the predominance of any one state on the continent — the policy known as the Balance of Power, and the imperative demand on behalf of our maritime security that the Low Countries should not fall into the hands of a great military and naval empire. These were the reasons why England fought Philip II, Napoleon, and Kaiser Wilhelm. They were also the reasons why she fought Louis XIV."¹

William III regarded the Whig and Tory parties merely as two different and rival instruments for the subjugation of France. He despised both of them, but was compelled to use them as best he could. In 1689 the Grand Alliance was formed — the most formidable combination of powers against her that France had ever seen. It was a war waged on land and sea. The principal seat of the conflict was the Spanish Netherlands, that cock-pit of Europe for so many centuries. But Ireland witnessed one important engagement. For the exiled James II was sent to Ireland in 1690 with a French army and was overwhelmingly defeated by William III at the battle of the Boyne (July 1), but James himself escaped. The Irish Brigade of the French army was formed out of the survivors. Another front of the war was Savoy, where Prince Eugene of

Grand alliance against France

¹ Trevelyan, *op cit*, 107

Savoy, whose mother was a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, first distinguished himself. He had forsaken the Church for a military career and had first applied for an officership to Louis XIV and been repulsed. The *Grand Monarque* later had reason to regret his act. This War of the Grand Alliance was even extended to America where Count Frontenac, the governor-general, and Canadian Indians were arrayed against the English colonists and their Iroquois allies in what is known as "King William's War."

Finally, when things had reached a stalemate, peace was made at Ryswick (a village near The Hague) on September 30, 1697. The devious and dark ways of secret diplomacy at this time are illustrated here. The fundamental terms of the treaty had been determined in an agreement privately reached by Louis XIV and William III. For if these two powers could come to an agreement, they could dictate to the rest of Europe. These preliminary negotiations had been conducted by Bentinck, Lord Portland, and the French Marshal Boufflers in a cottage situated in No Man's Land between the two armies not far from the advance-posts of the French sentries near Hall, to the curiosity of many. Louis XIV's foreign minister, the Marquis de Torcy, was not in the secret but suspected it, as his *Mémoires* show. But the revelation of this secret negotiation was not given to the world until the publication of the *Letters of William III and Louis XIV* in 1848.

By the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, France, England, and Holland restored the conquests which each had made. But France retained the conquests which she had made from Spain and remained possessed of Strasbourg, though compelled to renounce all other "réunions" to the Empire, and in addition surrendering Luxembourg, Breisach, Freiburg, Philippsburg, and the Duchy of Lorraine, which she had conquered in the course of the war. France's claim to the Palatinate was annulled. Thus territorial honors were nearly even between the belligerents. What galled Louis XIV the most was the requirement to recognize William III as King of England and Anne as his successor, and to abandon French support of the Stuarts. Another source of humiliation to him was that the chief fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands were henceforth to be garrisoned by Dutch troops as a barrier between Holland and France. But the Dutch had to restore Pondicherry in India, which they had seized, to the French East India Company.

The war which terminated in the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 had been a drawn battle. It was concluded not because either great antagonist was beaten and exhausted, but because another and greater war was looming in Europe, in which Louis XIV was acutely interested. He needed an interval of peace in order to observe the present situation and to prepare against the future. This was the question of the reversion of the Spanish monarchy and its vast colonial empire when the imbecile and invalid Charles II should die — as he did in 1700. If Charles II

Peace of Ryswick

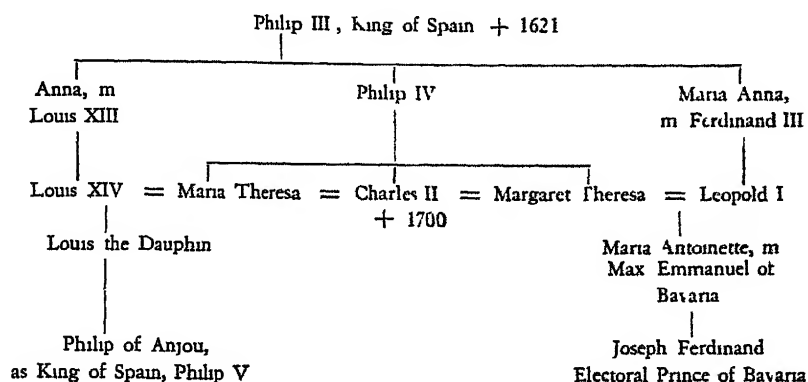
Terms of the peace

The Spanish succession problem

had died before the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, while Spain was still at war with France, the Spanish Empire would have passed to the Bavarian Prince Joseph Ferdinand, and France would have been powerless to interfere

TABLE OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

The family relations which led to the war will be made clear by the following genealogical table



That was one reason why Louis XIV had been eager to conclude a general peace, because so long as France was in a state of war against Spain and Europe, the French claims on the Spanish inheritance would go by default.¹ Unluckily the young prince died of smallpox in 1699 and the whole edifice of the "balance of power" crashed to the ground. Under him the Spanish Empire would have been independent of both Austria and France. For since some partition seemed inevitable in order to keep the peace of Europe, the Milanais was to go to Austria, and Naples and Sicily to be detached from Spain and given to the French crown. William III and Louis XIV in the years between 1698 and 1701 made an honest endeavor to avert another great conflict. The blame for the renewal of war must be put upon the obstinacy of Leopold of Austria and the pride of the Spaniards. For the former would consent to no separation and demanded the whole Spanish inheritance for his younger son, Charles, while Spain was too proud to consent to any reduction of the far-flung Spanish Empire. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, William III and Louis XIV still labored for peace. A second partition treaty was arranged in 1699, in which the French king actually consented to the Archduke Charles of Austria becoming King of Spain and the Indies and the Spanish Netherlands, and France be given Naples and Sicily as a sort of consolation prize. The plan was a masterpiece of William III's adroitness and a valuable evidence of Louis XIV's real moderation, for which he is to

¹ Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, 1, 124

be given credit But the emperor "had the incredible folly to refuse his support to a treaty which would have given to his younger son three-quarters of the Spanish Empire with the consent of France He preferred to fight for the whole without a chance of success"

The prize in prospect was less for Spain herself than her colonies, which included Cuba and other West India Islands, Florida, Mexico, Central America, and all South America except the two Guianas and Brazil To these vast colonial possessions must be added the *Spanish colonial prize* Philippines and the Canary Islands In Europe, too, it must be remembered that Spain had the key to the English Channel in her hands in the Belgian provinces and Luxembourg, and a bunch of keys to the control of the Mediterranean in her possession of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, to say nothing of the Milanais industrially and agriculturally of importance and strategically placed to control the major Alpine passes, either for commerce or war

The interest of the maritime powers, England and Holland, in the destiny of the Spanish Empire, and the stakes to be played for were enormous For the first time in European history trans oceanic expansion, *World importance of the Spanish question* colonial imperialism, and sea-power on a grand scale emerged as issues of transcendent importance, dwarfing even the continental issues The prospect of French acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands disquieted England and Holland, and if France also acquired Naples and Sicily and the other islands in the Mediterranean, that sea would become French and be closed to English and Dutch shipping In November 1700 when Charles II died, nothing except a world war could settle the question of his inheritance The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) was the first world war of history When the king died, only France could defend the Spanish inheritance against all comers Spanish recognition of Louis XIV's grandson as Philip V of Spain was the necessary course for Spain to take

The eventuality of the war depended upon Louis XIV because the English Parliament, then dominated by the Tories, was opposed to the war The impending conflict was hastened by the French king in a series of impolitic acts On February 1, 1701, he abruptly occupied the barrier towns This was followed by the formation of chartered French commercial companies for exploitation of the Spanish colonies and the exclusion of English and Dutch merchants from them These provocative measures changed the sentiment of the English Parliament, and the last act of William III's life was the formation, with the Duke of Marlborough's aid, of the Grand Alliance in the autumn of 1701 The Whigs acquired a majority in Parliament in January, 1702, and a levy of 40,000 men and the armament of 100 ships was voted *Louis XIV provokes enmity*

The character and the achievements of William III mark him as perhaps

the greatest sovereign of England in modern times. He was a champion of political liberty, of religious toleration, and a masterful engineer of the "balance of power" in international affairs. To *Character of William III* have been able to create an effective European coalition against France out of so many heterogeneous elements was the historic achievement of William III.

"As an expert in the art of governing," it has been written by a modern English historian, "he has never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled, in history — this ruler of four nations — a constitutional sovereign in England and Scotland, the chief of a republic in Holland, and a military autocrat governing by the sword alone in Ireland — who for eleven years successfully directed the affairs of these alien and often mutually hostile communities, and who throughout all that time held in one hand the threads of a vast network of European diplomacy, and in the other the sword which kept the most formidable of European monarchs at bay."¹

The death of William III on March 8, 1702, from a fall from his horse did not arrest the preparations, and the government of Queen Anne declared war.

Down to 1704, Louis XIV took the offensive. The objective was Austria and the ruination of the House of Habsburg in central Europe. A French army, under Villars, the ablest of all the French marshals, advanced down the Danube to effect a junction with the army of Bavaria, another French army was to advance down the Po valley and through the Tyrol upon Austria, at the same time the Hungarians were stimulated by French gold to revolt and to attack Austria from the East. The Emperor Leopold was in despair. In this desperate emergency Prince Eugene of Savoy, now an Austrian field-marshal, stepped into the breach. He reorganized the army, seized the treasure of the churches to supply funds, passed over the secondary enemies of Austria in Hungary and Italy, and concentrated all his forces against the Franco-Bavarian coalition. *French campaign against Austria*

At this moment Louis XIV made one of the stupidest errors of judgment in all his long reign. He recalled Villars and sent him into the Cévennes to suppress the resistance of 4,000 Huguenot peasants — the Camisards as they were called² — and replaced him with a far inferior commander. Meanwhile Marlborough had been in Holland and the Spanish Netherlands, but his hands were tied by the timidity of the Dutch government in spite of the vigorous endeavor of the Grand Pensionary Heinsius to compel it to act. His previous scheme of striking France through the Moselle valley, though he considered it still practicable, had to be postponed on account of the danger.

¹ H. D. Traill, *Social England*.

² Villars, who was a wise man and a patriot, saw the folly of such civil war and had the courage to offer the Camisards terms and toleration, which the bigots at Versailles repudiated.

ous situation in which Vienna was Marlborough boldly resolved to unite his forces with the army of Prince Eugene, who was now famous as the conqueror of the Turks

The duke's march up the Rhine and down the Danube in the early summer of 1704 astonished Europe and has been the admiration and the envy of many a great military commander ever since The tremendous victory of Marlborough and Eugene over the French-Bavarian army at Blenheim (August 13, 1704), between Ulm and Donauworth, saved Vienna from French capture, and western and southern Germany from French domination, for Louis XIV was compelled to withdraw all his forces across the Rhine

Addison in his poem, "The Campaign," described the battle as blandly as though he were recording a dance at the opera and celebrated in heroic measures the waste of the Electorate with fire and sword, the memory of which affliction made every soldier who participated in it sicken with shame and pity

In crackling flames a thousand harvests burn,
A thousand villages to ashes turn
To the thick woods the woolly flocks retreat,
And mixed with bellowing herds confusedly bleat
And cries of infants sound in every brake

If Addison had made the campaign he never would have sung as he did He got his reward in an appointment as commissioner of excise

With Germany and Austria now saved from French danger, the seat of the war shifted to the Spanish Netherlands and to Italy which were still in Louis XIV's hands If Marlborough had had his way instead of being handicapped by factional strife at home and balked by Dutch jealousy and Austrian lethargy abroad, he would have finished the war in 1705 by a thrust at France up the Moselle valley, which he planned to do No formidable array of fortresses guarded the eastern frontier of France as were to be found in the Netherlands Not even Metz was formidable But the precious opportunity was forfeited and the war dragged on when it might have been swiftly terminated "He never saw the Moselle again His allies had not the heart or the brains to let him win the war where it could be won most quickly" The direct and costly conquest of the Spanish Netherlands became necessary, where French armies lay entrenched behind fortified cities and a huge earthwork embankment known as the "Lines of Brabant" which ran from the sea to the Meuse, from Antwerp to Namur Fortunately for Marlborough, the stupidity of Louis XIV played into his hands The terrible strain of the war upon France's finances led the king to change commanders and make a try for victory to redress the defeat at Blenheim

*Anglo Austrian
victory at
Blenheim*

*Marlborough's
thwarted plans*

Unluckily he picked as new commander the Marshal Villeroi who was incompetent and fatuously attributed Blenheim to luck regarding Marlborough as a "mediocre adventurer"

As a military spectacle the plateau of Ramillies on that May morning (May 23, 1706) must have been a magnificent sight as the mist cleared away. The French battle-front stretched for four miles and 60,000 men were in the array. All were resplendent in new uniforms: the French infantry in white, the Bavarians in red and blue, besides many-colored troops of French, Spanish, and Walloon cavalry and whole brigades of Louis XIV's magnificent Household Cavalry. The king had made more than a gesture of splendor. The French army had a number of newly invented three-bore field pieces. In number of horse and foot the two opposing armies were equal but the allies were notably superior in morale and discipline and above all their commander was a great military genius.

After the astonishing victory at Ramillies, France must have felt that the war was lost. As at Blenheim, Marlborough's horse was shot under him and it was thought for a moment that he was killed. As he mounted another, his equerry, holding his stirrup, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball. An Irish officer in the French army recognizing him, fired his pistol at him point-blank and a score or more of carbines were discharged at him. Not a bullet even grazed him. Marlborough, sword in hand, rode through the French cuirassiers unhurt, rallied the German Horse that was reeling before the enemy, and brought these and twenty other squadrons back into line and drove the French across the river, leading the charge himself. An army of sixty thousand men was routed in the space of two hours. Artillery, ammunition, standards, treasure, provisions were all abandoned. Marlborough's great victory at Ramillies was as crushing a defeat for French arms as Blenheim, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Ostend, in fact nearly the whole Spanish Netherlands, except Lille, fell into the hands of the coalition. Hard upon this triumph followed Eugene's victory at Turin (September 7, 1706), which drove the French out of Italy.

But although France was now upon the defensive, she was not crushed. The fortified barrier towns along the frontier between France and the Spanish Netherlands were still occupied by French garrisons. Two more tremendous engagements were required to break France. These were the Battles of Oudenarde (July 11, 1708) and Malplaquet (September 11, 1709) — the latter the bloodiest battle of the whole war — in both of which Marlborough and Eugene were united in command. The sole important naval achievement was the English capture of Gibraltar in 1704.

The effect of economic conditions upon the course of the War of the

Spanish Succession so far is worth remarking At the beginning of the conflict, in November 1703, the British Isle was visited by the most violent storm in all its history For a time it was believed that the entire fleet was destroyed The English coasts were strewn with wrecked ships Coming in from the Atlantic the Great Storm nearly destroyed Bristol In London the damage was estimated at above a million pounds sterling The lead or copper roofs of churches and cathedrals were rolled up like rugs Many of the age-old forests of England were levelled to the ground Sir John Evelyn, the father of arboriculture in England, lost 2,000 great trees on his estate in a single night If the storm had befallen in spring or summer it would have kept England out of the war for at least a year, but by 1704 England was herself again

English contentment with the war in the next five years was enhanced by a record-breaking series of abundant harvests — the very glut of produce ruined the markets But the winter of 1708–1709 was one of the most dreadful in European history ¹ Malplaquet was cold comfort to the English and embittered France the more It was so cold everywhere that seed-grain was killed and the crops were short Wheat rose to unheard of heights of price The war went on in a desultory way

The legacy which was left by William III to Marlborough — the alliance of England, Holland, and Austria in the War of the Spanish Succession — had for its purpose the humiliation of France by the exclusion of the Bourbons from the throne of Spain The undivided possession of Spain was guaranteed to the Archduke Charles, the emperor claimed nothing for himself, the Duke of Savoy was the ally of Louis XIV and the father-in-law of Philip V In twelve years the genius of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, backed by the power of England, had nearly annihilated the resources of France, the Austrian claimant had twice entered Madrid, and Louis XIV had been compelled to consent to the expulsion of his grandson from Spain It only remained for England to dictate the terms of peace which should determine the future settlement of Europe

Then suddenly the situation changed and the interests of all parties were altered The titular King of Spain became emperor and the reunion of the dominions of Charles V in the sixteenth century would have been more dangerous to the balance of power than the preponderance of France The Emperor Joseph I died on April 17, 1711, of smallpox, leaving no children, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, who had been the coalition's candidate for the throne

*Death of
emperor changes
international
picture*

¹ "The fierce cold of the winter of 1709 fixed its jaws upon warring Europe, destroying the strength of Charles of Sweden's army, lost in the Russian forests and killing the starved French peasants in their hovels. Even the Grand Monarch felt pity for his people and was ready to cast off his pride and become a suppliant for peace The time had come for the allies to make up their minds what terms they would exact" Trevelyan, II, 374

of Spain, became emperor Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and Hungary were hereditary Habsburg lands. The war had put Austria in possession of Belgium and North Italy. If now Spain and all her colonies devolved upon the new emperor, the immense and mighty monarchy of Charles V in the sixteenth century would be restored, and the balance of power again be tilted in favor of the Habsburgs. The event reversed all the political relations and threw the game into the hands of Louis XIV, who, it was plain, would now realize his ambition to place his grandson on the Spanish throne. The absurdity of merely dynastic government had never before and has never since been more glaringly exposed.

England at once realized the circumstances, and having got the most out of the war, moved to make peace. As she held the trump cards the other allies were compelled to follow suit. She alone dictated the terms of the Peace of Utrecht (April 11, 1713). It increases one's cynicism in regard to European diplomacy at this time.

*Peace of
Utrecht and
English gains*

to know that the Tory party in England which was secretly pro-Stuart at heart and so inclined to spare Louis XIV's feelings, at this juncture had acquired the upper hand in Parliament, deprived Marlborough of his command and even planned to undo the Act of Settlement and put the Pretender upon the throne, as James III. Marlborough was the victim of Tory hatred and Whig political incompetence. Unfortunately for himself, Marlborough never fired the imagination of the people. But for Marlborough, England probably would not have won the war. Yet the most brilliant captain in English military history is not commemorated by any monument or statue in his native land, and intensely partisan political writers from Swift to Macaulay and Thackeray have covered his name with obloquy. The provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht offer a singular contrast to the terms of the original alliance. England got the lion's share of the spoil at Utrecht. France ceded to England Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and Hudson's Bay Territory. Spain yielded Gibraltar and the island of Minorca with the important harbor of Port Mahon, by which English naval supremacy was established in the Mediterranean. In addition, by the "Asiento," a contract giving English slave-traders the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with African slaves.

The Spanish Netherlands, instead of going to Holland, as might have been expected, passed to Austria, to the chagrin of the Dutch,—but the port of Antwerp still was kept closed in the interest of the commerce of London and Amsterdam. Savoy for its minor part in the war was given Sicily as a kingdom. Prussia also, for an even less part in the war, was erected into a kingdom, and thus Catholic and Protestant kings were balanced. Spain was suffered to retain its appanages in Italy, except Milan and Naples which passed to the emperor. As for Louis XIV, defeated in every quarter, he was successful in the scheme which

*Territorial
settlements*

had been the primary cause of the war, for he saw his grandson, in spite of all, established on the throne of Spain and the possessor of Spanish America

The War of the Spanish Succession, if it did not create, sharpened the issue of England's relation to the continent on the one hand, and on the other the relation of England's colonies beyond the sea to the mother-country. Thus two alternative policies were envisaged: a continental policy and a maritime, colonial and American policy.

The Treaty of Utrecht was the last event of importance in the history of Louis XIV. In 1715 he died. It was the end of an era. No less so was it in the history of England. Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, and the House of Hanover or Brunswick succeeded in the person of King George I, none of Anne's seventeen children having survived her. The Age of the Georges was begun, with new names, new circumstances, new policies.

The Peace of Utrecht was the end of an epoch, the termination of a long struggle of the smaller states in Europe to save themselves from French preponderance, if not actual domination. At the same time it was a struggle of the Protestants of England, Holland, and Germany to avert from themselves the fate of the Huguenots in France. The seventeenth century had been the age of French ascendancy over Europe. Now England's sea-power, financial and commercial resources outmatched France's armies and resources. In the matters of commercial supremacy and colonial possessions England was without a rival. She had no more to fear even from the competition of Dutch commerce, for Holland had become a client. War and diplomacy were agencies for the promotion of trade.

The most interesting and the most singular example of diplomacy in the preliminary stages of the War of the Spanish Succession was the execution of the Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal negotiated by the English envoy of that name. The object of the treaty was to secure the friendship of Portugal in order that the country might provide a base for military operations against the French in Spain and the Mediterranean.

"The bargain struck in 1703 began a new era in Anglo-Portuguese relations because it was successfully followed up by the taking of Gibraltar and Port Mahon and by the permanent establishment of English power in the Mediterranean, based on the free use of the harbour of Lisbon."

At the same time a mutually profitable commercial arrangement was made. English cloth was to be exchanged in Portugal for the wine of Portugal. Accordingly every patriotic Englishman henceforward drank port and to drink claret was to exhibit Francophile and Jacobite sympathy. Even after

peace was made in 1713, the English still clung to port and French claret found little market in England, as a result of which the gout became a notorious affliction of English upper-class society in the eighteenth century — certainly a curious by-product of diplomacy and mercantilist economics

Moreover, England had shown Europe that a country of free political institutions was stronger than an absolute monarchy. The result had contradicted the cherished political theories of the past, and opened a new expectation for the future. One of the greatest of modern historians has pointed out the altered state of Europe after the Treaty of Utrecht, when, of the five great powers in the world one was Greek orthodox (Russia) and two others (England and Prussia) were Protestant. These three powers now exercised over Europe an influence greater than that possessed by the Catholic states. This did not signify that the Catholic religion was endangered, but it did mean that the international affairs of Europe were managed by non-Catholics. Spain had colonized Latin America, but the rest of the world henceforth was to be open to colonization by Protestant nations only. The unsuccessful fight of France for North America and India in the eighteenth century was the result.

The last years of the War of the Spanish Succession were fought in the reign of Queen Anne, and in England the final stages of the conflict were sometimes referred to as "Queen Anne's War." The period of her reign was a great one, but she, of all persons, had least to do with its making. Her character was above reproach, her intelligence ordinary, her education defective. No aid came to her from her husband, Prince George of Denmark, who was "simply a magnificent, amiable, and attractive young animal." He had not brains enough even to be a common soldier. Under William and Mary neither he nor his wife was well treated. When Anne became queen she could not steer her course through the party strife. But who can blame her? In one of her letters, written in 1706, she manifested sagacity. It was written to Godolphin when he was "going Whig" in which she wrote

"... throwing myself into the hands of a party is a thing which I have been desirous to avoid. All I desire is my liberty in encouraging and employing all those that concur faithfully in my service, whether they are called Whigs or Tories, (and) not to be tied to one or the other. Is it not very hard that men of sense and honour will not promote the good of their country because everything in the world is not done that they desire?"

The days of monarchical control of English politics had passed. The questions of war and peace and domestic policy were settled by her ministers, and often by back-stairs methods. Parliamentary government had come for good.

England had never before been so great as she was in the years between 1688 and 1714. The thirty years of peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht "was the most prosperous season that England had ever experienced. A laborer's wages have never for many ages commanded so large a portion of subsistence as in that part of the eighteenth century."¹

And

"what men that little rustic England could breed! A nation of five and a half millions that had Wren for its architect, Newton for its scientist, Locke for its philosopher, Bentley for its scholar, Pope for its satirist, Addison for its essayist, Bolingbroke for its orator, Swift for its pamphleteer and Marlborough to win its battles, had the recipe for genius."²

In the very year that Malplaquet was fought, Steele established the *Tatler*, out of which two years later grew the *Spectator*, which set the standard and pointed the course of English literary culture until the very verge of the nineteenth century. The *Spectator* was the organ of respectable middle-class English society which managed the business and controlled the government of the country.³

The Thames was a vital artery of traffic around which much of London's social and business life centered. Boatmen and bargees formed a large class whose hulls could be seen up and down the river or at the thirty-odd landing places between London Bridge and Parliament House. Ferries, carrying coaches and their teams criss-crossed their way over the water. A pall of smoke hung almost perpetually over the city because soft coal was used nearly exclusively. The resulting grime is described by a foreign scholar who complained that "whenever I examine London books I make my ruffles black as coal."

No account of London social life of the time is complete without a description of the coffee-houses. Nearly five hundred of them served the city as a sort of combination club and news-center, where were posted the latest bulletins from at home and overseas. Business was conducted in the coffee-houses to such an extent that Edward Lloyd's, originally just one of the houses, in which shipping news was posted, grew into the famous insurance firm that is still operating today. It is interesting to note that the great increase in trade had its effect on language since "commerce," for instance, which had meant any intercourse—Milton had written of "holding commerce with the skies"—was now only used to signify trade.

¹ Hallam, *Constitutional History*, II, 464.

² G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne: Blenheim* (London, 1930), preface vii.

³ For the importance of this merchant class and the new dignity of the bourgeoisie see *Tatler*, nos. 21, 24; and *Spectator*, nos. 2, 69, 75, 109, 383, 443. If available the teacher will be wise to read some or all of these essays to the class.

The student should be interested in the changes in the art of war of these times. There were still some adventure and romance in war, as a popular ballad shows

Over the hills and over the main
To Flanders, Portugal and Spain,
Queen Anne commands and we'll obey —
Over the hills and far away

In the Thirty Years' War the infantry had fought in dense columns, with pikemen in the center and flanked on each side by musketeers, who were dangerously exposed to the charge of cavalry. As long as the pike was the chief weapon the column, and not the line, was the prevailing formation. The column is the worst form either to give or receive fire. The great revolution in infantry tactics came with the invention of the ring-bayonet which enabled the musketeer to become his own pikeman, for he fired through the ring which attached the bayonet to the end of his gun, and so could first fire and then stab. By the time of the War of the Spanish Succession, pikemen had entirely disappeared. The infantry was armed with a bayoneted firelock and arrayed in long lines from three to four deep instead of in columns as formerly. The English and the French both fought in lines, but the English soldiers fired by platoons while the French soldiers fired by ranks. The former was more effective and more shattering to the foe and English marksmanship superior to that of the French. Marlborough made much of fire-drill and practice in marksmanship when his troops were in winter quarters.

Important auxiliaries of the infantry were the grenadiers armed with hand-grenades and axes, and especially important in siege operations. Artillery had not yet come into its own for field operations, and did not do so until Napoleon, who made it a major arm of the service. The field pieces, with a maximum bore of three inches, fired cannonballs at long range, but at close quarters used "partridge" shot, as grape-shot was then called.

Cavalry changes were less than those of the infantry, and cavalry tactics antiquated. Even Gustavus Adolphus and Cromwell were deficient in use of horsemen, who charged in columns six or more deep, armed with musketoons or huge "dag" pistols, slowed down to discharge their weapons and then swerved around to the rear to reload and charge again. This manoeuvre of checking a charge just before the moment of shock deprived the action of the power and speed of the horse. Marlborough discarded the "Swedish" fashion, his cavalry had no weapon but the sword. Dragoons were a half-cavalry, half-infantry, they charged sword in hand like the cavalry or else as mounted infantry they rode to the field, then dismounted, picketed their horses, and went into action on foot.

Marlborough was a strict disciplinarian. In the great march across Germany in 1704 no plundering of the population was permitted — there was no repetition of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Military execution and flogging, coupled with an efficient commissary which supplied good food, good clothing, and good shoes went far to preserve discipline. The wounded under Marlborough, including enemy prisoners, received more care than in other armies, and he had the humanity and the insight to deplore the crude medical practice and the absence of nursing.

If, in spite of almost continuous wars European civilization persisted, this was partly due to the fact that wars then were different from those of today.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wars were fought by small professional armies whose marches and engagements caused only local suffering and destruction. War did not then so monopolize the material resources and the moral anxiety of the nation as is the case today. The "nation in arms" was a product of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Neither social nor even commercial relations between belligerents were wholly cut off, and no one then expressed dread that the next war might destroy civilization. The European state-system was kept stable because the rulers were jealous to preserve the balance of power. This does not mean that there was public indifference to war. Far from it! The outcry today against war and the pleadings for peace are not new. Many voices then were raised in protest against the evils of war, and men dreamed then as after 1918, of a League of Nations to ensure peace. The great German historian, Leibnitz, who was skeptical of a League of Nations, proposed to divert the arms and the ambitions of the nations abroad. Sweden and Poland were to conquer Russia — whom all Europe feared in the time of Peter the Great — and Siberia, England and Denmark were to divide North America between them, to the detriment of France, Spain was to remain unmolested in South America, the Dutch should have the East Indies, and England and Portugal should withdraw therefrom, in compensation for being deprived of Canada, France should have a free hand along the littoral of the Mediterranean in Africa as far as Egypt. How modern these propositions seem, and how futile!

To return to armaments. The original form of the musket was known as an arquebus, the use of which spread so rapidly that in the last half of the fifteenth century it had supplanted the arbalet or cross-bow.

The arquebus

At first, to every company of crossbowmen a few men armed with the arquebus were attached, then some were added to every company of men-at-arms, and at length in every company of four hundred men, half of them were armed with the arquebus. In the Battle at Murten in 1476 the Swiss already had ten thousand arquebusiers. The arquebus at first was short and heavy; it carried four ounces of lead and was fired with a match,

a piece of blazing tow, applied by hand. Later the so-called 'cock' or 'dragon' was affixed to the right side of the barrel at the base, between the lips of which the burning match was fixed each time it was used, and by means of a trigger pressed down upon the priming in the pan. To the trigger was afterwards affixed a spring by means of which the ignition and firing of the piece was made more rapid.

The powder, at first, was lumpy. The French were the first who grained it into three kinds: siege powder consisting of heavy grains, arquebus powder, and pistol powder, which consisted of the finest grains.

Each arquebusier carried twelve powder charges, each load *Gunpowder* contained in a small wooden box, in his bandolier or shoulder-belt with small pockets attached, a bag containing the same number of balls, and a flask containing a pound of priming powder, and several feet of match-string, which was wound around the stock of his weapon. The act of loading was a slow and awkward one, for this reason every arquebusier had a shield-bearer behind whose shield, which was planted into the ground by means of an iron stake, he completed the loading of his fire-arm.

In 1517 the wheel-lock was invented in Nuremberg. It consisted of a small notched wheel of steel immediately connected with the pan and cocked by means of a spring. When the priming pan was filled with powder, the cock, which was equipped with a piece of brim- *The wheel lock* stone, was let down upon the curb of the wheel, and when the trigger was pulled the wheel was rapidly spun by means of the spring, producing sparks from the brimstone, which exploded the piece. This improvement, however, obtained slowly, and the infantry of most of the European governments was still armed with the common match-lock up to the middle of the seventeenth century. From the first appearance of the arquebus, target practice became a universal amusement and form of drill.

Nuremberg was the best place of manufacture of small arms, and where the most improvements were made, especially in forging and boring. The more general the use of fire-arms became, the better also *Musket* became the defensive armor, and the finest armor known is of the period between 1475-1550, which was proof against an arquebus shot. This brought about the invention of the musketoön or musket—a long barrel with a heavy stock and discharging a heavy bullet. The weight of this weapon, however, was a disability, for the barrel had to be supported by a fork (*fourchette*) set in the ground when fired. On the march the musketeer carried the fork and another man the musket, so that two men were required for each weapon, as was the case formerly with the arquebusier and his shield-bearer. The musket was first used in 1521 in the war between Charles V and Francis I. Later in the century the Duke of Alva lightened the weight of the musket by introducing finer and lighter steel barrels, so that the fork and extra man could be dispensed with. The carbine was a

small musket used by cavalry, but awkward to load on horseback, especially in rain or high wind. The necessity of transporting heavy infantry from one place to another gave rise, early in the seventeenth century, to dragoons, who were nothing but mounted infantry. By this time the pike had become obsolete among foot soldiers but the lance was still retained by some cavalry, which now formed two divisions, dragoons and lancers.

The displacement of the lance among infantry was due to the invention of the bayonet in France, at Bayonne. The earliest effective use of the bayonet

*Bayonet and
flint-lock*

was by French troops of Louis XIV in the Battle of Turin in 1693. The seventeenth century also introduced the match-guard, which consisted of a tin tube into which the match was inserted to shield it from wind or rain, and the cartridge, made of very thin wood or thick paper which was rammed down the barrel with a rod. When rammed "home" the end of the cartridge was split and some of the powder in it primed the piece and thus increased the speed of the loading. The greatest improvement of the musket, however, was the substitution of the flint-lock for brimstone or the match-lock late in the seventeenth century. The flint-lock held its place for one hundred and fifty years, that is to say until the invention of the percussion-cap in 1818, which protected the percussion powder from damp and at the same time made the use of the flint unnecessary. It goes without saying that the manual and exercise of the arms which have been described increased also, and drill became a rigidly imposed practice in every army.

CHAPTER XLVIII

EUROPEAN ECONOMICS AND FINANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Europe made little and disappointingly slow progress in perception of the nature and operation of the economic and social forces. Such important things as public finance, taxation, control of commerce, regulation of industry, etc. were crudely administered. The kings of the early sixteenth century might have learned much during the Italian wars from the practice of the Italian states in the Renaissance, notably Florence, Milan, and Venice. But only Louis XII and his able minister, Cardinal Amboise, seem to have had any appreciation of the importance of considering the interest of those on whom his taxation was levied. To get as much money as possible for the wars was the sole object of the governments. New exactions and expensive loans were the means of raising immediate supplies. The immense sums recklessly borrowed by Charles V and Francis I in 1519 illustrate the magnitude and the folly of the fiscal operations of the period.

*Ignorance of
economic forces*

In the seventeenth century the Dutch and the English introduced a new practice, that of funding the interest of the loans, without entering into any obligation to pay back the capital, which was transferable to any person. This funding system for the first time scientifically provided for the handling of the national debt and made government bonds a popular form of investment. In Holland, the sinking fund was established in 1655. The example was followed by Pope Innocent XI in 1685. In England the funding system had its origin in the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694, when it lent its capital to the government. The result of this institution was that rates of interest fell from 16 12 and 8 per cent to 4, and even 3 per cent.

Funding system

Industry, like commerce, was hampered in these times, too. This was chiefly owing to the monopolistic policy and regulatory practices of the guilds which fixed the kind of employment an artisan might engage in, determined the days and hours when he might work, and fixed his wages. The alleged purpose of this policy was to preserve the quality of the work or the material; actually it was to prevent competition by fixing the limit of the number of employes in any given shop, keeping wages down and keeping prices up. Lock-outs became common. Handicrafts and manufactures performed by human labor ("manufacture" means made by

Manufactures

hand) flourished, rather than machine-made products. The most important industries, were cloth-making, metalwork, woodwork and carpentry, paper-making, glass-making and ship-building. Water-and-windmills were the chief source of power, aside from horse- and man-power. The use of steam was not introduced until the eighteenth century.

But a new form of monopoly appeared in the sixteenth century to vex the already vexatious conditions of the time. This was the protected monopoly, in which high government officials and even the rulers themselves were interested parties. The word "monopoly" appeared first in the translation of Aristotle's works, and was first employed in literature by Sir Thomas More — "Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall (these last two words are good medieval terms), and with their *monopoly* to keep the market alone as please them." The new word soon came into general use all over Europe, and many pamphlets were written on the subject. In England in 1622 parliament passed the Statute of Monopolies which was directed against the exclusive licenses issued by James I for the enrichment of his friends.

The amount of economic literature which was published in the seventeenth century is impressive, and the student should observe that the most of this was of English authorship. By the end of the century England led the world in commerce and trade and in colonizing enterprise. The first important work in political economy was written by a French author. In 1568 the French publicist Jean Bodin in his *Six Livres de la République* tried to explain the revolution of prices in the sixteenth century and discussed the nature of public revenue. In 1575 Calvin's *Letter on Usury* accelerated the reaction against medieval economic theory. The seventeenth century, the age of mercantilism, produced a shoal of economic literature. Serra's *Causes of Wealth* (1613) declared that wealth was derived more from commerce and manufactures than from agriculture, and stressed the importance of a large supply of gold and silver to a government. In 1615 Montchrétien published his *Traité de l'économie politique*, in which he recommended the mercantilist principles on which Richelieu and Colbert later acted. But theories are usually formulated after facts. In the Netherlands, where commerce and trade were of paramount importance, and in France in the reign of Henry IV, the principles of mercantilism had already been acted upon. Unfortunately in their avidity to increase the wealth of their countries the sovereigns misunderstood the nature of wealth. They thought that money was wealth, whereas money is a mere mechanism of exchange. Wealth is constituted of the productive resources and capacity of a people. Hence the fallacy and futility of imposing export taxes and prohibitive tariffs and restriction upon trade, like internal tolls and navigation laws, as all the governments of the seventeenth century did, inhibiting commerce and trade. In 1621, Mun's *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies* and

Monopoly

Economic writings

England's Treasure by Foreign Trade was the first important tract on colonization. It also first clearly formulated the theory of the 'balance of trade' and fixed the predominance of mercantilist principles for the rest of the century. In 1663 Sir William Petty's *Treatise on Taxes* appeared, and his *Political Arithmetic* — the earliest attempt at comparative statistics — came out in 1682. In 1691 North's *Discourse of Trade* argued the importance of world markets, and declared that human industry, not money, was the source of wealth and attacked restraints on prices, interest, and the export of bullion.

One field of production, however, was neglected by all of these writers. This was agriculture, notwithstanding the fact that Europe was largely agricultural. The condition of the peasantry was a hard and unimproved one. Methods of farming were still medieval. There *Agriculture* was little effort to improve tillage or to breed better live stock, and the constant warfare so impoverished the peasantry that they were never able to accumulate a surplus which might have been turned back for improvement purposes. Serfdom, except in England and Holland, existed in every country in Europe and was not abolished until the spread of the French Revolution. Only in Holland and England was any progress in agriculture made — and first in Holland which gradually taught scientific farming to the rest of Europe. The proud motto of the Dutch "God made the sea but we have made the land" reflects the seriousness of the Hollander for the soil. He made the most of it in every way — draining, ditching, fertilizing, planting, tillage, plant and cattle breeding, dairying.

While war and heavy taxation took their constant toll, it may be doubted whether both of these together were as adverse forces as the enormous rise of prices — or to put it in another way — the great decline in the purchasing power of money in the sixteenth and seven- *Rise of prices*teenth centuries, combined with the fact that wages remained almost stationary. Foodstuffs and rents rose tremendously. This condition was due to the increasing flood of gold and especially silver from the Spanish colonies in America, which had an inflationary effect. Money was cheap and hence prices were high. In France, between the accession of Francis I in 1515 and the death of Henry IV in 1610, the purchasing power of the *livre* in terms of the dollar fell from \$12.20 to \$2.40, and relations were correspondingly similar in the other European countries.¹ In Spain in 1597 prices were almost five times as great as in 1500. French prices stopped rising by the end of the sixteenth century, but the peak was not reached in England until 1650, when they were three and one-half times as great as in 1500.

One factor of these adverse economic conditions was the Reformation,

¹ See Henri Hauser, "The European Financial Crisis of 1559," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II, 241 f. and E. J. Hamilton, *Ibid.*, 1-35 f. The same, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xliii, 436 f.

which also caused the exodus of many thousands from Europe to the colonies across the ocean. The settlement of the New England, the Middle Atlantic and the Southern colonies of North America was powerfully stimulated by an almost frantic desire of English, French, Germans, Dutch, Scotch-Irish to get away from this economic distress in their countries and to found new homes in the New World.

The mercantile system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the prevailing economic doctrine, according to which a country would make money if it sold more merchandise to foreigners than it bought abroad, for then the foreigners would have to make up the balance in coin or bullion. This was known as "a favorable balance of trade" because it tended to bring money into the country. On the other hand, if a country had an excess of imports over exports a country would owe money to the foreigner. This was called "an unfavorable balance of trade." Since the chief purpose of mercantilism was to increase the credits in a country's foreign trade, and to reduce the debits in order to get a balance in cash, every European state resorted to protective tariffs, export taxes, and navigation acts designed to further carrying trade at the expense of its rivals, by requiring that goods from a foreign country could only be carried in ships of the country which imported them, and domestic products could be exported only in ships of the home government. It is easy to see that mercantilism was a prolific source of international friction and often of war. Europe bristled with tariff barriers and navigation acts in the seventeenth century.

The abuses and injustice of excessive mercantilism did not, however, pass without protest. Although France was the worst offender, Holland and England practiced the same policy. In 1691 a protest against the evils of mercantilism was voiced by an Englishman, Dudley North, in a remarkable pamphlet, which was suppressed by the government. In it he wrote:

"The whole world, as to trade, is but one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons. The loss of a trade with one nation is not that only, separately considered, but so much of the trade of the world rescinded and lost, for all is combined together. There can be no trade unprofitable to the public, for if any prove so, men leave it off and wherever the traders thrive, the public of which they are a part thrive also. To force men to deal in any prescribed manner may profit such as happen to serve them, but the public gains not, because it is taking from one subject to give to another. No laws can set prices in trade, the rates of which must and will make themselves. But when such laws do happen to lay any hold, it is so much impediment to trade, and therefore prejudicial. Money is merchandize, whereof there may be a glut, as well as a scarcity, and that even to an inconvenience. A people cannot want money to serve the ordinary dealing,

and more than enough they will not have. No man will be the richer for the making much money, nor any part of it, but as he buys it for an equivalent price. Exchange and ready money are the same, nothing but carriage and recarriage being saved. Money exported in trade is an increase to the wealth of the nation, but spent in war and payments abroad is so much impoverishment. No people ever grew rich by policies, but it is peace, industry and freedom that bring trade and wealth, and nothing else."

Every idea here expressed was rank economic heresy in the seventeenth century.

Dudley North must have got his novel ideas from the condition of the Levantine trade in which England's exports fully paid for her imports, while the French, Italians, Dutch, and Germans had to pay the balance in cash.¹ The English embassy in Constantinople was sustained not by the government but by the "Company of Merchants of England trading in the Levant Seas," that is to say a private concern. This in itself shows the importance of England's oriental trade.

¹ See G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople* (London, 1920), 404-405, and G. L. Craik, *History of British Commerce* (London, 1840), 19-20.

CHAPTER XLIX

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The Europe with which the history of the foregoing chapters has dealt, did not include the whole of the continent as defined by geography. Russia in 1715 would hardly be called a European state, and the Turkish Empire, alien in every particular, cleft the southeastern part of its immense wedge. The opening of the sixteenth century was as important for the history of the states of northern and eastern Europe as it was for those of central and western Europe, and equally complicated. In Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, and Russia, revolutions took place which conditioned their character and destiny for long years to come. The conflict among these states, which ringed the Baltic, was for possession of as many of the Baltic lands as possible, an ambition in which sea-power and trade interests were important factors. But ethnic difference between the antagonists was very much greater than in the case of the great rivals in western Europe. The Poles and Russians were Slavs, the Letts in Lithuania or Livonia, were of non-European origin, the Finns in Finland were of Ugro-Tartar descent, the Prussians, though originally of the same stock as the Letts, were heavily commixed with Germans and Slavs. All of these peoples bordering the Baltic, the Danes and Swedes excepted, were far below the cultural condition of the western nations.

East European conditions

In the three Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the Reformation had soon prevailed. Denmark and Norway were united into a single kingdom. The Swedish monarchy was established in 1523 by Gustavus Vasa (died 1560) and strengthened by the property confiscations connected with the Reformation. Poland, which had been united with Lithuania in 1386, until 1572 was ruled by the Jagello kings, but whether Poland was an hereditary or an elective monarchy was not clear even to the Poles themselves. A Polish royal election was a sort of double auction of the crown, partly in public for the benefit of the state, partly in secret for the advantage of the nobles in the diet who voted according to self-interest. The nobles had reduced the people to a wretched condition of serfdom and were rich, proud, and ignorant. There were no commercial cities and hence no bourgeois class in the country. The kingdom was a great, sprawling, amorphous mass without natural boundaries, a weakness which accentuated its other weaknesses. When the Jagello house

expired in 1572 Stephen Bathory of Transylvania, born a Hungarian, got possession of the throne for ten years and tried to expand Poland toward both the Black Sea and the Baltic. Bathory conquered Danzig and part of the East Baltic coast, but died before he could reach the Black Sea. He was succeeded by three kings of the Swedish house of Vasa, but of a collateral branch, between whom and the main stem there was continual strife.

Prussia, originally conquered by the military crusading Order of the Teutonic Knights between 1220-1283, during which the natives were brutally subjugated and towns founded by German incomers, was secularized in 1525. In that year the Grandmaster of the Order, *Prussia* Albert of Brandenburg, turned Lutheran and converted the country into an hereditary duchy, which passed to the Margraves of Brandenburg by inheritance in 1618.

Russia, under Ivan Vasilevitch I (1462-1505) Duke of Moscow threw off the Mongol domination and, by conquering and annexing Novgorod and its territory, created a state which, bounded by the Don and the Dnieper, was already formidable because of its size and *Russia* the ambition of its rulers. Ivan Vasilevitch II (1533-1584) the Terrible was the founder of Russian domination in Asia, and for the first time attracted the attention of western Europe to Russia. He is said to have proposed marriage to Queen Elizabeth. His son, Feodor, who died in 1598, was the last czar of the lineage of Rurik, who had founded the Duchy of Kiev in the ninth century, with which the formation of the Russian state began. Fifteen years of anarchy ensued until the dynasty of Romanov got the crown in 1613.

The period of the Moscow czarism, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was one of the worst epochs in Russian history. The Tartar yoke had only recently been cast off and its evil influence was still felt. At the same time there began the Byzantine influence, exercised *The Czars* through the Greek Church and the intermarriage of the czars with princesses of the Greek imperial house. The title of Caesar, corrupted into Czar, was adopted and the name for Constantinople was changed to Czargrad (Caesar-City, *grad* being the Russian word for city). The czars not only laid claim to, but in their ignorance asserted that they had inherited the title and right of succession to the old Byzantine Empire after its destruction by the Turks in 1453.

Religiously and culturally Russia was hostile to the West. Kiev and the south of Russia were more cultured and enlightened than central Russia, the Moscow area, which was the political center of the country. Few except the clergy could read and write. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document that out of 115 princes' *Russian backwardness* and noblemen's sons only 47 could sign their names. The backwardness of learning in Russia at this time is illustrated by the fact that the study of

astronomy and cosmography was prohibited and that the use of Arabic figures was unknown

A change for the better began in the late sixteenth century and continued to improve in the century which followed. The necessity of adopting European civilization began to be perceived at Moscow, and
European cultural penetration Germans, Dutchmen, Englishmen, and Italians were invited by the czars in great numbers as physicians, architects, engineers, military officers, etc. In the seventeenth century many Englishmen and Scots were serving in the Russian army or employed at court. Gradually the more progressive element in Russian society began to be disgusted with the Asiatic stagnation, and the tendency to European civilization was only checked by the traditional prejudices of the czars.

The salutary change came with the accession of the Romanov dynasty in 1613. Peter the Great (1689–1725) did not create the new spirit, but he had
Peter the Great the intelligence and the initiative to shake off traditional shackles and boldly to promote western European civilization.

Livonia, with Courland and Esthonia, was for northern Europe what Milan was for the South, a bone of contention between the neighboring powers of Poland and Russia, to which Sweden had soon
Polish war of succession to be added. The North also had its own War of Succession over Poland. It was occasioned by the Poles electing, in 1587, as king Sigismund of Sweden, whose mother was the Polish princess Catherine. Sigismund was brought up in the Catholic faith and through him the Jesuits hoped to restore the Catholic religion in Sweden. Politically and religiously the affairs of Sweden and Poland were in danger of becoming centralized in the hands of a Catholic monarch. Hence a war of succession arose between the Catholic and Protestant branches of the House of Vasa which endured until the Peace of Oliva (1660) when the issue was settled in favor of the dynasty of Charles IX.

In the meantime, Gustavus Adolphus had begun his military career by wrenching Ingermannland from Russia, as well as Livonia and Polish Prussia from Poland, and doubtless would next have turned his arms against the Elector of Brandenburg, if greater opportunity had not opened for him to intervene in the Thirty Years' War. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 confirmed much of the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus to Sweden and raised
Height of Swedish power her as a great power in the North. No other country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had such gifted but erratic rulers in such close succession as Sweden. But the country was forced by ambitious efforts to play a part in international affairs far beyond its capacities. Gustavus Adolphus injured, and Charles XII finally broke the mainspring of Swedish vigor.

Sweden waged a war with Poland in 1655 because John Casimir would not acknowledge him and renounce Polish pretensions to the crown of Sweden.

Since Poland at that time was involved with Russia on account of the Cossacks for whom the Polish king intervened to protect, it seemed for a moment that the Swedes would conquer all Poland. Warsaw was taken and Casimir fled to Silesia. But Poland was easier to over-run ^{Polish Swedish war} than to hold. Warsaw rebelled in a great three-day battle (July 18-20, 1656). Worse yet Russia, Austria, Brandenburg, and Denmark declared war against Sweden, and with the sudden death of Charles Gustavus in 1659 died his wild projects. The Peace of Oliva which was the name of a monastery near Danzig (1660), finally settled these protracted disputes. But there was no repose for Sweden. She allowed herself to be inveigled by French gold into the war with Holland and to make a diversion against Brandenburg, and thereby lost not only her possessions in Germany but her military reputation in the Battle of Fehrbellin (1657). Sweden recovered her possessions in the Peace of St. Germain (1679), because the Great Elector's allies, having got what they wanted at Nymwegen in the previous year, left him in the lurch, and Louis XIV compelled restitution of the lost places.

In eastern Europe by the middle of the sixteenth century all the territory up to the Ural Mountains was under the sway of the Grand Dukes of Moscow who by the time of Ivan the Terrible (died 1584) styled themselves czars (or tsars). By that time Europe had become a ^{Fur trade} consumer of furs, which were a sign of wealth and luxury and so worn by the aristocracy and rich bourgeoisie. In 1553 the English explorer, Chancellor, penetrated the Arctic Ocean as far as the White Sea, where at the mouth of the Dvina River the port of Archangel developed as an exit for furs. Long as was this northern route and short as was the season, the trade was profitable, because this route avoided the tolls of the Baltic straits and the piracy of the Danes and Norwegians. In the same century, in central Europe, Leipzig developed into the greatest fur trade center of Europe, getting its skins from Novgorod.

submitted to the Porte i.e. Turks which gave the Sultan a pretext for war, in which John Sobieski first won renown. The conflict terminated in 1676 by cession of a third part of the Ukraine to the Turks and Poland's abolition of the tribute formerly exacted of the Cossacks. Four years later Russia annexed the Turkish Ukraine.

This was the history of the northern states of Europe, but nothing which had preceded was of such importance as the events which followed the accession of Peter the Great in Russia in 1689, and that of Charles XII of Sweden in 1697. This was the Northern War (1700-1721), which was of as much importance in fixing the political condition of northern and eastern Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession was in determining the political pattern of western Europe in the same years. In addition to being a struggle between conflicting policies, it was a struggle between two strikingly different and strong personalities, Peter the Great and Charles XII.

The czar was an intelligent, strong-willed, and brutal barbarian whose Tartarism was veneered with the influence of western civilization. His determination was culturally to Europeanize Asiatic Russia and politically to make her a European power. Peter was determined to make landlocked Russia reach the sea — the Black Sea in the South, and the Baltic in the North. For this reason he conquered Azov from the Turks in 1696 and founded St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) in the swamps of the Neva in 1703 in order, as he said, "to give Russia a window looking upon Europe." In order to educate himself, in 1697-1698 he made a journey through Germany to Holland, where for a time he worked in a shipyard in Zaandam (the cottage in which he dwelt is still preserved, and was given to the czar in 1890; afterwards he worked in Amsterdam and visited England. He returned to Russia with a great company of foreign artisans and craftsmen, artists and military officers. Endless anecdotes are told of him at this time, one that when examining a particularly intricate instrument of torture, he wanted the working of it illustrated and was for putting one of his servants in the machine, but fortunately was restrained from so doing by the shocked observers with him. His first act after returning home was to abolish the dangerous bodyguard of nobles, the *Strelets*, which were replaced by an army organized on the European model. The reform was carried through by Gordon, a Scottish officer.

Meanwhile, in 1697, Charles XII had become King of Sweden. He was a boy of fifteen. The opportunity to despoil Sweden of her continental holdings seemed too great to be missed to Russia, Poland, and Denmark. In 1700 all three disclosed their designs. Denmark coveted Holstein-Gottorp, Poland and Russia both wanted Livonia. The young Charles XII thereupon astonished Europe. He showed himself to be a demon of war, though devoid of political judgment. Within

*Charles XII
of Sweden*

five months Denmark was disposed of, and Charles XII hastened to Livonia to confront Peter the Great and Augustus II of Poland-Saxony. Peter was besieging Narva in Ingermannland. With an army of only 8,000 men the daring young king won a victory over the Russians at Narva on November 30, 1700, after which he defeated the Polish-Saxon army at Riga (July 18, 1701).

It was then that Charles XII made a fatal error of judgment. The liberation of Livonia left him free to choose against which of his enemies he would now go — Russia or Poland? The fate of Sweden hung upon the choice, and Charles XII made the wrong turn in the road. The memory of the ancient animosity between Sweden and Poland — hatred, not prudence — impelled him to push the war with Poland, a choice which gave Peter the Great five precious years to establish his power. Poland collapsed before the Swedish whirlwind. Augustus II fled to Silesia and Charles XII put up a Polish noble named Stanislaus Leszczyński as king (1704–1709). Then Charles XII made another blunder. Instead of at once turning upon Russia, he pursued the fugitive Polish king into Saxony, his other possession, for Poland and Saxony had been united. In the autumn of 1706 the Swedes took military occupation of Saxony and Charles set up a rough court at Altranstadt near Leipzig. He now had formed the fantastic idea of being another Gustavus Adolphus and cherished the dream of creating a new League of Protestant Princes against Catholicism. Undoubtedly this was the first evidence of his madness.

*Swedish defeat
of Poland*

By this time Europe had begun to observe the "Meteor of the North." The War of the Spanish Succession was in full swing. With Charles XII encamped in Saxony and threatening to attack the emperor, the empire had been invaded through the back door. The Grand Alliance, which was built on a union of both Protestant and Catholic princes, was in danger of falling to pieces. But Louis XIV, of course, welcomed this Swedish diversion.

In this critical situation Marlborough proved himself as able a diplomat as a soldier. The emperor had to be persuaded to abate his rigorous policy towards his Protestant subjects in Silesia in order to placate Charles XII, and at the same time the ambitious and impetuous Swedish king must adroitly be diverted elsewhere. The great fame of Marlborough as a conqueror was a powerful asset in his favor with Charles XII who was boyishly inquisitive about him and ardently admired him. Accordingly, at the end of April 1707 the hero of Blenheim and Ramillies appeared in Altranstadt. The meeting of these two so famous and so different soldiers was dramatic. The English duke introduced himself to the king with the honeyed words "I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as Your Majesty that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war." By accident or by previous arrangement of some agent, a map of Russia lay spread out upon the king's table, and

*Marlborough
suggests invasion
of Russia*

Charles's eyes blazed when Marlborough smoothly suggested that a far greater achievement than the dethronement of Augustus of Saxony would be the overthrow of the czar and the Swedish conquest of Russia

The Swedish king swallowed the bait. Central and western Europe was soon rid of his tempestuous and erratic genius. The mad monarch evacuated Saxony in September 1707, marched through desolated Poland, crossed the Dnieper on August 11, 1708, and pressed forward to the Ukraine, where he hoped to get aid from the rebel Cossack Hetman Mazeppa. Pultova was invested. The Swedish army was exhausted by long marches and lack of food. In this condition Peter the Great, who had employed the last five years in reorganizing the Russian army, attacked. The Battle of Pultova, which was a Russian victory, decided the fate of northern Europe and of Russia. The greatness of Sweden passed, the might of Russia began. Russia's possession of Livonia in the north and the Ukraine in the south was confirmed.

*Swedes defeated
in Russia*

Charles XII fled to Bender in Bessarabia, which was Turkish territory, where he stayed from September 1707 to February 1713, and persuaded the sultan to declare war upon Russia. The sultan, indeed, had grievances against Russia since Peter's seizure of Azov. The czar was caught in the tightest spot of his career, in Moldavia, and was on the point of surrendering to the Turkish commander when he was saved by the cleverness of a woman and the corruptibility of the grand vizier. The Czarina Catherine persuaded him to bribe the Turkish commander. By the Peace of the Pruth (July 24, 1711) in consideration of the restoration of Azov to Turkey, the Russian army went off unmolested.

*Russo Turkish
war*

Undoubtedly this discomfiture was immediately responsible for Charles XII's insanity. The Peace of the Pruth was almost as great a defeat to Charles XII as was Pultova. He was forcibly removed from Bender and practically held prisoner by the Turkish government until his adventurous escape in 1714 and dramatic flight home through Hungary and Germany. In the meantime the Swedish empire was being torn apart. Peter the Great had occupied Livonia, Esthonia, Ingermanland, Carelia. The Danes had seized Schleswig, Bremen, and Verden, the last of which was sold to Hanover. The Poles had taken Pomerania. Frederick William I of Brandenburg-Prussia had acquired Wismar, Stralsund, Stettin, Wollin, Usedom, and West Pomerania as far as the Peene River. Foiled by that time of any hope of recovering the lost Swedish territories on the mainland, Charles XII madly undertook to indemnify himself by conquering Norway, and on December 11, 1718, was mysteriously shot before Friedrichshall, perhaps by an assassin. The "Meteor of the North" was burned out. The strength of Sweden was exhausted. It was like a tree stripped of its branches. Russia was now indisputably the first northern power, whose dominion over the Baltic was incontestable, since the foundation of St. Petersburg.

*Flight and death
of Charles XII*

An important commercial issue raised during the Northern War (which it must be remembered coincided with that of the Spanish Succession) and the settlement of it remains to be noticed *Economic issue in Northern War*. The question has been illuminatingly described by Professor Trevelyan

"The international position as regards neutral rights in the War of the Spanish Succession was complicated by the fact that another war was going on among the Scandinavian and Slav states of the Baltic seaboard. In that Eastern war England and Holland were neutrals, whereas Sweden, Denmark and Poland were neutrals in the war against France. It is true that Denmark had hired out a most excellent army for the service of the Western allies, the charge of the Danish Horse enabled Marlborough to win Ramillies. Yet Denmark, no less than Sweden, claimed the maritime rights of a neutral in the French war. England and Holland could not afford to break with the Danes, whose armies they required on loan, nor with Charles XII of Sweden lest he should fall on the rear of their German allies. Moreover, Scandinavian naval stores were essential to the very being of the Maritime Powers.

"The demand for hemp, tar and timber, above all for the tall straight fir-tree masts that could not be grown in England, had no inconsiderable part in our foreign and colonial policy under Queen Anne. The southern shores of the Baltic supplied us with oak and fir from the ports of Danzig, Memel and Riga. The Swedish ports supplied masts and tar. It was therefore an object of the first importance to keep open the entrance to the Baltic for English trade and to prevent that inland sea from falling into the hands of any one power, whether Denmark, Sweden or Russia. We sought the balance of power in the Baltic hardly less assiduously than we sought the balance of power in Western Europe. Nor was it easy to keep the balance trimmed. In 1700 the English fleet protected Charles XII of Sweden from a coalition of neighbor powers who had sought to take advantage of his youth. But throughout the reign of Queen Anne his fierce and ungovernable temper caused anxiety, not only by his repeated threats to attack Denmark and Austria, our allies against France, in his own private quarrel, but by his resentful attitude towards the English Navigation Acts, and his policy of economic reprisal whereby he refused to supply our Admiralty with tar except in Swedish ships and at the Swede's own price."¹

The empire of the Ottoman Turks reached its maximum power under Suleyman II (1520-1566). The whole of southeastern Europe was in their grasp — Greece and most of the islands of the Aegean, the whole of the Balkan peninsula from the Black Sea to the *Turkish Empire* Adriatic, and north of the Danube all the countries between that great river and the Carpathian Mountains. Belgrade was captured in 1521, the Battle of Mohacs (pronounced Mohatsch) in 1526 had all but destroyed the kingdoms

¹ Trevelyan, *The Age of Queen Anne*, I, 297 and 9-10.

of the Hungarians, in 1529 Vienna was unsuccessfully attacked for the first time

The sea-power of the Turks was as formidable as their land forces. The conquest of the island of Rhodes in 1522, and the removal of the Knights of St John to Malta, had clinched the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean. The coasts of Italy and Spain were soon exposed to foray by the notorious Mohammedan pirate, Hyradin Barbarossa or Red Beard, who acquired possession of Algiers in 1517 and of Tunis in 1531. He was nominally captain-general of the Turkish navy but practically an independent ruler of these territories. The reconquest of Tunis by Charles V in 1535 was soon lost.

In 1535, as we have seen, Francis I shocked Europe by making an alliance with the Turks against Charles V. Two years afterwards Suleyman invaded Hungary — or what was left of it since Mohacs — while his fleet ravaged the Italian coast. The capture of Buda-Pesth (Ofen) in 1540 left Vienna as the sole Christian bulwark in southeastern Europe.

Fortunately for Europe the great spirit of Turkish conquest expired with the death of Suleyman II in 1566, when he was on his third campaign into Hungary. In 1572 the great victory over the Turkish fleet, after the conquest of Cyprus by the Venetians and Spaniards, at Lepanto deprived the sultan of preponderance at sea. The Hungarian war was renewed in 1593 and desultorily carried on until 1606, by which time most of the fortresses had fallen into the hands of Austria, which thus by slow but sure stages gradually acquired full possession of Hungary once more. But Transylvania, which insisted on having its own princes, remained a source of strife for years. For these princes were at once vassals of the Porte (Turkey) and of the Austrian house. If these Transylvanian princes had possessed sufficient principle, coupled with imagination, they might have become the rulers of a new empire in this quarter of Europe. The Habsburgs were compelled to purchase peace from Bethlen Gabor (1613–1629), who aspired to make himself King of Hungary by cessions of territory in 1616 and 1621. Of his successors, George Rakoczy I (died 1648) and George Rakoczy II (died 1660), the former was allied with Sweden and France in the last stages of the Thirty Years' War, the latter was occupied with ambitions in Poland.

Happily for Europe, Sultan Amurath IV (1622–1640) during these years was engaged in war with Persia, and his successor, Ibrahim (died 1648), wrested Candia from the Venetians. Both sultans let the Balkans alone. In the ensuing years, however, the danger from the Turks in the Danubian lands recurred, owing to their intervention in the contests in Transylvania (1661–1664), and the fact that Austrian tyranny in Hungary made adherents for the Turks there. These conflicts even engaged the attention of Louis XIV, who sent French forces

*Turkish
sea-power*

*Austria reconquers
Hungary*

*Austro-Turkish
conflict*

to the relief of Vienna when it was besieged by the Turks in 1683, although his ambassadors continued to be active against Austria both in Constantinople and Hungary. The glory of saving Vienna belongs to John Sobieski, King of Poland. Germany and Austria were in future secure from Turkish assault. But Hungary continued to be the seat of war where the tide turned violently against the Turks. Buda-Pesth was recovered in 1686. In 1687 the Turks were defeated at Mohacs (August 12) and Slavonia was lost. At the same time Venice made conquests in Dalmatia, the Morea, and Greece.

Even half-somnolent Venice awakened and renewed her ancient struggle against the Turks. Time was when Venice had boasted that she ruled "a Quarter and Half a Quarter of the Roman Empire." After the loss of Constantinople in 1261 she still ruled over Cyprus, ^{Turks defeat Venice} Crete, Negroponte (Euboea), Lemnos, Tenedos, and other islands of the Aegean, but these possessions had been lost gradually to the Turks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But a few years before the siege of Vienna the Republic had conquered the Peloponnese, which they called the Morea, and hoped to recover Negroponte. But the plan was changed and Chios was the object of attack in 1694. On September 7 the island was occupied. But the Venetian fleet was no match for that of the Turks and after two sea-fights (February 9 and 19, 1695), the last contested in a blinding storm, Chios was evacuated. Five hundred and seventy dragoons, many horses, guns, ammunition, four galleys, four frigates, and fifteen lesser craft were abandoned. It was the death-flurry of Venice. Henceforth she survived in a state of suspended animation until Napoleon destroyed the Venetian state in 1798.

For a brief spell, under Mustapha II, in 1695, Turkish vigor seemed to have revived. When, however, Prince Eugene became commander-in-chief of the Austrian armies, the war was decided by the Battle of Zeutha (September 11, 1697). Peace was concluded at ^{Peace of} Carlowitz (January 26, 1699). Austria acquired complete possession of Hungary and Transylvania, which were united, thus eliminated the most dangerous source of the Turkish wars. Venice received the Morea, and Peter the Great, who had his own war with the Turks, got Azov, but, as we have seen, was compelled to restore it in 1711. The Turks were the terror of Europe and especially of Austria and Hungary, for the last time.

The Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, which settled the history of southeastern Europe, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which settled the history of western Europe, the Treaties of Friedrichsburg and Nystadt in 1719-1720, which terminated the Northern War, were all com- ^{End of an epoch}plementary and may be said to close an epoch. The eighteenth century was a new and different age for Europe and the world.

CHAPTER L

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE HISTORY OF COLONIZATION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The remote origins of the history of the colonies of Europe which were planted in the two Americas, in Asia and in Africa, are to be found in the Age of Discovery and Exploration. But it was years before colonization developed on an extensive scale. The history of these colonies is an important chapter in the history of Europe, or rather in the expansion of Europe. For the English and French colonies in North America were not free from dependency upon the mother countries until the end of the eighteenth century and the Spanish colonies in Central and South America did not become independent states until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. As for the colonies in the East Indies and Africa they have permanently remained in a dependent capacity.

The primary purpose of all European colonization was, from its inception, to tap new sources of wealth and to find home and occupation for the overflow of its population. The colonies may be said to have been of three classes: agricultural, whose purpose was the cultivation of the soil, plantation, the intention of which was to supply the home country with raw produce, mining and trading, the object of which was traffic in the natural products of the colony and exchange of them for home manufactures. Every colony was supposed to supply raw materials to the home country and to be a market for home-produced goods. Other motives and factors, of course, entered into these enterprises, for example, the love of adventure, desire for wealth, relief from compulsory military service and "hard times." The propagation of Christianity among heathen peoples was sometimes a genuine, sometimes a convenient pretext for colonization.

The first and immediate effect of the movement was to change the front of Europe from the Mediterranean, on which it had faced since antiquity, to the West, i.e., the Atlantic Ocean. Portugal, being the earliest European country to have colonies, was the first to profit by the change, because it was the country which initiated exploration, in the time of and under the promotion of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460). The Canary Islands, Madeira, the Azores, and the Gold Coast of Africa were the earliest European colonies. The selection of a trading

cargo was a highly speculative business. It not only had to be timed to suit seasonal demands and the fluctuations of African fashion, but had to be sorted to fit the special requirements of different coasts. Thus, cowries were essential at Whydah and on the Slave Coast, but were excluded from the Gold Coast lest they should place gold-dust as the medium of exchange. Color might also be important. Anything blue was entirely unvendible on the Gambia, while on the Gold Coast beads must be blue in order to be acceptable. A far greater colonial prospect opened for Portugal when Vasco da Gama in 1498 rounded the Cape of Good Hope — he was the first European ever to enter the Indian Ocean — and set his helm for the “Gorgeous East.” He landed at Calicut in India and made the first Portuguese settlement at Cochin. As far back as 1481 Pope Sixtus IV had already decreed that all countries which Portugal might discover beyond Cape Bajador should pertain to her, and in 1493 Pope Alexander VI fixed the meridian line of one hundred leagues west of the Azores as the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal. When the Portuguese reached India in 1498 the Chinese junks had ceased to ply in the Indian Ocean, but the natives of Calicut informed the newcomers that eighty years earlier white people had come to their city wearing long hair and no beards except “around the mouth.” In 1511, when Albuquerque attacked Malacca, he found five Chinese junks there. Chinese merchants came to Malacca for cargoes of spices and brought musk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, porcelain, silks, damasks, satins, and brocades. Three years later a Portuguese expedition was sent to Canton.

The Portuguese Empire in the East extended from the horn of Africa to the Malay Peninsula and the Molucca Islands. The central point was Goa, which was the seat of government. The other important stations were Mozambique, Sofala, and Melinda on the coast of Africa; Muscat and Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, Diu and Damaun in the Deccan (India), Cochin on the Malabar coast, Negapatam and Meliapur on the Coromandel coast, and Malacca on the peninsula of that name. In 1511 the Molucca or Spice Islands were discovered. This whole vast dominion spread over sea and land was held together by a chain of fortresses and “factories” or trading posts, and was the achievement of two viceroys, Almeida and Albuquerque. The lucrative trade, chiefly in silk and spices, was a monopoly of the crown. For some years Lisbon was the sole market for Indian products.

Portugal increased its dominions in the Far East through the reigns of kings Emanuel the Great (1495–1521) and John III (died 1557), and the extension might have been greater if peace could have been maintained in India. But this was not possible, for the Mohammedan merchants who had long controlled the trade resented the coming of the Portuguese. Even where the Portuguese had no settlements they pushed their way in. What chiefly contributed to this commercial expansion was the contact which they made with China and

*Expansion of
Portuguese
Empire*

the entrance effected into Japan. An attempt to form a connection with China was made as early as 1517 and a settlement was established at Macao¹. Colombo in Ceylon was occupied in 1518 and other settlements were founded shortly afterwards in Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Celebes.

The letters of Albuquerque and his successors to the Portuguese sovereigns deal at length with trade. The king gives unfailing care and attention to the merchant fleets. He appears as the chief merchant of the nation. His concern with prices has a modern ring. He inquires into the price of cinnamon and pepper. He concerns himself with details of salary, with the discomforts on board, and the number of women, married or otherwise, who were to accompany the outbound fleet. The king doubts whether tapestries containing the figures of the pope, cardinals and prophets are fit presents for Moors, and orders them to be replaced by others containing "the history of Aeneas". Another letter refers to a Franciscan friar who has been "behaving worse than a layman" in India and orders him to be given up for punishment by his superior, another concerns a priest who had apparently twice turned Mohammedan.

The Jesuits who had entered these realms (Japan was known in 1542) as missionaries were of great help in promotion of commercial relations. Of these missionaries, the greatest was St. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), who arrived in Goa, the civil and ecclesiastical capital of the Portuguese Empire, in 1542. In the ten years of his life in the Far East Xavier ministered on the coast of southern India, in Malacca and the Spice Islands and in Japan, where he remained for two years (1549–1551). In 1552 he went to China, where he died almost immediately after his arrival. His beautiful and exalted character soon assured his canonization in 1622. Such was the spirit of Rome abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "walking by missions," as Hobbes graphically expressed it, "through the dry places of China, Japan, and the Indies".

During this period the colonial possessions of Portugal were also extended to Brazil. This was an agricultural enterprise and not a mercantile one. John III, in 1525, initiated the policy of granting huge strips of land along the coast to a depth of fifty leagues into the interior to individuals or families with jurisdiction over the native population who tilled the soil. In this way between 1539–1549 St. Vincente, Esperito Santo, dos Ilheos, Maranhão, Portoseguro and Pernambuco, Bahia and St. Salvador were founded. Besides the natural productions of Brazil, principally dye-wood (whence the name Brazil), sugar-cane was introduced from Madeira. Portugal jealously retained the exclusive trade, the fleet going out in March. The Indians were cruelly treated and soon fled to the wilds or died. This reacted upon the Portuguese settlements in Africa on the Guinea Coast and

¹ This is still owned by Portugal.

at the mouth of the Congo, for negro slaves were transported to replace Indian labor

Little that took place in America in the seventeenth century can be construed as American, in any proper sense of the word.¹ The Spanish Empire in America, after the settlement of the West India or Caribbean islands—Hispaniola or St Domingo, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica—^{Spanish Empire in America} included as its provinces Mexico or New Spain, Peru, New Granada (now Colombia) and the present states on the isthmus and in Central America. Mexico was conquered by Cortez in 1519-1521. Attempts to subjugate Peru and Chili were begun in 1525. The conquest of the west coast of South America was made by Pizarro in 1525-1535, Central America was subdued in 1532 and New Granada in 1536.

These territories remained until 1821 colonies of Spain. The administrative system was in all essential aspects established in the reign of Charles V, who took an intense interest in the subject. The supreme authority was vested in a council seated at Madrid and solely dependent ^{Spanish-American administrative system} on the king. This was the *Consejo real y supremo de Indias*, which had under it a board for the regulation of commerce entitled *Audiencia real de la Contratacion*, which was in Seville. In each of these great countries or provinces viceroys were appointed. Justice was administered by *audiencias* which acted as supreme local courts and at the same time as a council to the viceroy. The foundation of the whole administrative system was laid by the ordinances of Charles V (*leyes nuevas*) of the year 1542. The Council of the Indies was created in 1512 but its organization was not completed until 1542. Two viceroys were appointed, first in Mexico, 1540, and later in Peru, 1542, as heads of the whole civil and military establishment to whom governors (*gobernadores*) and captains (*capitanes*) were subordinate. *Audiencias* were created at Mexico City and Lima in the same year, with viceroys who had no voice in judicial matters. The number of viceroys was afterwards increased to four and the courts to ten. From the *audiencias* as courts of justice appeals could be made to the Council of the Indies. The towns (*ciudades*) elected their own *cabildos* or municipal officials. Such towns were already found in Mexico and Peru, whose peoples were civilized—though that civilization had nothing derived from or in common with European civilization.

The sites first settled were naturally the harbors and sea ports along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and afterwards on the Pacific coast. Settlements in the interior were slow and at first sprang up around ^{Settlements} mines. The missions which later were formed consisted of small native villages inhabited by converted Indians under the supervision,

¹ Charles M. Andrews, *Our Earliest Colonial Settlements* (New Haven, 1933), preface.

religious and civil, of priests, first Franciscans and Dominicans, later Jesuits. Among the early important Spanish-American towns were Vera Cruz, the earliest settlement in Mexico, Cumana (1520), Porto Bello and Carthagena (1532), Valencia (1555), Caraccas (1567). On the Pacific coast were Acapulco in Mexico, Panama in Darien, Lima in Peru (1535), Concepcion in Chili (1550). The first but unsuccessful effort to settle Buenos Aires on the Rio de la Plata was made in 1535.

The urban characteristics of Spanish life and the judicial system of the Spanish cities was from the first conquests in America imposed upon the conquered country, in spite of military conditions on the frontiers of the provinces, examples are Mexico City, Santiago in Guatemala and San Miguel the earliest town in Peru. The general nature of these townships resembled that of the Spanish settlements in Moorish Spain—they were military colonies tempered by an elective civil administration. Upon these were superimposed the *residencia* and the *audiencia* or supreme court, as well as the ecclesiastical system.

Their Spanish character

But these administrative units were artificial when compared with the *encomienda*, a native village or cluster of villages which, like a medieval manor, was owned in a proprietary capacity by a conquering Spaniard, who exploited the labor of the natives on plantation or in mine. The abuses of the *encomienda*-system soon became manifest, and Charles V, in 1523, abolished the *encomienda* but ten years afterwards restored it. In 1538 the Spanish missionary, Las Casas, protested against the cruelty of the institution and Charles V, in the so-called New Laws (1542), undertook to restrain the abuses of the *encomiendas* without abolishing the system.

The encomienda

Catholic protection of Indians

Pope Paul III was greatly interested in the conversion of the Indians. On June 9, 1537, at the instance of two Dominican missionaries from Mexico, he published a bull which proclaimed the spiritual equality of the Indians with all other men, and condemned the enslavement of them.¹ The missionary friars, the Dominicans and Franciscans tried to protect the natives against brutal exploitation by the Spanish conquerors. If it had not been for the courageous Las Casas who so inveighed against the abuses of the Spanish colonial policy that he caught the attention of Charles V, the Indian population of the continental provinces of Spain in America might have been destroyed as the natives in the Caribbean islands had been exterminated. It is to the credit of Cortez that he backed the king up, inveighed against the bishops and begged him to substitute friars. The evangelization of Spanish America owes its success to Charles V's intelligence and conscientious policy. Repeated ordinances were issued by the Spanish government for the improvement of the Indians. The principal ones were those made after 1542 by which the system of *encomiendas*

¹ L. Hanke, *Harvard Theolog Review*, XXX, 65-102 (1937)

was circumscribed. The laws for the improvement of the condition of the Indians fill almost a whole book in the *Leyes* (book vi). Contrary to a widespread belief, no other colonial government was so genuinely interested in the welfare of the aborigines in America as that of Spain. The English settlers in America expelled or exterminated the Indians. The French preserved but did little for the improvement of them.

The whole apparatus of the Roman Church was set up in these Spanish colonies in the New World — the hierarchy, regular clergy, i.e., Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits, and the Inquisition. Thus an ecclesiastical constitution was formed simultaneous with and inter-
Catholicism in Spanish America
woven with the government. With the Church also education and learning, science and the printing press entered America. Mexico City and Lima were the first archbishoprics, to which were later added Caraccas, Santa Fe de Bogota and Guatemala. The lower clergy were divided into *curas*, simple parish priests in the Spanish settlements, *doctrineros* in the Indian villages and *missioneros* among the savage Indians. Universities were founded at Mexico City and Lima in 1551 and the Inquisition was established by Philip II in 1570. Enduring the torments of a strange climate and suffering martyrdom at the hands of hostile tribes, the priests penetrated into the hinterland and established missions. In this they were not unaided by the government, who regarding their work in the light of imperial expansion and, indeed, of frontier defence, often furnished them with a small salary, with goods and, at times, with the force necessary for their establishment. Although force was recognized by the ecclesiastical as well as the secular authorities as a means which might rightfully be used in the conversion of the natives to Christianity and in bringing them under the rule of Spain, it is surprising how many of the earlier missionaries relied only on their power of persuasion and on the strength of their faith.

The missionary took care of the material as well as the spiritual well-being of the Indians. He taught them the rudiments of agriculture and instructed them in the manufacture of articles which
Missionary work
could be exchanged for other commodities of which the new community stood in need.

The social texture of these Spanish colonies had also important political results. The white colonists controlled the administration, possessed the wealth and were socially superior and exclusive. The highest rank consisted of resident Europeans who were called
Social structure
Creoles. All who were "colored," whatever the degree of tincture, were in marked subjection. Among this population were included Indians, half-castes, quadroons, mulattos, and negroes. As these different castes pursued almost exclusively different occupations, the system of castes was hardened.

Economically the Spanish colonies in America were more important for their mines than for their agricultural products. The rich deposits of Zacatecas

in Mexico were opened in 1532 and of Potosi in Peru in 1545. The average output has been estimated at thirty million piastres per annum. Silver was far more abundant than gold. Among agricultural products the most important were cochineal and indigo as dyes, cocoa, tobacco, and Peruvian bark or quinine, and some hides and leather.

The mining operations and the cultivation of the plantations were responsible for the introduction of African slavery, as earlier in Brazil with the Portuguese who were the original slave traders. Later they were followed in the traffic by the English. The Spaniards themselves did not engage in the slave trade, but bought slaves from others.

There was often much to disturb the peace of these settlements. Apart from frequent attacks by fierce tribes like the Caribs, the settlements might suffer interference from the secular authorities, anxious to bring the work of conquest to completion. In addition they might be infested by lay Spaniards or by foreign slave traders, whose only desire was to exploit the natives for their own ends.

In the regulation of the American trade, all commerce was confined to the port of Seville, through which produce had to pass. Two squadrons of ships were annually sent out, the *galeones* of about 12, the fleet of about 15 large vessels. One, destined for South America, proceeded to Porto Bello, the other, destined for Mexico, proceeded to Vera Cruz. In both places great fairs sprang up. When the English, the French, and the Dutch invaded the Caribbean and began to raid the Spanish Main along with pirates and buccaneers, these fleets were convoyed by warships.

Strange as it seems, Portugal and Spain collided in their colonial expansion, not in America, but in the Far East over the Molucca Islands, the position of which could not be accurately determined according to the papal line of demarcation. This led to Magellan's famous circumnavigation of the globe. He discovered the strait which bears his name and was the first European to round Cape Horn, as his fellow countryman Da Gama had been the first to round the Cape of Good Hope. Magellan was a Portuguese by birth, who for some grievance entered the service of Spain. Having crossed the Pacific — the first to do so — Magellan discovered the Philippine Islands where he was killed by the natives (1521). His flagship, the *Victoria*, returned to Seville in the next year. The contest over the Moluccas was terminated by a treaty made in 1529, Charles V selling his claims to Portugal for 350,000 ducats.

Spanish possession of the Philippines, however, was not effected until 1564. Luzon was occupied in 1572 and Manila was founded. A regular trade was instituted between Manila and Acapulco on the west coast of Mexico, where the goods had to be transported overland by mules to Vera Cruz, and so to Europe again by sea. At first the Manila galleons plied back and forth along the tenth degree North parallel.

Later, instead of sailing east against wind and current, the galleons sailed out of Manila, turned northward and entered the belt of the westerly winds where also they had the advantage of the great Japan Current, which though it carried them northwest as far as Puget Sound, and required them to skirt the Oregon and California coasts, yet saved time. Thus the Pacific was marked by a gigantic oval route, around which the galleons moved clockwise.

Spain might have dominated the Pacific in the East Indies from the Philippines as a base, but failed to utilize her opportunity beyond discovering the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. After 1606 a weakened Spain, warned by the incursions into her waters of men like Drake and Cavendish, confined herself to preventing foreigners, as far as possible, from learning anything about an ocean where she hoped eventually to make great discoveries. Torres's description of the strait through which he sailed in 1606 was hidden away from the sight of men in Spanish archives. The Spanish voyages provided an inspiration to future explorers, since their islands were believed to be part of the north coast of Terra Australis or else outlyers of it.

Spaniards fail to dominate Pacific

The first period of European colonization may be said to have terminated when Charles V abdicated in 1555, and his son Philip II succeeded him. In the next generation—we may take the year 1618 as terminating it—the history of colonization exhibits three important changes. In the East the Portuguese colonial empire went to pieces when the English and the Dutch entered into the colonial field.

The Portuguese Empire decayed on account of the corruption which obtained in its administration, supplemented by defects in its organization. To this internal condition some external causes are to be added, even before the fatal rivalry of the Dutch appeared. The first of these was the almost constant attacks of native princes upon their establishments, and the menace of Malayan and Chinese pirates. The second cause was the subjugation of Portugal by Philip II of Spain in 1581. The kingdom remained a Spanish province until 1640. Brazil soon fell a victim to this change of government, for English and French freebooters ravaged the coast towns. Another heavy blow to the Portuguese Empire was Spain's seizure of several of the East India islands.

Decline of Portuguese Empire

While Spain became master of both the East and the West Indies, besides all of America, the Dutch and the English soon became a formidable menace to Spain's colonial empire. The Dutch were the first. It was natural for them sooner or later to venture into the Atlantic and the Pacific, for they had been a maritime and commercial people in the North Sea and the Baltic for many years. Accordingly when the Netherlands revolted against Spain, the Spanish colonies were marked for prey, more especially when many merchants removed from Belgium.

Dutch challenge Spain

to Amsterdam and other Dutch cities and the port of Lisbon was closed against both Dutch and Flemings in 1594

The English in the time of Elizabeth were the third nation to enter the colonial game. In order to avoid hostility with Portugal and Spain, the English attempted with the aid of Czar Ivan the Terrible to establish a route across Russia from Archangel to the Caspian. When this failed, vain efforts were made between 1576-1610 to discover both a northwest and a northeast passage to the Orient by Martin Frobisher, Sir John Davis, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Sir Francis Drake made his famous voyage around the world in 1577-1580, and the first English voyage to India around the Cape of Good Hope was made in 1591.

A new and different form was given at this time both to colonial government and to commerce by the establishment of chartered companies. The East India Company chartered on December 31, 1600, is the earliest example of this form of organization for the purpose of promoting commerce and colonial enterprise, anticipating by a year a similar company of the Dutch. It received the exclusive right to trade in all countries located between the Cape of Good Hope and the Strait of Magellan not yet occupied by any European power. The first voyage was made to Java and Sumatra in 1601, but possessing nothing but factories at Bantam in the former and at Acham in the latter island, and no forts, the English East India Company could not compete with the Dutch, especially in the Moluccas, and its trade remained limited. More successful was the Turkish or Levant Company which traded through Alexandretta and Aleppo with Turkey and Persia. It is mentioned in Shakespeare. The beginning of England's sea-power in the Mediterranean is to be found in the establishment of Levant Company.

During this period also England founded its first settlements in North America. The first chartered companies for this purpose were formed in the reign of James I in 1606 after the peace with Spain. They were the London Company and the Plymouth Company. In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh had secured a patent to explore the North American coast north of the Spanish settlements which extended as far as the present South Carolina, and a short-lived colony was established on Roanoke Island in Virginia, which Raleigh named after Queen Elizabeth. No one knows when or how this settlement was destroyed. Raleigh's lapsed patent was the kernel of the charter of the London Company which, in 1607, sent out a band of one hundred colonists who founded Jamestown. This event and place marks the beginning of the history of the colony of Virginia.

In the same year (1607) the Plymouth Company, whose incorporators were men who came from Plymouth, Bristol, Devonshire, and Gloucestershire, settled 120 colonists at the mouth of the Kennebec River, but the

proximity of the French in Canada was too great a peril and the settlement soon disappeared. Thirteen years later the Plymouth Company established the historically momentous Plymouth Colony composed of English separatists, a sort of left-wing of the larger *Plymouth Colony* body of Puritans" (1620). In 1629 followed the establishment of the Company of Massachusetts Bay of which the colony of Connecticut was an offshoot. In 1632 the region of Chesapeake Bay was granted to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and in 1634 the first colonists arrived.

The colonial policy of the European powers differed widely in America from that followed in Africa and the East Indies. In Africa and the Indies the success of their trading ventures depended upon the good will of the native chieftains, and accordingly infringement of *Different colonial policies* native rights was usually guarded against. On the other hand, in the Americas, their policy was a "penetrative" one. But even then a difference is to be observed. The Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, the Portuguese in Brazil, the French in Canada, subjugated the native population, but spared it. But the English in New England, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Georgia either killed or expelled the Indians, and so did to a lesser extent the Dutch in New York.

With regard to the white colonial population, plantations were regarded as markets for the sale of home-manufactured goods, necessary in a day when foreign merchants were excluded from competition. In *Colonial trade* return the colonies were to produce raw materials for the home government. The English colonies in America furnished tobacco, naval stores, furs and sugar which they exchanged for cloth goods and hardware. All this trade was severely controlled by the Navigation Laws in the interest of merchants and manufacturers of the mother-country. There was evasion of the law, and much smuggling. In 1671 a circular letter was drafted to the plantations and territories of the West Indies asking them to give an account of their condition, "but what we most insist on," says the report, "is to know the condition of New England, which is appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty." It runs on:

"Most of the military saints (i.e., Cromwell's followers) at his Majesty's Restoration, flying thither richly laden with the plunder of Old England, carried over great riches, so as now New England is become a Bank of money and a magazine of men and arms. 'T was asked, why, being thus strong, they would permit the Dutch and French to encroach?' 'T was replied that New England had good trading with New Amsterdam, but as soon as it became New York they must obey custom, etc."

The Dutch East India Company had been established with the aid of Dutch Jews in 1602. This powerful corporation which was both a mer-

cantile and a political organization, was given the monopoly of the Dutch trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan and the right of making settlements in India. The seat of administration was at Amsterdam, but there were branches or "chambers" in other cities of the Netherlands. A governor-general was appointed for India in 1610 and the numbers of the governors increased with the augmentation of territory. The Dutch East India Company was a stupendous corporate monopoly, with a few but stringent rules, as prohibition of trade by any of its officials, promotion according to merit, prompt collection of debts and prompt payment of bills. The expansion of the company was aided by the general hatred of the Portuguese in the East. The company made slight effort to establish settlements in India where force of arms would have been required, for the Mogul Empire was powerful there. Its chief area of activity was among the East India Islands, where Batavia in Java was established in 1619, which still remains the capital. By confining its activities to the Archipelago it escaped the hostility of Hindoo and Chinese powers. The company's chief station was in Batavia, with subsidiaries scattered all over the East.

Voyages to the distant posts, in small sailing ships, ill-supplied with fresh water and worse off for fresh meat and vegetables, were lengthy, precarious, and often deadly adventures. Illness from scurvy alone was terrifying, and the company was in great need of calling-places where its ships might refit when storm-crippled, their crews and passengers have a few days to stretch their legs on shore and, more important, new stores of water, meat, and green-stuff be taken for the rest of the voyage.

The Cape had eminent advantages in all these ways, and in 1651 the company decided to establish a post there. It was to be no more than a station of call for ships passing. The settlement was to be a "rendezvous on the shores of the Cabo de Bon Esperance" in order that our ships may safely touch there to obtain meat, fresh vegetables, water and other necessities and that our sick may be restored to health."

The Portuguese had never settled at the Cape as they might have done. But English and Dutch captains on their way to the Far East often put into Table Bay. In 1620 the English East India Company strongly urged James I to occupy the territory of the Cape of Good Hope for England but James I was too short-sighted to do so. He would have saved three centuries of war if he had so done. Finally in 1652 the Netherlands East Company took formal possession of the Cape and colonized the territory with a hardy stock of settlers. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes proved a great benefit to the Dutch colony at the Cape. Several hundreds of Huguenots by the enterprise of the Netherlands East India Company were transported to the Cape where they planted vineyards and in-

*Dutch East
India Company*

*Dutch settlement
in the Cape*

Cape settlement

termarried with the Dutch population. The Boer general Joubert was a descendant of one of these French families. These French incomers, however, soon lost their French ways and even their language. In 1724 the use of the French tongue in worship disappeared. In 1784 a French traveller Le Vaillant was able to discover in all the Dutch settlements but one old man who still remembered the tongue of his forefathers.

The importance and the volume of commerce, both of European and colonial origin, in the seventeenth century, originated new policies governing the conduct of trade (monopolies, protective tariffs, navigation laws) and gave rise to the assertion of new principles, such as freedom of the seas and the rights of neutral trade. *International importance of the colonies*

In these policies and over these issues the nations of Europe and their colonies were deeply interested. In the wars of the period the colonies were prizes of conquest to the victor. War ceased to be limited to the spoliation and dismemberment of the countries of Europe, it became a ravishment of the overseas colonies and fleets were almost as important as armies. In the great treaties of peace made in the seventeenth century the colonies of the powers engaged were like pawns on a chess-board.

In the first fifty years of the seventeenth century the growth of Holland's colonial empire fills the eye, in the second fifty years it is that of England. In the former period the Dutch East India Company was at the height of its power, which radiated from Batavia *Dutch colonial expansion* (Java) to the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, to Ceylon, Borneo, Sumatra and the Spice Islands, to China and Japan. Almost everywhere the Portuguese Empire was despoiled: the Coromandel coast in 1615, Malabar and Calicut in 1656, Cochin and Cananor in 1661, by which the whole pepper trade fell into Dutch hands. Factories were also spread along the east coast of India as far as Bengal. In the island of Ceylon, Colombo was seized in 1656 and Kandy in 1658. Malacca was conquered in 1640 and Siam invaded. The Dutch extended their power to the Sunda Islands, the Celebes, and Sumatra by a double system of forts and factories. In Japan, thanks to the revolution there in 1639, the Dutch succeeded in driving out the Portuguese, and though under great restrictions, got a foothold for themselves. The Dutch trade, except at Macao, was less important, especially after their expulsion from Formosa in 1661.

Spain could not close the eastern side of the Pacific, and from there the Dutch, after they had ousted the Portuguese from the East Indies, took up exploration at once. Between 1605 and 1656 they discovered, bit by bit, though with no enthusiasm for the barren and *Dutch exploration in Pacific* treacherous shores and wretched savages they encountered, most of the north and west coasts of Australia. In 1642-1643 Tasman discovered van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), Staten Landt (New Zealand), and the Friendly Islands, and sailed right around Australia, though at too great

a distance to learn anything about it Tasman believed Staten Landt to be part of the continental Staten Landt which his countryman Schouten reported he had found in Tierra del Fuego in 1616 Had the all-powerful managers of the Dutch East India Company at Amsterdam given a free hand to Governor van Diemen of Batavia as well as Tasman and the pilot, Visscher, whose "Memoir concerning the Discovery of the South-Land" was the first practical work on Pacific exploration, the course of history might have been different Actually they considered that Tasman had failed because he had brought them no profits and no new markets, and so little did they encourage exploration for its own sake that New Holland (Australia) was long believed to be an archipelago, while the Spanish islands were still held to be part of a continent Like the Portuguese and Spanish before them, the Dutch lost their opportunity Yet de Vries and Schaeap extended their knowledge of the Pacific up to Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, and Roggeveen, coming from the American side, discovered Samoa and Easter Island in 1722

The key to holding this remote and far-flung Dutch colonial empire was the Cape of Good Hope, as today South Africa is a key to the integrity of the British Empire in India, Australia, and New Zealand

Importance of Cape It is a half-way station for the fleet ¹ Unlike the other Dutch colonies in the Far East, Cape Colony was an agricultural one, it constituted the sixth government

The colonial success of the Dutch led them, after the renewal of the war with Spain in 1621, to establish a West India Company Its privileges comprised West Africa, almost the whole of the eastern and western coasts of South America and the Islands of the Pacific The capital of the company was seven million guilders Brazil was the chief object of attack, but plunder of the Spanish plate-fleet, as in 1628, was a profitable side operation All Pernambuco and some contiguous provinces were subjugated, but recovered again by Portugal in a few years thanks to the prowess of the governor Don Juan da Viera (1654) The Dutch seized possession of St Eustatia, Curaçao and lesser islets in the Caribbean, which became sources of tobacco and sugar

Dutch West India Company

The commercial rivalry—the herring fisheries must be included—between the Dutch and the English, as we have seen in a previous chapter, caused two wars between them in the time of Cromwell and of Charles II This hostility only terminated when the ascendancy of Louis XIV compelled the two to unite against France

The English East Indian trade in this time was driven from the Spice Islands by the Dutch (1623), its only surviving factories were in Bantam and on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, even the acquisition of Madras in 1640 from the native king of Golconda hardly improved its situation The Aleppo Company fared

English overseas trade

¹ Another key, of more modern origin, is Egypt and the Suez Canal.

better, especially after the English helped the Persians to acquire Ormuz at the head of the Persian Gulf. The trade was mostly in silk, but the insecurity of the route rendered it difficult. The domestic troubles of England also reacted unfavorably on trade. England also exploited the Caribbean to get cheap sugar and tobacco. The wonder is that so many of these islands were still unappropriated. The first settlement on Barbados and St. Christopher was made in 1625, on Bermuda and Nevis in 1628, the uninhabited Bahama Islands were occupied in 1629, Montserrat and Antigua settled in 1632. Jamaica was conquered from Spain in 1655.

France made attempts to establish colonies in America at Port Royal, the present Annapolis, in Nova Scotia (1603) and at Quebec in 1608, which Champlain founded. Both of these settlements were to become important in the future. The fur trade and fisheries was *French colonization* more an object than agriculture in these colonies. France, too, made efforts to establish colonies in the Caribbean in the time of Richelieu, and the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique became sources of sugar and tobacco for the French after 1635. About the same time French settlements were made at Cayenne (French Guiana) on the north coast of the South American continent, and at Senegal on the African coast.

The ascendancy of France in the reign of Louis XIV brought a new factor into the history of colonization and changed the conditions. For the first time France showed a serious interest in colonial enterprise. The French East India Company was established in 1664. The colonies which France essayed to establish were of three sorts: commercial, agricultural, and plantations. The movement was inspired by the great French minister Colbert and was begun in the West Indies where French settlers earlier in the century had acquired a foothold in the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, and a little later in some of the smaller islands—St. Lucia, Granada being the largest of them. These were the property of private individuals. In 1664 Colbert bought them of the owners and made them property of the government. Not until this was done could a fixed administration be introduced. In the same year new colonists were sent out to Cayenne. The development of these properties was committed to the chartered West India Company, but it lasted only ten years, because of the multitude of restrictions imposed upon it by a government which had a passion for regulating everything. Sugar, cotton, tobacco, before the introduction of the coffee tree, were the chief products.

The greatest French West India colony was that half of the great island of Santo Domingo, which became more important than all of France's other possessions in the Caribbean area. It had a picturesque origin. The Spanish Main swarmed with pirates and buccaneers who *Santo Domingo* at first (about 1630) began to prey upon Spanish colonies and Spanish ships. When the English began to colonize in the Caribbean, both in hitherto un-

settled islands like the Barbados and in others from which the Spaniards were expelled, like Jamaica, France, being hostile to England, protected these corsairs and permitted them to make settlements on the western shore of Santo Domingo after 1664. But by the time of the Peace of Ryswick (1697) Santo Domingo had become a respectable French colony.

The French African trade was also in the hands of chartered companies. The Senegal Company was established in 1674, the Guinea Company in 1685.

The French East India Company was established in 1664 with a capital of fifteen million livres and with the right of being the proprietors of their conquests — i.e., the right to make war. This was a frank and brutal concession. The English and the Dutch colonial companies, it is true, sometimes waged wars, but they were represented as violent phases of commercial competition. But France called a spade a spade. The first endeavor at conquest and settlement was made in Madagascar in 1665, and France still possesses this great island. In 1675 a factory was erected at Surat on the Malabar coast and in 1679 at Pondicherry, a tiny bit of territory in India which France yet retains.

None of these chartered companies of France prospered, partly because of too much regulation from Paris, partly because the mercantile system was at war with itself. The East India Company suffered most, for in order to promote domestic manufactures the importation of Indian fabrics into France was prohibited.

Acadia in Nova Scotia was an agricultural and fishery settlement belonging to France, and Canada was almost wholly engaged in peltry. After much strife with England, France eventually was left in possession of Acadia by the Peace of Breda (1667). But the French settlement at Plaisance in Newfoundland made the question of the fisheries on the Grand Banks an acute one for many years to come. The tiny French settlements in the Mississippi valley which La Salle established in the reign of Louis XIV acquired importance in the eighteenth century.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the Dutch still remained in chief possession of the East Indian trade. They were in exclusive control of the Spice Islands and continued enmity with the Portuguese gave them the chance to get permanent footing on both coasts of the Malayan Peninsula by the conquests of Cochin and Negapatam. In 1669 the Celebes were taken by the Dutch and in 1683 Bantam was seized. In the West Indies, too, the Dutch enlarged their holdings at the expense of Portugal, where Surinam was conquered in 1667. It was sold to the Dutch West India Company in 1679.

In compensation for these losses Portugal enjoyed new prosperity in Brazil, secure possession of which was made in the Treaty of 1660 with

Holland The rich gold mines at Villa Rica were discovered in 1696

The Spanish colonies in this period experienced no important change The mother-country was in a condition of decadence and the colonies were somnolent The most important event was the establishment of missions of the Jesuits in Paraguay in 1609

*Portugal retains
Brazil*

Even the small states of northern Europe endeavored to get into the game of founding colonies The Danish East India Company was founded in 1618 and made a settlement at Tranquebar by permission of the Rajah of Tanjore The company was dissolved in 1634, at which time Denmark was in the throes of the Thirty Years' War

*Colonial
endeavors of
small states*

In 1638 a colony of Swedes settled on the Delaware or South River as it was then called, as the Hudson was called the North River The Dutch, at New Amsterdam, regarded this as an invasion of their territory and in 1655 New Sweden was annexed to New Netherlands The most evanescent colony of all was the short-lived one founded by Frederick William the Great Elector of Brandenburg who in 1677 sent a Dutch captain named Blonk to survey the Guinea Coast and to study the resources of the country with a view to promoting Brandenburg trade He returned in 1680 A company was formed, a treaty was made with three negro chiefs and a cession of territory secured on the West African coast, and two fortified trading posts established, one named Gross Friedrichsburg, the other Dorotheen Schanze The Dutch in Guinea and the French in Senegal both resented this Prussian colony as an intrusion into their "sphere of influence," if not their territory After a precarious history the posts fell into their hands in 1725 German dreams of colonial empire were not realized until late in the nineteenth century

In the flux and flow of colonial history in the seventeenth century the fact of supreme importance to be observed is the steady and substantial growth of the English colonies in North America. They participated in the war between England and France in 1689-1697, which in America was called "King William's War" "Queen Anne's War" was the American colonial phase of the War of the Spanish Succession, at whose termination in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht France ceded to England Nova Scotia (Acadia), Newfoundland, and the Hudson's Bay Territory

*English North
American colonies*

The British East Indian trade and colonization also greatly prospered in this era The patent of the company was renewed by Charles II in 1660. Occupation was made of St. Helena which the Dutch had abandoned after the settlement of Cape Colony and became an important resting-place for ships returning from the Indies Bombay was acquired in 1668, which soon exceeded Madras in importance. A factory was established at Hoogly at the mouth of the Ganges, which proved unprofitable When hostilities began between the Great

*British East
India Company*

Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal in 1687, the territory around Calcutta was bought of the latter and Fort William erected in 1699. On Sumatra a factory was set up in 1687 for the upper trade.

In England a strong protest was made against the East India Company upon the introduction of cotton and silk goods by the Levant Company and by some manufacturers as a throat-cutting practice. The mercantile system developed internal evils in England as well as in France. In Parliament an effort was made to prevent a renewal of the East India Company's charter. It received, however, a renewal of its grant in 1693. The origins of Great Britain's Indian Empire are found in the operations of this great trading company.

To conclude. In the second half of the seventeenth century the wars in Europe reached the European colonies. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the colonies in the Americas and in the Far East became stakes of empire. The French and Indian War in America was part of the Seven Years' War (1755-1763) in Europe. It was begun in America and the most important settlement of Peace of Paris in 1763, which concluded it, dealt with the colonies of France and England in the New World.

The divergence between England and her American colonies would have widened into an open breach before 1776 if it had not been for the fear of France felt by the colonies all the way from New England to the Carolinas. As early as 1710 a Frenchman in Canada shrewdly prophesied that if ever the French domination in Canada was destroyed, the English colonies "will then unite, shake off the yoke of the English monarchy and erect themselves into a democracy."¹ An equally prophetic utterance is that made by the Scottish philosopher and historian, David Hume, in 1767. "Let the French triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue," he wrote. "Our solid and increasing establishments in America promise a superior stability and duration to the English language."

Except for the American Revolution, the French and Indian War was the most important event in Europe's colonial history. In the first conflict, Britain's empire in America was enlarged by the acquisition of Canada and recognition of the Mississippi as the boundary between Louisiana and the British colonies. In the second conflict, Britain lost the Thirteen Colonies, and the United States of America came into being.

¹ Parkman, *Half-century of Conflict*, 161

CHAPTER LI

EUROPEAN CULTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

With the waning of the Renaissance, the extreme limit of which may be said to have been reached about 1550, the culture of Europe underwent a great change. The Reformation evoked an enormous volume of theological and religious literature very unlike that of the Middle Ages. For it was intensely controversial in its nature. The Greek and Latin classics, interest in which had been awakened by the Italian Renaissance, continued to be sedulously studied. Most impressive, however, in this new age was the vigor and variety of popular literature which in the sixteenth century became a national expression in France, England, and Spain. In Italy the well-spring was nearly exhausted and in Germany the religious controversy extinguished every other sort of literature. *Popular literature*

The two greatest prose writers in France in the sixteenth century were Rabelais (1483?-1553) and Montaigne (1533-92). The former was educated for the priesthood but soon abandoned theology for medicine, which he studied at Montpellier. He edited and printed the medical treatises of Hippocrates and Galen, which brought him into contact with men of learning, notably the Cardinal du Bellay, who was a scholar and diplomat. Rabelais had too much imagination to be content with mere erudition, and wrote piecemeal through thirty years his amazing *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. The wild humor, the satiric zest, the shrewd philosophy, the sheer merriment of this work have made it a world classic. Rabelais ridiculed the inflated romances of chivalry then so popular, he criticized education, he mocked at the clergy, he belabored government, he assailed Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists for their intolerance and political incendiarism. If he had not amused Francis I, who protected him, he might have perished on the gallows or by fire. His last years were spent as a priest in a parish near Paris where he was greatly beloved. His bitter humor did not leave him even on his death-bed.¹ *Rabelais*

Michel de Montaigne was a well-born country squire, whose mother was Jewish, he was thoroughly although eccentrically educated by his father, a man of means and culture. After a brief career at the bar and an insight of court life in Paris, he retired to his estates and devoted his life to the writing of those *Essays* which have immortalized him. *Montaigne*

¹ See Walter Besant, *Rabelais*, in *Foreign Classics*.

Montaigne was of a skeptical and tolerant mind, eminently reflective, philosophically critical and steeped in the Greek and Latin classical literature. He was full of original ideas of almost every sort and his style is terse and racy to a degree. He had the gift of coining phrases which are models of condensed expression. No other writer in all literature, except Shakespeare, is more quotable, and the bard of Avon was an assiduous reader of Montaigne.

Unlike prose literature, French poetry in the sixteenth century was tinged with Italian influence. This is manifest in Du Bellay's sonnets, which are Petrarchian in form and spirit. Du Bellay's *The defense and enrichment of the French language* was a sort of manual of style which endeavored to standardize the French language in an age of linguistic and literary transition. The greatest French poet of the sixteenth century was Ronsard, the brightest star in a galaxy of poets called the Pléiade. He was not content to use merely Italian forms, and re-created the ode in France.

In sixteenth-century Spain, as in France, the Italianates captured the field of poetry and the drama spite of the genius of Lope de Vega (1562-1635), the most prolific dramatist who ever lived, and held their sway down through the next two centuries. In England the lyrics of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII, were the first Renaissance poetry and ushered in the Tudor period of literature. The best prose is found in Tyndale's translation of the Bible. Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* is a pleasantly written and thoughtful treatise on education. Holinshed's *Chronicle*, an enormous compendium of English history which gave large space to Welsh and Scottish legend and tradition, was popular reading. Shakespeare found the plots of *King Lear*, *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth* in this volume.

It is singular that Italian influence upon sixteenth-century literature should have been so great when Italian literature itself was distinctly decadent at the time. Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Tasso's *Jerusalem delivered*, the one a belated imitation of the medieval *chansons de geste*, the other modeled after the *Aeneid* of Vergil, seem turgid and bombastic to a modern reader. The same may be said of the *Lusiad*, an epic of Vasco da Gama's epochal voyage and discovery, written by Camoens, a Portuguese poet.

The greatest prose in English literature was written in the Elizabethan period, or if one wishes to be more exact, between the appearance of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 and that of the King James version of the *English Bible* in 1611. This was Tennyson's opinion, and the great English historian Froude, agreed with him, and added: "Even the Acts of Elizabeth are written in the grandest language I know."

In the sixteenth century the drama languished everywhere except in

Elizabethan England It was slavishly imitative of the ancient comedies of Plautus and Terence and the tragedies of Seneca Italian dramatists were numerous and prolific writers, but "of the hundreds of plays produced in courts or towns of Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, none has any claim to universal fame" The English drama alone showed originality in the hands of that brilliant group of young playwrights known as the "scholar playwrights" from the circumstance that all of them were Cambridge men These were Robert Greene, George Peele, Thomas Nash, Thomas Lodge, Thomas Kyd, and Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare's forerunner and his rival in genius When he arrived in London, "a boy in age, a man in genius, a god in ambition," as the poet Swinburne said, he revolutionized the English drama Marlowe's "mighty line" has dominated all great English drama from his day to our own His *Doctor Faustus* and his *Tamburlaine the Great* are imperishable Nothing like them had been known before, either for creative imagination or for form of expression When Faust by magic conjures up before his eyes the face of Helen of Troy, and cries

*Great English
drama*

"Is this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burned the topless towers of Ilion?"

one of the greatest metaphors known to poetry flashed into literature

Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590-96) is similar to the Italian epic of the sixteenth century and recalls Ariosto It is tinged with a rose-colored chivalry and all the figures are allegorical or symbolic The Spenserian stanza in form is almost as famous as the terza rima of Dante

Epic

It consists of nine lines, the first eight having ten syllables, the last being an alexandrine, or a line with six stresses The stanza was ridiculed by Pope in the eighteenth century when the fashion of poetry had greatly changed

"A needless Alexandrine ends the song,
That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along"

The sixteenth-century novel was the weakest form of literature The vigor and imagination with which Boccaccio had invested the novel at its birth had declined by the sixteenth century The novel became romantic and sentimental and absurdly fantastic both in characters and episodes How sensible men and women, some of them red-blooded and full of lusty life, could read such effusions as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1481), the first of a long line of pastorals, or *Diana* (1559) by Montemayor, a Portuguese who wrote in Spanish, or Tasso's *Aminta* (1581) or Guarini's *Pastor fido* (1585) or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1581) now surpasses our understanding The last important example of this novel of romantic plot and artificial style was Honoré D'Urfé's *Astreé*, written in French in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Competing with this

Novel

sort of novel were a plethora of romances of chivalry of which the *Amadis de Gaule* started the vogue in 1508. These were stories of adventure, romantic love, enchantment, heroes and heroines attired in a tinsel chivalry, pasteboard figures which passed for men and women.

When Titian died in 1576 the greatness of Italian painting already had passed away. The brush and the palette of the painter had long since passed to Germany, where a wonderful pair of portrait painters was found in the first half of the sixteenth century. These were

Painting

Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Holbein. Dürer, who was contemporary with Luther, made Nuremberg the center of German art, in company with Adam Krafft and Peter Vischer, masters in stone and bronze. Dürer was a friend of Bellini and Raphael. He died in 1528. Hans Holbein lived in Basel, where he was a friend of Erasmus and gradually passed from fresco-work and religious subjects to portraiture. He visited England, bringing a letter of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and remained in England as court painter till his death. His portrait of Henry VIII is famous. He died in 1543. In France we find the great portrait painter Clouet, at the court of Francis I and Henry II. No such galaxy of contemporary portrait painters has existed since their time.

In architecture the sixteenth century was not distinguished. The last great examples of the Perpendicular, the latest English Gothic style, in vogue from the end of the fourteenth century, were Magdalen Tower,

Architecture

Windsor Chapel, and King's College Chapel at Cambridge, all of which were completed in the first decade of the reign of Henry VIII. It was called Perpendicular because it was characterized by long vertical lines, especially in the mullions of the large windows and in use of vertical panels. It was a reaction against the flamboyancy of late French Gothic, which was characterized by flowing tracery and excessive decoration and ornament. In France the church of St. Eustache in Paris (1532) marks the transition of French Gothic to Italian, a characteristic also visible in the great châteaux of the country at the same time. In Italy the influence of Palladio marked a return to classical traditions in architecture along the lines laid down by Vitruvius, the great ancient Roman architect. The style was introduced into England by Inigo Jones in the early seventeenth century.

The greatest name in music in the sixteenth century is that of Palestrina, who under the influence of the Counter-Reformation purged church music of much dross which had accumulated in it for three hundred years. His *Mass for Pope Marcellus* was given in 1565. In 1600

Music

the first opera appeared in *Eurydice*, the libretto of which was written by Rinuccini and the music by Peri. It was first performed at the marriage of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici. In the same year the first oratorio, composed by Cavaliere, was performed in the Oratory at Rome. Sculpture was nowhere great after Michelangelo's *Moses* (1534) and Cellini's *Perseus* (1548).

Just before and after 1600 a period of bad taste in literature ensued in poetry and drama, and was also reflected in architecture and sculpture. The new style was known as Marinism in Italy and Gongorism or "Calteranismo" in Spain, from the names of the two chief poets who represented it. The affectation was most intense in these two countries. In England this degenerate style began with the *Euphuus* (1579) of John Lyly, through whom the word euphuism, meaning an artificial form of expression, abounding in antithetical sentences, archaic or rare words and high-flown diction, entered the language. In France this style was called preciosity.

*Degenerate style
in literature*

Fortunately literature was saved from serious corruption by the genius of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson in England, by the clarity, moderation, and good taste of Malherbe (died 1628) and the genius of Corneille in France. In Spain the two greatest dramatists in Spanish literature, Lope de Vega (died 1635) and Calderon de la Barca (1600-81) drove Gongorism off the stage.

Literary geniuses

In the seventeenth century European literature, scholarship, and science all reached a height never before attained. In intellectual achievement the seventeenth century may be compared with the thirteenth. Shakespeare (1554-1616) is often thought of as of the Elizabethan age, yet most of his greatest plays were written in the reign of James I, when he reached the height of grandeur both in comedy and tragedy. At Hampton Court, the great royal seat outside of London, Shakespeare had acted in *Hamlet* and *Othello* before a royal Dane, in the person of Queen Anne's brother Christian of Denmark, and here the sight of the queen clad in a suit of green going forth to shoot the deer in the park inspired Ben Jonson's lines beginning:

*Greatness of
seventeenth
century*

"Queen and huntress, chaste and fair."

Not so great as Shakespeare, yet one to be remembered with him was Ben Jonson (1573-1637), who, unlike his friend, was steeped in classical literature. Shakespeare got his plots and even the language of his plays based on classical themes from North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, but Jonson read Greek and Latin well, as his exquisite translation from the *Greek Anthology* — "Drink to me only with thine eyes" — attests. Lesser English dramatists in the early seventeenth century were Beaumont and Fletcher, inseparable twins of literature, Massinger, Ford, and Webster.

The French drama in this same period ran to tragedy, not comedy, whereas across the Channel there was a balance of two types. The first great French drama was Corneille's *Le Cid* in 1636, a tragi-comedy based on Spanish sources. The French Academy, which Richeieu had recently founded to be the arbiter of French language and literature, condemned it for its "irregularities" and failure to follow the

French tragedies

canons of Aristotle in the composition of drama. Corneille yielded and henceforth adhered to classical themes and classical models in his great tragedies *Horace*, *Cinna*, and *Polyeucte*. These plays, like Shakespeare's *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Hamlet*, center around some great moral problem and replace external action by inner, psychological action. They are "problem" plays.

Far different from both English and French drama was that of Spain. Lope de Vega was the author of over five hundred plays, besides a pastoral

novel. He wrote too hastily to be profound, rather, he was

Spanish drama

diverting and amusing. Calderon was the real personification of Spanish drama. He expressed the passions and the ideals of the Spanish people as no other playwright. First a soldier, then a courtier and finally a priest, he wrote one hundred and eight comedies — no tragedies — and seventy-two *autos sacramentales*, or sacred pieces allegorically or historically representative of the life of Christ. In whatever Calderon wrote, whether his scenes and characters were Biblical or Greek or Roman or Italian or African, his types and personalities are all uniformly and monotonously Spanish in nature. In the Romantic period of literature, in the early nineteenth century, Calderon had a great vogue, and many of his plays were translated into French, Italian, German, and English.

The literature of romantic and unsold chivalry lasted longer in Spain than elsewhere in Europe and did not vanish until Cervantes ridiculed it

to the point of extinction in his immortal *Don Quixote*, the

Cervantes

first part of which was published in 1604, the second part in 1615. One thinks of Rabelais when reading it, for it has equal humor but is without Rabelais's corrosive sarcasm. It is gentle, not bitter satire. This solid volume of a thousand pages is one of the world's masterpieces of literature — a book of amusement, of satire, of wisdom, of pathos, a golden book. Spain in the seventeenth century had also a writer like Montaigne in France. This was Baltasar Gracian, of the Company of Jesus, whose *A truth-telling Manual and the Art of Worldly Wisdom* (1653) is a collection of reflections and aphorisms too little known. It is a delicious book.¹

In the middle of the seventeenth century one observes a change in the spirit of English and French literature — for there was no German literature and Italian literature was hopelessly debased. It was the age of Puritanism and the Restoration in England, the *Siècle de Louis XIV* in France.

In England the persecution of the Puritans closed the stage. Religion and theology were dominant themes of interest. The best poets, with one excep-

tion, were not of Puritan cast of thought. Some were courtiers, as Sir John Suckling and Sir Richard Lovelace, who wrote exquisite love lyrics, others were imbued with a sincere

Seventeenth century English writers

religious spirit found now in the Church of England, but unknown in the

English translation by Martin Fischer, Baltimore, 2d ed. 1935

Established Church in the sixteenth century. Of such were the poets Francis Quarles (1592-1644), George Herbert (1593-1632), author of a poem on Sunday beginning 'O day most calm, most bright,' and Richard Crashaw (1620-50), a secret Catholic, author of "Lines on a prayer book." Prose writers of the epoch include John Hales, William Chillingworth, Thomas Fuller, and three great preachers, Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, Joseph Hall (1574-1656), and Richard Baxter (1615-91), author of *The Saint's Rest*. Unique is Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82), a physician who practiced cure of souls as well as of bodies in his *Religio medici* and treatise on *Urn-burial*, which contains some of the noblest thoughts on death and immortality in literature, couched in language no less noble: "The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction of merit of perpetuity. There is nothing strictly immortal but immortality. Man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes and pompous in the grave, solemnizing natiivities and deaths with equal lustre."

The greatest name in English literature in the seventeenth century is John Milton (1608-74), intellectual champion of Puritanism, Cromwell's Latin secretary, who lived to see the ruination in 1660 of all that he had labored for politically. He died in poverty and blindness. As with Shakespeare, so with Milton, it should be unnecessary in this brief sketch, to say aught of him. *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, the last epic poems in the history of English literature, the *Ode on the Nativity*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, *Samson Agonistes* and his sonnets—one may add also his plea for intellectual liberty, the *Areopagitica*, than which there is not nobler prose in the language, should be known to every student.

The Restoration (1660-88) knew no author as great as Milton. Except for Dryden's (1631-1700) vigorous poems and Samuel Butler's satirical *Hudibras*, it had no poets. But great prose was written then. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* was written after the fall of the Stuarts in 1688, but pertains to the epoch of the Restoration; it was the first great history of England, and a monument of sonorous prose. Nor must one omit the *Diary* of Pepys, the *Memoirs* of Sir John Evelyn and the political discourses of Sir William Temple (died 1699).

The age of William III and Queen Anne (1688-1713) was wholly one of prose writers, it was an age of political philosophy and scientific thought. John Locke's two *Treatises on Civil Government*, designed to justify the Revolution of 1688 and which advocated the contractual theory of the state, based on natural right, appeared in 1689. In history, by a curious coincidence, Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, a strongly Protestant work, appeared in the same year.

(1689) as the French Bishop Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*, which was strongly Catholic. England in this period had no noteworthy poet, and no story-teller. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1719.

Turning to France the Age of Louis XIV was one of artificiality in prose and in verse, of conventional ideas and formal expression, with the exception of

Racine and Molière. This first is France's greatest writer of tragedy, the second her greatest writer of comedy. Like Shakespeare in England, Racine (1639-99) in France excelled in metaphysical drama, whether comedy or tragedy. His greatest work, *Athalie*, was his last.

"Never has there been produced a more brilliant series of studies of the human heart, for Racine has but one concern, to portray passion, above all the passion of love. Concentrating thus on a single emotion, whether it be maternal love, or remorse, or jealousy, he restricts his action to a single crisis in the life of his main characters, and with swift and concentrated analysis reveals the steps which lead to their doom. The plays of Racine have a directness and a universality which is equalled only by that of Greek tragedy."

Molière (1622-73), like Shakespeare, was both an actor and a playwright. He was used to barn-storming in the provinces. Except — possibly — for

Balzac, he is the greatest of all French writers. Although

Molière all his plays are accounted comedies, they are none of them mere light amusement or farces, though there are slapstick incidents at times. To Molière, comedy was an instrument of criticism — in his case religious hypocrisy, social priggishness and the meanness of human nature. He ridicules like Cervantes, he scalds like Rabelais. If Louis XIV had not had the good sense to protect him, he would have been stopped by the clergy and high French society, both of which hated him. His first success was *Les Précieuses ridicules* in 1659, which ridiculed the affectations of the Rambouillet circle. Thenceforward Molière's career was one of success after success. *Tartuffe* or *The Hypocrite* is, perhaps, his greatest play. "Here is vice in its meanest and most repulsive forms. . . . *Tartuffe*, the hypocrite, the swindler, the seducer of his benefactor's wife, looms out on us with the kind of horrible greatness that Milton's Satan might have had if he had come to live with a bourgeois family in seventeenth-century France."²

Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme is a satire on social climbing. Molière died in 1673 when he was himself playing in his last great comedy, *Le malade imaginaire*. His enormous and perennial popularity is shown by the fact that between 1680 and 1920 his plays have been produced 21,472 times at the Comédie Française alone, *Tartuffe* has been performed 2,199 times! It may be doubted whether Shakespeare has matched this record.

¹ Professor Hayward Keniston in *Introductory General Course in the Humanities Syllabus*, University of Chicago, 1931, p. 231.

² Lytton Strachey, *Landmarks in French Literature* (1902).

Classical theories of the art of poetry were carried farther in France than in any other country. Boileau's *Art poétique* (1673) dominated French poetry until Victor Hugo's famous preface to his drama *Cromwell* (1827) established the romantic movement. Perhaps the year 1665 is the central date in French literature in the age of Louis XIV. In that year La Rochefoucauld published his *Maxims*, La Fontaine's *Contes* (stories) began to appear, followed by his *Fables*, the *Journal des Savants*, the first literary and scientific review, was founded, the weekly dinners of Racine, Molière, Boileau, and La Fontaine began. Charles II's sister, Madame, became known at the French court by her patronage of men of letters. She was much attracted by the splendid pulpit eloquence of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. Racine, Molière, La Fontaine and Boileau were indebted to her for friendship and patronage. Racine and Molière both dedicated plays to her.

Little that is commendatory can be said for art in the seventeenth century, except for Spanish and Flemish art. Though politically decadent, Spain had in Ribera, Murillo, and Velasquez three outstanding painters. The religious pictures of the two former recall the Italy of Perugino and Raphael. Murillo (1617-82) was perhaps the most prolific of them all, and more of his paintings are now abroad than in Spain. Velasquez (1599-1660) was a rugged realist who excelled in scenes of court and camp and in portraiture. His execution of light and shade reminds one of no artist so much as Rembrandt.

In Flanders and Holland two traditions of art met, one the tradition of the Burgundian school of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the other that derived from Spanish domination of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Flanders Rubens's gross figures, especially of women, represent the rich but vulgar bourgeois of the time and place, while Van Dyck's portraits reflect aristocratic society and tastes. He became court-painter of Charles I. In Holland the sombre, intense Rembrandt and the light-hearted and rollicking Franz Hals are in contrast. Rembrandt's pictures are so impressive that power seems to emanate from their canvases. Vermeer's pictures of quiet home interiors and Ruysdael's landscapes have a quiet charm difficult to describe. Neither French nor English painting was remarkable. Poussin's and Claude Lorraine's landscapes reflect French artificiality.

Seventeenth century sculpture was of low degree, but wood-carving was superior, in which Grinling Gibbons of London excelled. Architecture was baroque—grotesque, florid. Baroque was everywhere. The Louvre and Versailles, as Louis XIV left them, are examples. Jacobean and Caroline architecture and furniture in England represented the same style, but with better taste. After the Great Fire of London in 1666, if Sir Christopher Wren had had his way, London might have been made the sightliest city in Europe. The new cathedral of St. Paul's, except in the noble

dome, does not represent his design in full This dome harks back to the Italian Renaissance — to Bramante's *duomo* in Florence and the dome of St Peter's in Rome

Of all the arts, music was the slowest in development The greatest musician of the seventeenth century was Henry Purcell, who died in 1695 His *Dido and Aeneas* (1675) is the first English opera His *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* are the first English oratorios

Education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not to be boasted of Religious intolerance and bigotry prevailed in both Protestant and Catholic schools and universities The greatest scholars of the age were not teachers or university professors Indolence, indifference, routine methods were found everywhere The number of tracts issued by thoughtful men is witness to the degraded condition of education Eight such notable books appeared in the sixteenth century, and nine in the seventeenth Protestant schools and universities had more to complain of than Catholic institutions, for the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuits had done much to improve Catholic education In 1612, Ratke, a German, advocated mastering one subject at a time, studying the mother-tongue and abolishing the practice of learning things by heart Comenius, a Czech, was the most severe and the most constructive critic of education (1631), in 1657 he wrote the first illustrated children's schoolbook In 1689 the great French bishop Fénelon in his *Education des filles*, advocated higher education for women and contended that the primary purpose of education was to build character and not to impart mere information In 1693 one of the greatest treatises on education came from the pen of John Locke and was entitled *Thoughts on Education* He argued that development of personality of the pupil, formation of character, and the acquisition of right methods of thought rather than the communication of knowledge are the proper aims of sound education

In two other respects besides literature, the culture of the seventeenth century was distinguished It was the greatest of all centuries in scholarship and learning, and for the advancement of science In no century before or since has the positive increase of human knowledge been so great History, archaeology, and classical philology were especially advanced Nearly the whole body of ancient and medieval literature for the first time was critically edited The search for manuscripts and the zeal for editing were a passion The Renaissance had created this new intellectuality, but the Counter-Reformation enormously stimulated it Catholic and Protestant scholarship vied with one another, but the balance was in favor of the former, though the Protestants Scaliger and Casaubon were unexcelled scholars The reason for this superiority of Catholic learning is found in the fact that most of the Catholic scholars worked together and pooled their thought and their resources. Notable examples of this co-operative, organized scholarship are the Bollandist

(Jesuit) fathers of Louvain and the Benedictines of St Germain in Paris, whose chief lights of learning were Dom Mabillon and Dom Montfaucon. Yet many Catholic scholars labored independently, as Du Cange, Tillemont and Baluze.¹ France excelled in historical studies, Holland and England in philological studies, Germany had not yet recovered from the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, and Italy was intellectually moribund.

Luther was nine years old when Columbus discovered America and he died three years after Copernicus published his theory of the universe (1543). As late as 1611 Galileo was condemned for asserting the rotation of the earth. When Newton discovered the law of gravitation the King James translation of the Bible was less than a hundred years old.

Copernicus's establishment of the heliocentric nature of the universe in 1543 (see chap. xxxiii) may be regarded as the initial date in the history of modern science, although even before that time science had ceased to be wholly medieval in its outlook. Paracelsus's *Scientific discoveries* lectures on medicine at Basel in 1527, by applying his knowledge of chemistry may almost be said to have initiated modern science. In 1537 Tartaglia, by studying gas pressure, friction, velocity, curvature of missiles in the use of cannon, combined physics and mathematics and inaugurated a new era in physics and invented cubic equations.

In 1542 Vesalius of Brussels founded anatomy in his work *Fabrica corporis humani* (The fabric of the human body). In 1546 the German Agricola published the *De re metallica* and founded the science of mineralogy. Gesner's *Historia animalium* (1551) was the first original work in zoology since Aristotle's *History of animals*. Ichthyology was founded by Rondelet's *Historia piscium* and Belon's *De aquatilibus*, both of which appeared in 1554. The first English algebra was Record's *Whetstone of wit* (1557), he invented the sign = and explained how to extract a square root. Tycho Brahe's observatory in Denmark, constructed in 1575, was the first modern astronomical observatory. Leonardo da Vinci had suspected that fossils were sea-shells. Palissy proved it in 1580.

In 1585 Stevin of Bruges measured the pressure of fluids and founded statics as a branch of physics. In 1583 Galileo made the greatest discovery in science since Copernicus, when he disproved Aristotle's *Physics* "law" that the speed of falling bodies differed according to their weight. In England Gilbert's book *On the magnet* in 1600 was the first distinguished work in science done by an Englishman since Roger Bacon died in 1392. In 1603 an Italian, Fabricius, discovered the valves in the human veins. In 1608 Hans Lippersheim invented the telescope, which Galileo first effectively used the next year when he saw the moons of Jupiter and spots on the sun. Galileo invented the microscope. In 1614 the Scotsman

¹ The student is advised to look up these names in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* for information about them.

Napier invented logarithms Five years later the first tables were compiled

In 1609 Kepler announced that the planets did not move in circles, as Copernicus and Tycho Brahe had thought, but in ellipses It cost a struggle

Astronomy for even those who accepted the Copernican theory — as many did *not*, even Sir Francis Bacon and Milton — to abandon the principle of circular motion of the planets Kepler's first and second "laws" were announced in that year that (1) the velocity of any stellar or planetary body was always inversely proportional to the square of the planet's distance, and (2) that the planets' orbits were elliptical and not circular in shape It was not until ten years afterwards that Kepler established his "third law" that the revolutions of the planets around the sun are proportional to the cubes of their distances from the sun Nearly a century later Newton deduced his inductive law mathematically from the laws of motion

In this same momentous year (1619) Harvey revealed his discovery of the circulation of the blood, but his great work on this subject, a classic of the

Physiology and Botany history of medicine, *De motu cordis et sanguinis*, was not published until 1628 The first thermometer, using spirits

of wine, was made in 1620 and in the same year Bacon hazarded the conjecture that heat was a mode of motion The Hollander Snell discovered the law of the refraction of light in 1621 The word *gas* was introduced by Van Helmont in 1624 In 1626 the Jardin des plantes, originally intended for the cultivation of medicinal herbs, was established in Paris

The great French mathematician and philosopher, Descartes, in his *Géométrie*, by adoption of the analytical method, inaugurated modern

Mathematics mathematics in 1636 Fifty-five years after his discovery of the "law" of falling bodies, Galileo published his *Mathematical discourses and demonstrations*, "the first dynamical investigations of the laws of falling bodies" Toricelli discovered that atmospheric pressure varied according to the rarity of the atmosphere and invented the barometer in 1643 In the next year Descartes propounded the theory of vortices In 1651 Harvey founded embryology in his *De generatione animalium* (the generation of animals)

In 1658 the Dutchman Huyghens invented the pendulum and discovered Saturn's rings in the next year. The year 1661 saw Boyle's first notable contribution to science, viz the law of compressibility, i.e.,

Physics that the volume of a gas decreases with the pressure put upon it Two years later Pascal proved that the pressure on a liquid is distributed equally in all directions In the same year (1663) Newton discovered the binomial theorem 1665 was made notable in England by Boyle's proof that a flame or an animal cannot survive without air, which paved the way for Lavoisier's discovery of oxygen in 1789, at the same time Hooke suggested the undulatory theory of light. In 1666, proudly called by Englishmen the *annus mirabilis* or wonderful year, Newton discovered gravi-

tation, but did not reveal his momentous discovery until some years later

Until late in the seventeenth century zoology had been little studied, and biology not at all. This science then took a sudden spurt. Redi found that maggots in meat were not products of spontaneous generation, as had been believed since Aristotle, who had said that fleas were animated dust, but from the eggs of flies (1668). *Zoology* Swammerdam's *History of Insects* appeared in 1669. At the same time Malpighi was studying silk worms and other insects.

In 1670 Mayow declared that the air was composed of two gases, which he described but gave no name to them. The discovery of hydrogen and oxygen was drawing nearer. In the history of mathematics the year 1675-76 was notable for Leibnitz's discovery of integral and infinitesimal calculus, he was ignorant of Newton's discovery of fluxions in 1666. *Chemistry* In 1676 Willoughby's *Ornithology* was published, Roemer made his experiments to determine the velocity of light and calculated that the sun's rays required eight minutes to reach the earth. Wiseman, called the "father of English surgery," issued his *Seven Chirurgical Treatises* and Sydenham his *Observationes Medicae*. Leeuwenhoek, a Hollander, enormously enlarged the sphere of biological studies by his use of compound microscopes of his own make, he discovered animalculae and spermatazoa. Huyghens's experiments tended to confirm Hooke's undulatory theory of light. Ray's great *Methodus Plantarum*, which established botany on a scientific basis, appeared in 1682. *Calculus*

In 1687 the greatest scientific work of the seventeenth century, and one of the greatest scientific works of the world—Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*—was published. It marked the close of the single greatest century in the history of science. It will be observed that the most progress was made in mathematics, physics, and medicine. *Newton's Principia* A few pioneer works appeared in zoology. The foundations of modern chemistry, botany, and geology were laid in the eighteenth century, and those of biology not until the nineteenth century.

It is strange indeed that a century of so much culture and enlightenment could have been also an age when belief in witches and witchcraft was widespread, and when even the great Bacon believed in magic. *Superstition* It was an age of antitheses and extremes, good and bad. The "witchcraft delusion" was universal. Even many men of high intelligence believed in witches, and literally thousands of innocent old women were racked and burned and finally put to death. "Ideas of demonism were part of the mental outfit of the period." Imprisonment and even the death penalty were imposed for minor or trivial offenses all over Europe. Prisons were pits of misery, filth, and disease. Torture was an instrument of the administration of the law, and Catholic and Protestant and political offenders were put to the rack.

The torture-chamber of the Spanish Inquisition has become a literary commonplace. Yet torture was less frequent and less cruel in Spain than in papal Italy or in contemporary secular courts. Care was taken that it should not endanger life or even be of permanent injury to the limbs. The object was not punishment but confession. Even imprisonment was light and commonly the culprit was confined to his own house. The great public *autos da fé* have impressed the popular imagination, especially since it is commonly though wrongly believed that the victims were burnt alive then and there. All nations have had their holidays of murder — America's sport of this nature seems to be lynching — but the Spaniards have suffered unjustly because of their incomparable stagecraft in posing such exhibitions. The last *auto da fé* was in 1680. Protestant Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could not justly throw stones at Catholic Europe for cruelty. The Protestant countries were as inhumane as the Catholic countries. The Inquisition's *Suprema* saved Spain from that epidemic of witchcraft delusion which swept over most of Europe in the seventeenth century. Spain and Italy which alone possessed a high organized Inquisition were the only two countries, Catholic or Protestant, which escaped the frightful witch-burnings which prevailed elsewhere. The estimates of 100,000 cases in Germany, 70,000 in France, and 30,000 in Great Britain, far exceed the total number of cases tried by the Inquisition during that period.¹

For a long time during the Middle Ages belief in sorcerers and witches was regarded as a more or less harmless mania by the Church — an insane fancy not bad enough or dangerous enough to be treated as heresy. But around 1300 popular prejudice demanded the extirpation of those who were believed to be the agents of evil. A daughter of Philip IV of France was tortured to death under the charge of being a witch. The Church yielded to the mania. From the time of Pope John XXII (1316-34) we find record of a succession of persecutions directed against sorcerers and witches. Hundreds of these alleged maleficients were put to death by fire and other forms of torture. John XXII allowed the prosecution of an archbishop, and the burning of a bishop for having dealings with the devil. The bull of Innocent VIII in 1494 systematized what already had become a code of judicial murder and inaugurated a reign of psychological and physical terror which spread over most of Europe. The climax, however, of the witch-mania was not reached until late in the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth century. The three most relentless persecutors in France were juriconsults of high repute. Nicholas Rémy, the procureur-general in Lorraine murdered 900 people between 1595 and 1606. Henri Boquet, a lawyer, counted his victims by hundreds in Franche Comté. As late as 1670 in

¹ Where Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition* (1817) gives the figure 6,209 the actual records which have been studied since give 1,372 instances.

France, when Louis XIV had confirmed the appeal of thirty-four poor wretches condemned to death for sorcery, the Parlement of Normandy solemnly adjured the king to reconsider his "ill advised clemency." In England James I started the witch mania by writing a famous—or infamous—book on witchcraft, giving his royal sanction to the superstition. The last judicial execution for witchcraft, incredible as it seems, took place at Glarus in Switzerland in June, 1782.

But it was also an age of much light in prose literature and poetry, in art, in scholarship, and in philosophy. In the progress of science the seventeenth century is unmatched by any other century except the nineteenth. This is especially true of England, Holland, and France. In these three countries a small and distinguished minority intellectually outstripped their contemporaries and worked for the progress of European culture.

*Progress of
science*

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

PART IV



LATER MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

CHAPTER LII

THE OLD RÉGIME AND THE ORIGINS OF A NEW ORDER

Just as the seventeenth century was an epoch of science, so the eighteenth century was an age of revolution. For, although its culture seemed to mirror the divine-right monarchy, the feudal social order, the established church, and the intellectual dogma, of the preceding age, beneath its relatively placid surface were to be found the economic and intellectual forces which would eventually encompass its disintegration. The Old Régime, an all-embracing term used to refer collectively to the whole stock and body of eighteenth-century institutions, was the product of over a thousand years of cultural evolution. With its balance, its ripeness, its mellowness, its traditionalism, and its sophistication, it presented a façade so imposing that most contemporaries accepted it as permanent and final. Processes of change, nevertheless, not fully perceived and scarcely appreciated at the time, were insidiously undermining its foundations. These changes, leading to a profound alteration of the economic and technological bases of society, resulted in political and social maladjustments which foreshadowing the revolutionary disturbances at the end of the century, threatened to crumple up the tradition-encrusted surface of the culture of the Old Régime. In a way, then, the eighteenth century resembled Janus, the two-faced god of the Romans, with one face turned toward the past whose institutions it mirrored, while the other, boldly presented to the future, revealed the faint glimmerings of the Modern Age.

Christian Europe had the Old Régime as its characteristic institutional expression. In the west, feudal society, the medieval church, and divine-right monarchy, basic ingredients of this particular form of cultural design, originated, matured, and decayed, earlier than in the east, where they were still comparative newcomers in the eighteenth century. Thus, in countries like France and England, the Old Régime, already decadent, was experiencing a sort of Indian summer, whereas, in Russia it was just becoming well established. In other parts of the continent appeared all sorts of variants between the two extremes. It was normal, therefore, that the violent revolution against the old society should have developed first in France, where the process of decay, due partly to old age, had proceeded furthest.

The social structure of the Old Régime was a heritage from the Middle

Ages It was premised on the belief in the fundamental inequality of man — an inequality which was held to be organic and biological, as well as social This system, grouping men on the basis of birth into castes, arranged hierarchically, was regarded as a reflection of the will of God Society was divided into two general classifications the privileged and the unprivileged The former category consisted of the clergy and the nobility, whereas the latter embraced all groups of commoners, such as the bourgeoisie, the artisan workers, the peasants, and the serfs Each class had its own interests, responsibilities, ethics, and standards, which were, to a certain extent, reflected in the law Aristocrats and commoners did not mingle on terms of equality, and there was little intermarriage between the two groups “Social intercourse in the eighteenth century was largely restricted owing to barriers of rank and prejudice, in effect not unlike the actual physical barriers which cage all similar animals in a zoological garden and prevent them from mingling with other species, although they can clearly see and hear each other”

Social structure of the Old Regime Aristocratic society, as judged by the condition of its two highest estates, was on the decline after 1700 In the Middle Ages, the clergy, as the praying class and shepherds, who guided laymen along the path of God, enjoyed immense prestige In a more secular age, however, such as the eighteenth century, much of their glamour had vanished Renaissance learning, with its paganism and materialism, had largely discredited the medieval conception of the earthly existence as essentially a drama of salvation in which the clergy, not unnaturally, played a decisive rôle The Protestant Revolt, with its revelations of intrigue, corruption, and immorality among the clergy, destroyed religious unity, and also helped to dispel popular illusions concerning their piety and religious devotion Meanwhile, the Commercial Revolution, with its impetus to capitalism and overseas expansion, tended to focus popular interest in objectives more material than those upheld by the clergy In short, the latter, whether Catholic or Protestant, often endeavoring to uphold an outworn ideology, found themselves more and more out of touch with realities, and consequently, less influential

The clergy The clergy themselves were affected by the modified conditions A gulf opened between the higher officials in the church, who were themselves wealthy, worldly, materialistic, and often skeptical, and the lower clergy who generally remained simple, poor, and ignorant The established church, whether Catholic or Protestant, was weakened by this internal division which left its upper brackets linked with the aristocracy while its lower ranks, recruited from the commoners, found themselves identified with that element

The power and prestige of the nobility was also on the wane During the Middle Ages, this group, the fighting class, had acquired large estates and had secured from emperors and kings privileges and immunities which

set them up above the commoners. They justified their economic and social superiority by allowing the peasants and serfs to derive a living from their lands, by protecting them from invaders, by dispensing justice, and by preserving peace, order, and security, on their own estates. In exchange for these benefits, the nobles received dues and services from the commoners. By the eighteenth century, however, the feudal lord, reduced to a mere courtier or landlord in most parts of western Europe, had been superseded in the performance of these functions by the state. He continued, nevertheless, although giving little in return, to extract dues and feudal services from his peasants. Thus, he had degenerated into a mere parasite, who insisted on preserving the most objectionable phases of feudalism, such as privilege, social superiority, immunity from taxation and certain royal laws, and a monopoly (shared with the church and the monarch) of the land. In addition, the nobility, representing but a small fraction of the population, nearly monopolized the higher positions in the church, the state, the army, and the navy. In a highly caste-conscious age loyalty to one's own class was generally much stronger than one's feeling of patriotism or social responsibility. Therefore, the nobility was largely consecrated to the task of preserving itself and its privilege from an encroaching king and a rising bourgeoisie.

The nobility

Ranking below the level of the nobility was an important class, socially inferior but numerically superior,—the bourgeoisie. It consisted, for the most part, of merchants, bankers, owners of industries, lawyers, doctors, scholars, and other professional men, and constituted a sort of aristocracy of wealth and talent. In contrast to the nobles who generally resided at court or in their châteaux, the members of the bourgeoisie lived in cities and towns. In fact, the emergence of this class rather paralleled the growth of cities and towns which resulted from the rebirth of trade and commerce in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Commercial Revolution greatly accelerated the processes of business revival and urbanization, and, by so doing, contributed still further to the rise of the bourgeoisie. By the eighteenth century, this class exerted great political power in Great Britain and the Dutch Netherlands, and wielded considerable influence in France and the Germanies. In southern and eastern Europe, however, it was much less significant and in some areas scarcely existed. In general, the number and strength of the bourgeoisie corresponded to the distribution of cities of commercial importance. Formerly significant mercantile centers, such as Venice, Genoa, Rome, and the seaport towns of Spain and the Germanies, had already been surpassed in the eighteenth century by London, Paris, and the Dutch cities.

The bourgeoisie

Also congregated in urban centers were the artisan workers. Employed, for the most part by bourgeois capitalists, these laborers were the eighteenth-century counterpart of the modern proletariat. They were required to work

long hours often under adverse conditions for low wages. Their housing facilities were poor and they suffered from the high cost of living. As yet they had no labor organizations of their own and were at the mercy of their employers and of the bourgeois-controlled guilds which regulated business and working conditions. They resented their plight, but found themselves more or less helpless. Although the bourgeoisie themselves objected to the static nature and rigidity of the feudal social order which maintained them in a position of inferiority, they had no desire to see the artisan workers escape from their economic bondage.

*The artisan
workers*

The peasants, who constituted the great bulk of the population of Europe in the eighteenth century, were the base of the feudal social structure. They lived in sparsely furnished hovels, grouped in villages, amidst meadows, plowlands, and woods. They had to work long hours to eke out a mere existence, as a large part of their produce went to pay dues to the lords, tithes to the clergy, and taxes to the state. Much of their social life centered around the village church, there they were baptized, educated to some extent, married, and finally, buried. Their pleasures were few. Occasionally, aristocratic festivities in the nearby castle or manor-house of the lord broke the monotony for the peasant, but generally he was only an onlooker.

The peasants

Nevertheless, the peasant was better off in the eighteenth century than he had been before. Serfdom was on the decline as the trend toward capitalistic farming and urbanization made the institution inconvenient and unprofitable in western Europe. In England, France, and the Dutch Netherlands, it was rapidly disappearing, in central and eastern Europe, however, economic backwardness was reflected in the general prevalence and persistence of serfdom.

Although the aristocratic nobility dominated society under the Old Régime, it had been shorn of much of its independent political power. The trend towards political absolutism and the widespread belief in the divine right of rulers had resulted in the concentration and consolidation of almost all authority in the hands of the monarch. Only in England, and to some extent in the Dutch Netherlands, of the more important nations, was the head of the state forced to share his power with the upper classes. In nearly every other country, an absolutism, patterned more or less after that of Louis XIV of France, was the rule.

*The absolute
monarchy*

These absolute monarchies were also economic despotisms. Their rulers, devoted to the principles of mercantilism, endeavored to control and to coordinate the economic life of their peoples in such a way as to increase the power of the state. They encouraged the fullest utilization of labor, even to the extent of using women and children, so as to increase to the maximum the productivity of agriculture and industry. Trade, both foreign and domestic, was regulated in the interests of the nation.

Mercantilism

Colonies were esteemed not only as sources of raw materials, particularly plantation products, but as markets for the surpluses created in the mother country. Exports were to be increased as much as possible and imports curbed so as to create a "favorable balance of trade," viz., an excess of exports over imports. Then, they believed, precious metals would flow in and could be hoarded as a visible symbol of the state's wealth.

Despite certain crudities and fallacies underlying the mercantile theory, the commercial powers of Europe experienced an increase in prosperity. Between 1716 and 1788 the total export and import trade of the three chief mercantilist states, Great Britain, France, and the Dutch Netherlands, increased from about three hundred million dollars to almost a half billion. Trade with the British and French colonies nearly doubled. In France, alone, the supply of specie rose from seven hundred and thirty million *livres* in 1715 to about two and one fifth billions in 1784. State revenues, like national incomes, mounted tremendously. In central Europe the response to the stimulation of the new economics was not so impressive, and in eastern Europe it was scarcely apparent.

This remarkable expansion of commerce and finance could not help but affect the social institutions of the Old Régime. The mercantilist state was a powerful factor in weakening, and in some cases, destroying, the localism of the feudal lords and the communes. Population increased greatly and tended to concentrate in the towns. In fact, the movement of modern people from the country to the city was already under way in western Europe. This shift, accompanied by the conversion of thousands of peasants into town-dwelling workers, tended to dislocate eighteenth-century society and to destroy its stabilization. New capital-labor and employer-employee relationships, tending to be less personal, were helping to destroy the older feudal relationships in the more advanced areas.

Wealth, to some extent, diminished the barriers between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. It enabled many merchants and successful lawyers to pull themselves up by their boot-straps into the lower rungs of the noble class. Although they were regarded as upstarts by the socially elect, still they procured titles, privileges, and a certain amount of prestige. On the other hand, many nobles, by investing in stocks, and in some cases, by owning and managing business enterprises, disdained the obligations of their caste, *noblesse oblige*, and became to all practical purposes, members of the bourgeoisie.

Despite the growing importance of commerce and finance, the development of capitalism prior to the nineteenth century was slow. Medieval customs and methods still prevailed in agriculture, industry, and transportation. Merchants were not yet sufficiently obsessed with the chief objective of capitalism — the amassing of great fortunes. Usually they were content to assure themselves of an income sufficient to permit them to retire, perhaps purchase an estate, and simulate the

life of a country gentleman. In France and England, they were keen on the purchase of titles for themselves and their sons, and on the arrangement of favorable marriages for their daughters. Dutch burghers, on the other hand, were more addicted to investment in foreign bonds.

Eighteenth-century political institutions were generally unfavorable to the growth of capitalism. It is true that governments in England, France, Russia, the Dutch Netherlands, and in some other countries, endeavored to encourage commerce and industry through regulations and subsidies. Nevertheless, their efforts were partly frustrated by the prevalence of wars, ill-advised policies on the part of rulers, high taxes, internal tariff barriers, and the inadequacy of police protection for private property. A spirit of religious intolerance resulted in the persecution of such groups as the Jews and the Huguenots, which might otherwise have contributed greatly to the building up of the new economy.

Nascent capitalism had other difficulties to overcome in the eighteenth century. Deforestation had nearly exhausted the supply of one form of material essential for houses, wagons, tools, ships, and fuel. Attempts to overcome this deficiency had led to the importation of lumber from Scandinavia, North America, and elsewhere. Recourse to substitutes, such as coal for fuel, and economy in the use of wood, helped to overcome a serious deficiency. In short, even in this early stage, capitalism was confronted with the problem of acquiring the essential raw materials.

A flair for speculation accompanied the birth-pangs of the new economy. Contemporaries, incapable of grasping the implications and mechanics of capitalistic enterprise, frequently fell victim to their own cupidity encouraged by a false optimism. Hence, there developed early in the eighteenth century what one writer has aptly termed an "Age of Bubbles." An enthusiasm for investment in stocks, not restricted to the commoners but infecting the aristocrats who took their cue from the mercantile classes, culminated in a brief period of inflation. Perhaps the best examples of this mania for speculation were the South Sea Bubble in England and the Mississippi Bubble in France. Even the Dutch, deserting their sober practices of the seventeenth century, went in for unsound speculation on such a scale, that, in 1794, the East India Company, their greatest financial and economic institution, crashed.

The South Sea Bubble was the outcome of the assumption by the South Sea Company, founded in 1711 and consisting of merchants, of the floating national debt. In exchange for this service, the government guaranteed the company annual payments and a monopoly of the trade with Hispanic America. Extravagant ideas regarding the wealth of this area, together with assurances that the king of Spain was going to admit the company into the lucrative trade therewith, enabled the sponsors to boom the stock. As a result, the shares rose, in a short time from

*Speculation in
the eighteenth
century*

*The South
Sea Bubble*

\$500 to \$10,000. A short-lived period of inflation followed, as people of all classes, desirous of partaking of this prosperity, rushed to purchase stock. Concerning this fever of speculation, Jonathan Swift, in his *Gulliver's Travels*, wrote "The people in the street walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags." All sorts of concerns, some legitimate and some spurious, were projected so as to exploit the fever for speculation. Stock was sold to establish companies "for making wigs and shoes, for making oil for sunflowers, for importing jackasses from Spain, for trading in human hair, for fattening hogs, and for a wheel for perpetual motion."

France, too, succumbed to the intoxication of false prosperity. John Law, a Scottish financier, with the blessings of the government, established a bank endowed with the authority to issue paper money. He also sponsored several speculative enterprises, the most notable of which was the Mississippi Company, founded in 1717. This concern, designed to exploit the resources of the Mississippi, ushered in a flurry of speculation as representatives of all classes—nobles, priests, shopkeepers, coachmen, and women—hastened to buy the soaring stock so as to sell later at a great profit. As in England, fortunes were made *on paper*, living costs mounted causing intense suffering among the poor, crime increased as many sought a short cut to wealth.

Such glittering prosperity could not endure. In France, a few far-sighted speculators, fearful of a crash, decided to get rid of their stocks. Soon a selling wave culminated in a panic. By 1720, many stocks were valueless, hitherto wealthy men found their fortunes to consist of worthless paper. The experience of the British investor was comparable. Late in the same year came the crash as the whole speculative edifice of the South Sea Company tumbled down. Ruined investors of all classes, in both countries, denounced their governments which conducted belated investigations. Public confidence in the new devices of capitalism was badly shaken.

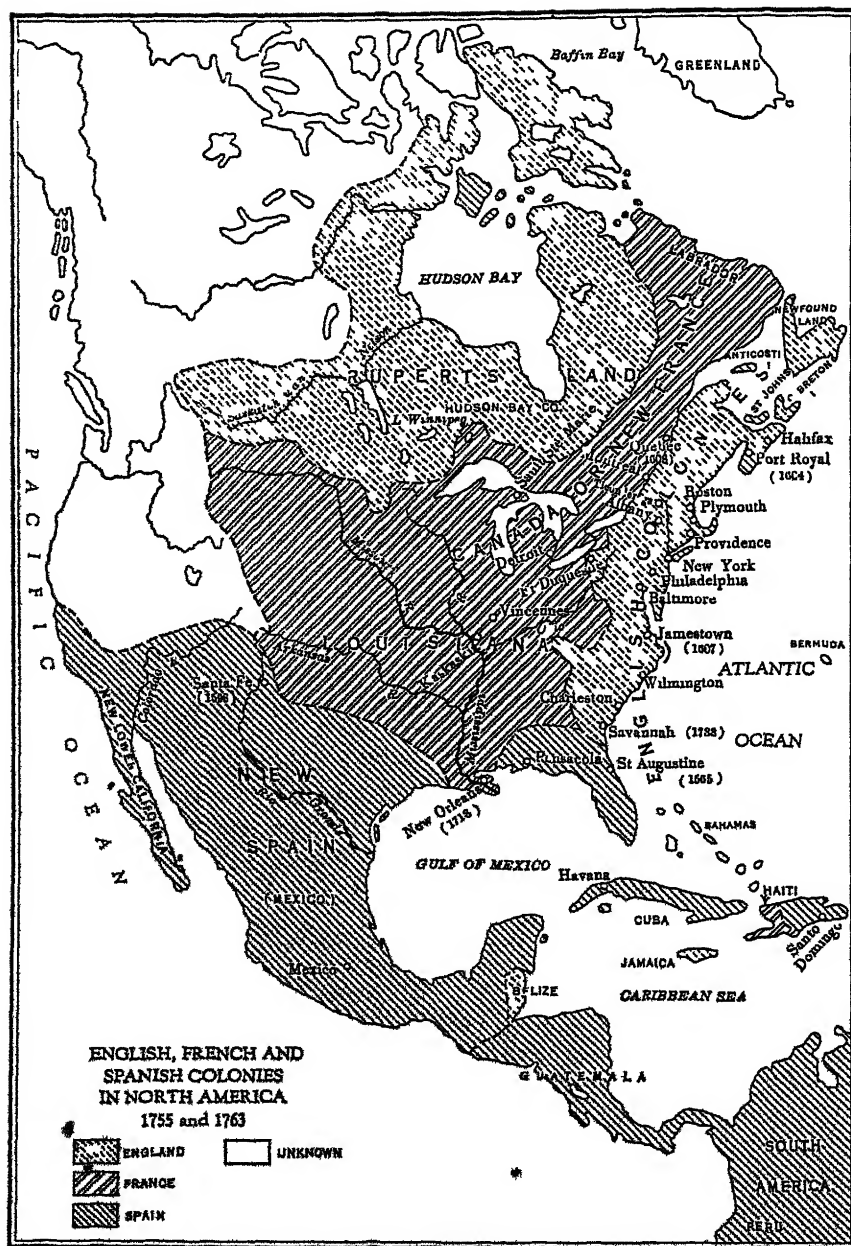
Despite these debacles, the sinews of capitalism tended to grow. In both England and France there appeared statesmen, Robert Walpole (1676-1745) and Cardinal Fleury (1653-1743) respectively, who, appreciating the importance of economic activity, supported its development as a way out of the depression. Extensive ship-building, commercial development, and further colonial expansion overseas were encouraged by them, as by the Dutch.

The three great mercantilist states, Great Britain, France, and the Dutch Netherlands, were, along with Spain and Portugal, the most important colonial powers. In the struggle for supremacy, however, Spain and Portugal, both decadent, and the Dutch Netherlands, experiencing internal difficulties, had been outstripped by the British and French. By the eighteenth century, the race for leadership had simmered down to a contest between the latter two. Even after the

*The Mississippi
Bubble*

*Economic
catastrophes*

*Colonial
expansion*



financial crisis of 1720 the French government endeavored to expand in North America and India. This process was hampered by the refusal of the king to allow Huguenots to settle in his colonies, the subjection of the latter to bureaucratic control, the fact that the French were traders rather than settlers, and by the French neglect of naval power. Nevertheless, great colonial governors, like Bienville (1680-1768) in Louisiana and Duplex (1697-1763) in India, succeeded in consolidating and expanding French authority and prestige in those areas. The British, distrusting French expansion, eventually came to the conclusion that their own security could only be achieved by the destruction of the French empire.

A series of wars in the eighteenth century decided the issue of colonial supremacy in favor of Great Britain. In 1739 an Anglo-Spanish conflict, known as the War of Jenkin's Ear, broke out partly as a result of Spain's attempt to suppress British smuggling with her colonies in South America and the West Indies. *The War of Jenkin's Ear* Walpole, although pacifically inclined, was forced by public opinion, aroused over an alleged Spanish atrocity which consisted of boarding an English freebooter and mutilating its captain, to resort to armed measures. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, France, sensing a possible humiliation of her English rival, arranged with Spain a secret understanding, the Family Compact (both countries having Bourbon kings), whereby the two powers reciprocally guaranteed the possessions of one another. In addition, the French undertook to regain Gibraltar, Minorca, and Georgia from Spain.

The War of Jenkin's Ear soon merged with the great continental War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Great Britain, joining forces with Austria against France, Prussia, Spain, and other powers, concentrated on an effort to dismember the colonial empires of France and Spain. After seven years of relatively indecisive fighting, during which the conquest of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island by the English colonists was offset by the French capture of Madras in India, the belligerents consented to make peace. In the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Great Britain, France, and Spain agreed to the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* by the return of all colonial conquests. Spain consented to the extension of the *Asiento*, a British share in the Spanish colonial trade, for a period of four more years, two years later, however, Great Britain relinquished it for a remuneration of £100,000.¹ *The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748)*

Within a few years, the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) ushered in the decisive chapter in the Anglo-French duel for colonial supremacy. Actually, hostilities between France and England, in the French and Indian War, had already commenced in the colonies as early as 1754. When the great continental *The Seven Years' War (1756-1763)*

¹ For a fuller account of this conflict and the Seven Years' War which followed, see pp 786, 830.

conflict began, with Prussia arrayed against France, Austria and Russia, and later Spain, William Pitt (the Elder), prime minister of England, intervened on behalf of the former. Pitt's decision was inspired not only by the traditional British policy of supporting the principle of the balance of power, but also by the determination to smash up the French colonial empire.

The struggle was a deathblow to French aspirations for colonial supremacy. British victories in Canada, India, the West Indies, and at the expense of the Spanish colonies, decided the issue in the overseas theatres of war. Peace was arranged among Great Britain, France and Spain by the Treaty of Paris (1763). France was required to surrender to England the bulk of her possessions in India, together with her holdings in North America east of the Mississippi River. In addition, she ceded New Orleans and the territory west of the river to her ally, Spain. The latter, however, was compelled to give Florida to Great Britain in exchange for the restoration of Havana and Manila, both captured by the British. Henceforth, England was the dominant colonial nation, since France was virtually eliminated and Spain, her only serious rival now, was scarcely a power of the second rank.

This duel for world empire cost the victor dearly. Great Britain had won the war but it remained to be seen whether she could win the peace. Huge debts, high living costs, and a sharp slump in foreign trade, created a depression which taxed national patience and hindered the growth of capitalism. British efforts to combat this economic recession, involving the resumption of mercantilistic practices, contributed largely to the civil war within the empire which threatened to wreck it.

Within little more than a decade of the victory over France, the British empire was shaken by a formidable convulsion—the revolt of the Thirteen

The American Revolution (1776-1783) Colonies. British statesmen, in pursuit of a rather elusive recovery, resorted to mercantilistic orthodoxy. Regarding the colonies as existing purely for the benefit of the mother country, they endeavored to exploit them by insisting that they should furnish essential raw materials not produced at home, that they should abstain from industrial enterprises which would compete with those of England; and that they should assume a share of the financial, military, and naval obligations of the royal government. American colonists, particularly the merchant classes, asserting that they were being taxed without being represented in Parliament, resented bitterly these regulations as well as numerous irksome restrictions on their economic activities. "The fact that they were Englishmen made them peculiarly sensitive to dictation, and the habit of initiative which had been bred in the colonies by the circumstances of their origin, the self-reliance of the companies, and the degree of self-government conferred upon the settlers, accentuated this attitude." Dis-

regarding conciliatory measures proposed belatedly by the British government, the Americans advanced rapidly into open revolt

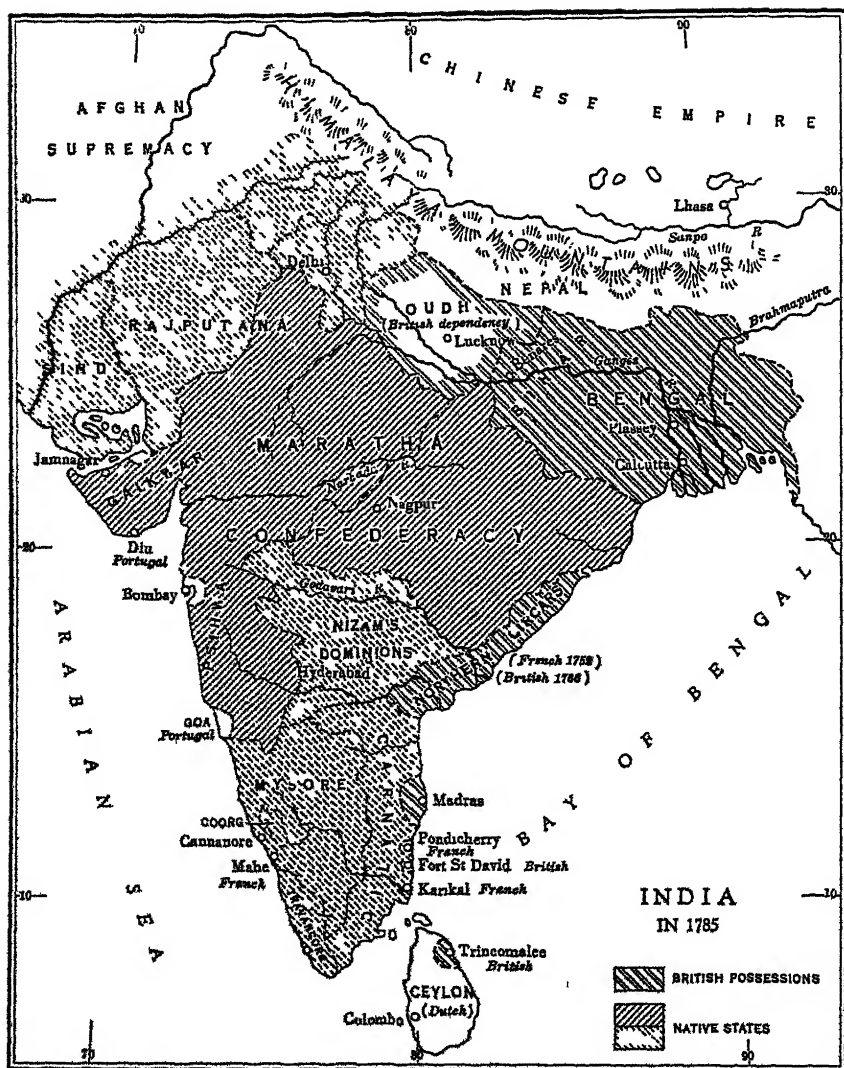
The American revolution, in a way, constituted a repudiation of the Old Régime. To a certain extent it was a demonstration of American nationality and republicanism as opposed to alien rule and the dynastic principle, it revealed the incompatibility of the Englishman and the American whose experiences and environment differed far too widely to permit them to remain willingly under a single government, located in London. In the economic sphere, it reflected the revolt against the mercantilism and the paternalism of the typical eighteenth-century monarch. In fact, it was largely economic interests which caused all classes to support the merchants in their opposition to British interferences. Land speculators and settlers resented the royal Proclamation Line of 1763 which forbade settlement in the west. Southern landlords, deeply in debt to British merchants, feared the attempts of their creditors to levy taxes directly on their property. Small manufacturers, shopkeepers, artisans, craftsmen, and unemployed laborers, desirous of sweeping changes, generally favored a complete break with England. Resorting to demonstrations, boycotts, and violence, they literally forced the reluctant upper classes, particularly the wealthy merchants, who preferred a relaxation of the British economic restrictions for complete independence, to sanction the revolution. In short, aristocratic and wealthy elements were so alarmed at the possibility of an American victory with its prospects of the rise of the lower classes, that many of them retained their loyalty to the British.

Nevertheless, in 1775, the Second Continental Congress, representing the thirteen American colonies, met at Philadelphia. It declared war on England and then proceeded to raise armed forces which were placed under the command of George Washington as commander-in-chief. On July 4, 1776, the colonies issued their Declaration of Independence. Inspired by its liberal philosophy, the colonists, many of whom, however, were not in favor of complete separation, engaged in a long, desperate struggle for freedom. A hastily constituted foreign office endeavored to procure recognition and help from abroad. Finally, the colonists, aided by a recently won ally, France, which hankered for revenge on England, and assisted slightly by the Dutch and Spanish, emerged triumphant. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783), Great Britain was forced to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America and to return miscellaneous colonial possessions, acquired somewhat earlier, to France and Spain.

The success of the American revolution signified a victory for the bourgeoisie. Not only was the new-world version of the Old Régime swept away, but the middle classes co-operated to crush the spirit of radicalism among the lower elements. Eventually, they succeeded in framing a constitution which left the business, land-owning, and legal classes in a position

Factors contributing to the American revolt

Independence of the United States



of predominance. Thus emerged the first typically bourgeois republic in the western hemisphere, its successful struggle was to have a profound influence in encouraging the revolt later on against the Old Régime in Europe.

In England there was a positive reaction to this revolution which frustrated imperialism. Many leaders, disillusioned with mercantilism, denounced its principles. They repudiated the idea that colonies should be exploited by the mother country. Tucker of Gloucester, calling attention to England's superiority in capital and industrial development, claimed she need not fear competition from her colonies. Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), declared that mercantilism actually harmed the interest of the mother country and advocated the *laissez-faire* theory, which forbade governmental interference in business. In short, among thinking men, the pendulum was visibly swinging away from the paternalism of the Old Régime towards the free trade of the next century.

Spread of laissez-faire doctrines in England

Nevertheless, the British government refused to abandon its traditional imperialism. Instead, it persevered in a policy of expansion in India and in the Pacific. In fact, England made her greatest gains in the former area in the latter half of the eighteenth century. There, the British East India Company, under the leadership of Robert Clive (1725-1774), had not only succeeded in overcoming the French, but its brilliant governor, by intrigue, by bribery, and by force had brought many native sections under its political and economic sway. Clive's efficient work was continued by Warren Hastings (1732-1818) who, like his predecessors, co-operated with the Grand Mogul, a native sovereign who ruled over much of India. As a result, he obtained additional territories in Bengal and financial rewards for the company. Meanwhile, by the Regulating Act (1773) and the Government of India Act (1784), the authority of the company was curtailed as Parliament set up machinery both in Calcutta and in London, designed to curb the inefficiency and corruption of company rule. The new arrangements did not work out satisfactorily, however, and more than a half century was to elapse before comprehensive reforms were introduced.

Persistence of British imperialism in India

The British also expanded along the significant lines of world commerce, particularly the routes to India and in the Pacific. Between 1785 and 1795, they obtained a foothold, later to become the Straits Settlements, in the Malay peninsula which guarded the sea-approaches to China and Japan. In 1795 they acquired Ceylon, and shortly thereafter, Cape Town and other Dutch possessions in Africa were seized. These conquests enabled England to control the all-water route to India around Africa.

British expansion in Oceania

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Great Britain established an empire in the Pacific. British interest in Australia dated from Captain

Cook's visit there in 1770, and in 1788 a penal colony was founded at Botany Bay, the present site of Sydney, which later developed into New South Wales. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that the development of sheep-raising and the discovery of gold led to an influx of settlers in Australia and New Zealand. For the present, the Australian colonies were useful only as way stations for vessels and as settlements to which criminals might be deported.

British commercial and Colonial expansion helped to pave the way for sweeping changes—the Agricultural, the Technological, and the Industrial Revolutions. Great Britain, by her unrestrained expansion of population and facilities for production in certain lines, threw her economy out of gear to such an extent that she was threatened with a shortage of food, clothes, and other necessities of life. There was a serious rise, therefore, in the prices of farm commodities. The landowners, chiefly aristocrats and retired businessmen, were quick to grasp the opportunity of catering to this emergency. They wished to increase the productivity of their estates, by abandoning the traditional methods of subsistence cultivation in favor of capitalistic or large-scale farming, and by the practice of more efficient and more scientific methods of agriculture.

*Economic changes
in England*

Prior to the eighteenth century, agricultural methods had changed very little. For ages farmers had been accustomed to sowing seeds broadcast, a wasteful method, since many failed to grow and others remained too close together. Greater precision was made possible by the drill, an invention of an English farmer, Jethro Tull (1674-1741), which deposited the seeds in straight furrows at suitable intervals. Improvement of methods was also facilitated by the study of soils. Viscount Townshend (1674-1738), a gentleman farmer, revealed the advantages of crop rotation as compared with the three-field system of the Middle Ages which still prevailed. He increased his annual crops, and at the same time avoided impoverishment of the soil, by planting wheat, barley (or rye), clover (or beans), and turnips, in successive years. Another beneficial innovation was the use of artificial fertilizers. Manure had long been used to revive the fertility of exhausted land, but by this time scientists had succeeded in discovering other means of nurturing wasted and poor soils. These new methods, together with irrigation and drainage, improved crops and also made much hitherto waste land available for cultivation.

*The Agricultural
Revolution*

Scientific advances made possible other improvements. Another English farmer, Robert Bakewell (1725-1795), for example, developed the technique of careful breeding of cattle for finer and heavier stock. The horseshoe and the threshing machine, and, eventually the Bell reaper in 1826, helped to revolutionize agriculture to such an extent that the agrarian phases of the Old Régime became hopelessly outmoded.

The Agricultural Revolution, for such these changes signified, transformed the landowning system in England. Prior to this rural upheaval, small farmers rented, owned, or cultivated strips of land located in various parts of the large estates. Most of them, employing antiquated tools and methods, allowed about a third or even more of their property to remain idle. The landlords, desirous of engaging in capitalistic or large-scale farming for the production of surpluses which could be sold at high profits, wanted to gain possession of the unused lands. Between 1700 and 1839, therefore, they, aided by acts of Parliament, secured several million acres of these "commons" or waste lands. Thousands of farmers, too poor to purchase farm implements, buildings, seeds, and stock, sold their holdings and either became tenants or day laborers on the large estates, or went to the cities and colonies in quest of employment. The landlords, on the other hand, taking advantage of the new mechanical technique, farmed their estates at great profit to themselves. As a result of their increased productivity, Great Britain found herself virtually independent of foreign sources of supply until 1792.

*Modification of
the English land-
owning system*

A number of great inventions in the eighteenth century resulted in what has been designated as the Technological Revolution. They resulted from the transfer of scientific knowledge from the purely academic field to the utilitarian activities of man. Machines, capable of performing the labor more rapidly and more efficiently, were created, these could be operated, first by steam, and later by water-power. These machines, the fruit of applied science, transformed industry when they were utilized extensively therein, for they enabled the manufacturer to develop large-scale production which was the industrial counterpart of the system of capitalistic farming.

*The Technological
Revolution*

The Industrial Revolution, an outgrowth of its indispensable forebearer, the Technological Revolution, was partly a response to the economic needs of the eighteenth century. Hitherto, manufacturing had been conducted on a very small scale. From the Middle Ages it was carried on under the guild system. The master gathered around him small groups of craftsmen, apprentices, and laborers, who co-operated in the making of goods. By the sixteenth century, however, a new form of production, the domestic or putting-out system, was supplanting the craft guilds in the textile industries of England. Under this new arrangement, emerged the capitalist, who, owning raw materials and sometimes tools, hired workmen for wages and secured handsome profits for himself by marketing the goods. In short, he interjected himself between craftsman and consumer, exploiting the former and profiting at the expense of the latter. European weavers, however, less enterprising than those of England, clung to the older system of producing and marketing their own goods.

*Industry prior to
the Industrial
Revolution*

A revolution in industrial methods was at hand. From 1750 on both the

domestic system and the craft guilds began to crumble as a result of the alteration of the economic set-up which resulted from the commercial, agrarian, and technological advances. The expansion of overseas trade led to the opening of new markets, the increase of profits, and an extensive demand for manufactured articles. Similarly the Agricultural Revolution facilitated the exploitation of new areas with greater returns to the capitalist. These changes made possible the maintenance of a larger population, with a correspondingly heavier demand for food, clothes, and implements. At the same time, a sharp rise in living standards was an additional impetus to the expansion of industry by the application of machine-power.

These significant economic changes of the eighteenth century developed most conspicuously in England. The Industrial Revolution particularly, took root there because that country was peculiarly fitted for leadership. A strong and orderly constitutional government had long fostered business interests. Commercial expansion had not only resulted in an influx of wealth, but also had developed the spirit of enterprise, the essential business institutions, and ambitious leaders. England's powerful fleets protected her from invasion and assured her of naval supremacy, while an extensive merchant marine secured commercial hegemony of the world. She was blessed with tremendous supplies of coal, iron ore, and wool. Her well-established industries already had a thriving domestic market at their disposal. These factors were more pronounced in England than on the continent and largely explain her economic pre-eminence.

The textile industry in England was the first to be reorganized as a result of the Technological Revolution. About 1738, John Kay invented the "fly shuttle" which enabled the weavers to make cloth more rapidly than before. A generation later, in 1767, James Hargreaves, a weaver of Lancashire, created the spinning jenny, a device wherein the turning of a crank made several wheels revolve, which in turn caused eight threads to be spun out simultaneously. A few years later, substitutes for human power were found as Richard Arkwright, a businessman, applied water-power, and James Watt, steam power, to the machines already in use.

This process of mechanization revolutionized the whole textile industry. Production, in any given line, far outstripped that which had been possible when full reliance had to be based on human energy. Arkwright, called the "father of the factory system," proceeded in the direction of greater industrial efficiency by concentrating his goods and his workers in immense shops, known as factories. This concentration, in contrast to the custom of having goods made in private homes under the domestic system, permitted more centralized control, greater co-ordination, increased flexibility of management and pro-

The Industrial Revolution

The textile industry

The factory system

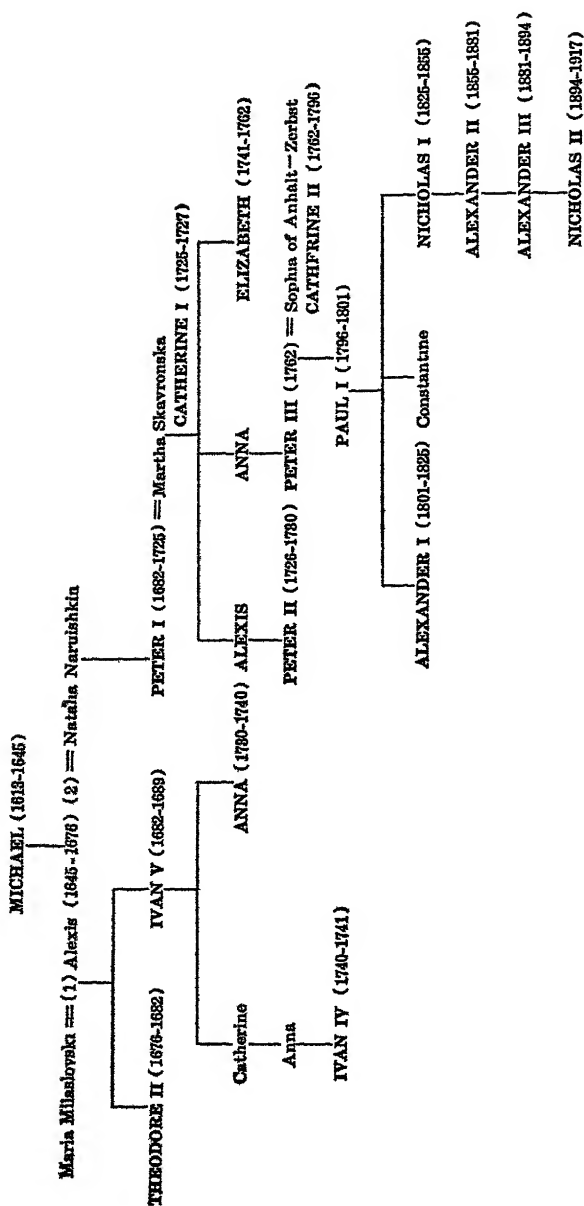
duction, and specialization on the part of the worker. With the application of machinery and the factory system to industry, the Industrial Revolution had become a reality.

A profound transformation of western society was in the making. In the eighteenth century, however, those significant changes, commercial and financial expansion, the Agricultural, Technological, and Industrial Revolutions, had changed the economy of the Old Régime very little. Nevertheless, the eventual extension of the *Transformation of western culture* use of machinery and new sources of power to the coal, iron, and other industries, the tendency toward mass production which meant cheaper prices and sometimes cheaper goods, the development of faster and more efficient methods of transportation and communication, and the raising of living standards, all contributed between 1750 and 1850 to the disintegration of the Old Régime.

Although the old institutions, anachronistic at the end of the eighteenth century, appeared to be intact superficially, the implications of the new economic advances presaged a sweeping reorganization. Its social order, based on birth, tradition, and law, was already threatened by a new society whose wealth would be a major criterion of rank. Perhaps Napoleon perceived the social change which impended when he declared "Aristocracy always exists. Destroy it in the nobility, it removes itself immediately to the rich and powerful houses of the middle classes. Destroy it in these, it survives and takes refuge with the leaders of the work-shops and the people."

Certainly, in its economic aspects, the eighteenth century pointed to the modern world of capitalism, even if its political, social, and religious institutions drew their inspiration from the past.

THE ROMANOV TSARS OF RUSSIA (1613-1917)



CHAPTER LIII

CONTINENTAL IMPERIALISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

While Great Britain was creating a vast empire overseas, largely at the expense of her neighbors in western Europe, three powers — Russia, Prussia, and Austria — were also engaged in policies of territorial aggrandizement. In fact, much of the pattern of eighteenth-century international relations, complicated by the expansion of Russia to the west and to the south, the rise of Prussia to the status of a first-rank power, the partial decline of Austria, and the serious weakening of Sweden, Turkey, and Poland, centered around the aggressive designs of these three states. Political equilibrium was preserved, but only after the fighting of numerous wars accompanied by drastic revisions in the map of the eastern half of the continent.

*International
politics in central
and eastern
Europe*

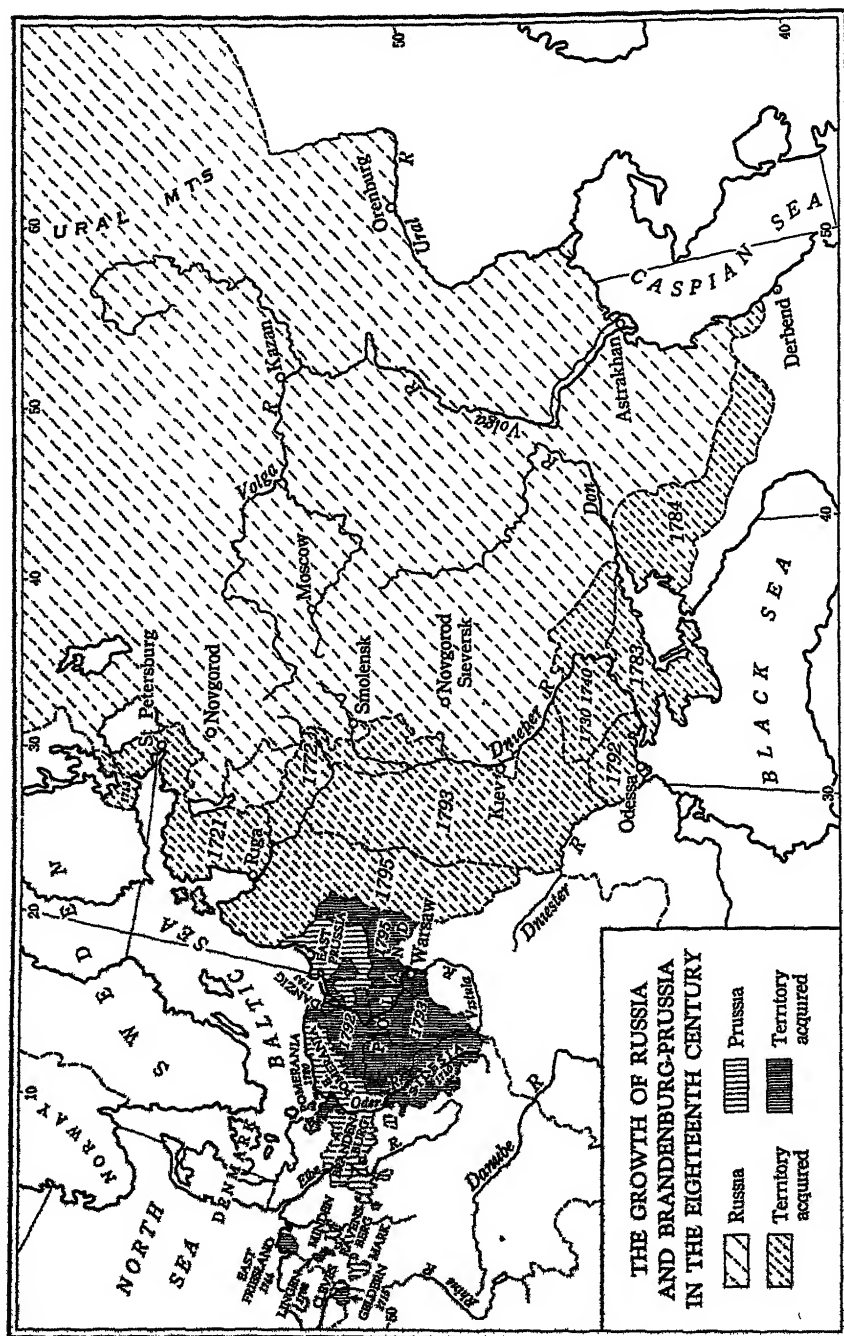
The emergence of Russia as a partially modernized state and as a factor in the affairs of Europe was one of the significant developments of the eighteenth century. Peter the Great (1689–1725), a picturesque figure, was largely responsible for this reorientation. As an indispensable prelude to his plan to bring his country closer culturally and territorially to Europe, he tried to reconstruct its economy and society on a western basis.¹ He also embarked on a program of expansion, to the west toward the Baltic, to the south toward the Black Sea with the Mediterranean beyond, and to the east toward the Pacific. One of his aims was the acquisition of a “window,” or all-year port, which would free Russia from a virtually land-locked imprisonment, by bringing her into closer touch commercially and culturally with the outside world.

*Peter the Great
(1689–1725)
and the rise
of Russia*

There were other motives which led the tsar toward expansion. One, perhaps, was prestige. He, like most rulers of this period, was influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the imperialism and glory of Louis XIV. Through the extension of Russian authority in the Balkans, the tsar might eventually acquire Constantinople and succeed to the throne of the Byzantine Caesars. Also, by so doing, he would be enabled to emancipate the brother Slavs of southeastern Europe from Turkish overlordship. Furthermore, the Greek Orthodox Christians, co-religionists of the Russians, would be freed from the rule of the Moslem. In a way, the Near East, in view of the decline of Turkish power, seemed to

*Russian expansion
in the Near East*

¹ See pp. 764, 850



afford the most convenient opportunity for Russian imperialism. Victory was illusive, however, for although Peter took the Black Sea port of Azov from the Turks in 1696, he lost it to them in 1722. His policy of expansion in the south was inconclusive and it remained for his successors to pursue his aims with greater effect.

Further north Peter did better. Joining Denmark and Saxony in an attack on Charles XII (1697-1718), the boy-king of Sweden, the tsar experienced years of defeat which in the end were followed by military triumph. Despite the military genius of her ruler, Sweden, *Russia's triumph over Sweden* which had temporarily achieved the status of a great power under Gustavus Adolphus, was unable, in view of her small population, limited resources, and the jealousy of neighboring states, to preserve her hegemony in northern Europe. Intermittent strife between Sweden and a hostile coalition, which included eventually Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Hanover, Saxony, and Poland, known as the Great Northern War (1700-1721), dragged on for years, during which Peter created a European type of army that finally proved victorious over the exhausted Swedes. By the treaty of Nystad, which terminated the conflict, Russia acquired the Baltic areas of Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia. Already, Peter had begun the construction of a new capital, St. Petersburg, a European stronghold designed to guard his recently acquired "Baltic window."

While Peter was thus shifting his country's center of gravity to the west, his emissaries were busily engaged in planting the Russian eagle on the shores of the Pacific and in establishing treaty relations with China. This eastward movement, motivated largely by the demands *Russia in the Pacific and the Far East* of the fur trade, was also influenced by the tsar's determination to reach the Pacific. Therefore, he commissioned Bering, a Danish navigator, to ascertain whether Asia was joined to America. In carrying out this project, Bering discovered Alaska and paved the way for Russian expansion in North America. Other Russian expeditions explored the coasts and waterways of the Far East from the Arctic region to the Japanese archipelago. Meanwhile, the tsar even contemplated the conquest of the Trans-Caspian area and Persia for the purpose of establishing an approach to, and trade relations with, India.

Peter the Great's death in 1725 interrupted both his reform program and his policies of expansion. A line of weak rulers, and an internal struggle between the "liberals," those who favored Peter's plans, and their opponents, the conservatives, jeopardized the program of the great tsar. After a period of disorder and uncertainty, there finally emerged another strong figure, in some respects a spiritual successor of Peter *Catherine the Great* — Catherine the Great (1762-1796). The German-born wife *(1762-1796)* of the insignificant Peter III was a woman of dominating personality, sensuous, autocratic, and able. She, after the murder of her husband, became the

"Autocrat of all the Russias," and proceeded to re-establish the prestige of the crown and to sponsor a program of internal reform which has caused her to be classified as an enlightened despot¹

It was in the realm of foreign affairs, however, that Catherine was most successful. Proclaiming that "war against Turkey is my historic mission," she encouraged an aggressive policy in the New East. A Russian protectorate was established over Georgia, in the Caucasus mountains. Intermittent warfare was carried on against the Turks, but international complications in Central Europe delayed a decisive success in the Near East until 1774.

Central Europe was thrown into turmoil as a result of the growing pains of Prussia. The history of this state in the eighteenth century was influenced largely by two kings — the domineering Frederick William I (1713–1740) and his enlightened son, Frederick II (1740–1786). The former, academically ignorant but energetically able, helped to pave the way for his brilliant successor by building up a paternal despotism administered by an efficient bureaucracy. Also, he left a well-filled treasury, a strong standing army, and a tradition of militarism strengthened by his acquisition of Swedish Pomerania as a reward for intervention in the Great Northern War. Known as the "Barrack King,"

*The rise of
Prussia*

Frederick William was filled with contempt for his son's predilection for culture, in the form of music, literature and French fashions. Numerous quarrels resulted from the king's attempt to reform his heir. "You know very well," he informed the youth in 1728, "that I cannot stand an effeminate fellow who has no manly tastes, who cannot ride or shoot (to his shame be it said!), is untidy about his person, and wears his hair curled like a fool instead of cutting it, and that I have condemned all these things a thousand times, and yet there is no sign of improvement." Despite his father's coercive discipline, which included uncongenial service in the army and even imprisonment, Frederick persisted in an intellectual and cultural preparation which enabled him to become one of the outstanding rulers of the age.

The reign of Frederick the Great was to be the most brilliant, perhaps, of all Prussian kings. Although retaining his intellectual and artistic interests, he combined a domestic program of reform with an aggressive foreign policy.² It was in the latter sphere, however, that he was to achieve his most signal successes. The first year of his reign presented him with an opportunity to strike under favorable conditions at Austria, the chief obstacle to Prussian hegemony in the Germanies. From that power, he secured the rich province of Silesia, but he was forced to devote much of his attention during the balance of his reign to the preservation of this conquest.

*Frederick the
Great
(1740–1786)*

Austria, despite occasional defeats and other vicissitudes, experienced some-

¹ For Catherine's internal reforms, see p. 849.

² For Frederick's internal reforms, see p. 848.

thing of a renaissance in the eighteenth century. The Holy Roman emperor, Charles VI (1711-1740), endeavored simultaneously to consolidate his authority in Austria and to increase his prestige by adventurous foreign policies. As a result of the peace of Utrecht, Austria had obtained from Spain the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia. Later Charles agreed to grant Philip V recognition as king of Spain in exchange for the island of Sicily which was to be taken from the Duke of Savoy who was to be given Sardinia and the title of king as compensation. These arrangements, so favorable to Austria, were displeasing to Philip's spouse, Elizabeth of Parma. She desired to provide her son Don Carlos with a desirable principality in Italy; therefore she was on the watch for a chance to upset these settlements respecting this country.

The War of the Polish Succession (1733-1736) presented that opportunity. This struggle rose out of the attempt of Louis XV of France to restore his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leszczyński, to the Polish throne. Inasmuch as Austria joined Russia in resisting a French solution to the Polish question, Spain hastened to tear up those parts of the peace of Utrecht which dealt with Italy. France, in need of friends, was virtually forced to acquiesce in the Spanish designs. Thus a war developed with Austria and Russia on one side, and France and Spain on the other. After several years of indecisive fighting and fruitless negotiations, a settlement was reached at Vienna. By the terms of this agreement, Austria consigned Sicily and Naples to Don Carlos who, in return, relinquished his claims on Parma and Tuscany. Thus the younger branch of the Bourbons was enthroned in the so-called Kingdom of the Two Sicilies where it remained until its expulsion by Garibaldi in 1860. The Polish throne, however, went to the Russian protégé, Augustus III, son of an earlier king. Stanislaus Leszczyński was forced to content himself with the patrimony of the Duke of Lorraine who took Tuscany by way of compensation.

As the reign of Charles VI drew to a close there seemed little to show for his exertions. His aggressive policies in Italy, in Poland, and at the expense of the Turks, against whom the Austrians had a hard time to hold their own, had borne little fruit. The emperor, who had no son, hoped to secure the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to his Austrian domains, as well as to Bohemia and Hungary, by means of the Pragmatic Sanction. By this code he sought to ensure her inheritance legally. Approval of this arrangement was secured from neighboring powers, including Prussia, by persuasion and bribery. In addition, his daughter's marriage was arranged to Francis of Lorraine, who in 1745, was elected Holy Roman emperor.

Maria Theresa (1740-1780) was fully qualified to be a contemporary and rival of Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great. Endowed with determination, energy, and common sense, if not originality, she undertook to

preserve and to strengthen her hereditary claim. She was handicapped by the lack of national solidarity, ruling, in fact, over a miscellany of Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Slavs, and Italians. Nevertheless, when her dominions were attacked by most of the great powers of continental Europe, she succeeded in fusing her heterogeneous subject-peoples into a compact unit capable of repelling the invaders.

Maria Theresa
(1740-1780)

The war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) was Europe's response to the dynastic problem in Vienna as land-hungry neighbors perceived an opportunity to despoil the young ruler. Spain wanted her Italian possessions, France coveted the Austrian Netherlands, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, both related to Maria Theresa by marriage, claimed Moravia and Bohemia respectively. Frederick of Prussia, however, was her most dangerous adversary. Immediately following the death of Charles VI, he arranged understandings with France and Bavaria for the dismemberment of the Habsburg realm. Prussia was to receive Silesia, France was to secure compensation in the Austrian Netherlands, and the Elector of Bavaria was to be elevated to the throne of the Holy Roman empire.

*War of the
Austrian
Succession*
(1740-1748)

Frederick's seizure of Silesia in December, 1740, followed by decisive defeats of the Austrians, precipitated the conflict. French and Bavarian troops invaded Austria and Bohemia. Spain, still obsessed with expansion in Italy, attacked the Austrians there and thus merged the War of Jenkin's Ear with this greater struggle. Great Britain, on the other hand, preferring a continental balance of power, and already at war with Spain, became an ally of Austria. Saxony, Sardinia, and the Dutch Netherlands, joined the anti-Austrian coalition, but the first two named were eventually persuaded by Austria to withdraw from the combat and the Dutch refused to do more than remain on the defensive. Maria Theresa, undaunted by the strength and number of her enemies, appealed to her Magyar subjects in Hungary who helped her to place new armies in the field. Resigning herself to the temporary loss of Silesia, she arranged a separate peace with Frederick by conceding him that province in 1745. This desertion of his allies by the Prussian king enabled the Austrians to more than hold their own with the remainder of their enemies. The conflict, characterized by hostilities carried on simultaneously in North America, in India, in the Netherlands, in Italy, in the Germanies, and on the seas, dragged on three more years. By 1748, however, both sides, temporarily worn out, were ready to discontinue hostilities.

Peace was restored in 1748 by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle. These provided for the return of all territorial conquests, with the exception of Silesia which was retained by Prussia. The powers consented to the Pragmatic Sanction and to the election of Maria Theresa's husband as Holy Roman emperor (which had taken place in 1745). Austria relinquished Parma and certain other Italian possessions to Spain, and made some minor cessions to

Sardinia¹ The war had failed to solve the broader issues at stake, such as, for example, the question of Austro-Prussian rivalry in the Germanies, the future of Italy, and the Anglo-French duel for colonial and commercial supremacy. In many respects the peace was as unsatisfactory as the war. It was, in fact, little more than a truce. Responsible statesmen, regarding it as such, proceeded immediately to prepare for the next war which they expected to break out soon. Maria Theresa, unreconciled to her loss of Silesia, inaugurated a comprehensive program of reform designed to strengthen her realm for the impending struggle. Administrative control was centralized, tax reforms, designed to augment state revenue, were introduced, agriculture was encouraged, and the army was strengthened.

*Peace of
Aix la Chapelle*

With the aid of her great diplomatist, Prince Kaunitz (1711-1794), Maria Theresa reconstructed Austria's diplomatic bulwarks. Louis XV of France was approached through his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and persuaded that his best interests lay in an alliance with Austria, a traditional enemy of the Bourbons, as a precaution against further expansion by Prussia. Elizabeth, the Russian tsarina, personally antagonistic to Frederick and suspicious of his policies, also joined the anti-Prussian bloc. This Austro-Franco-Russian coalition, sometimes known as the "Kaunitz alliance," was a grave menace to Prussia's security. Great Britain, however, ever hostile to France, and still devoted to the principle of a continental equilibrium, shifted sides and now supported Frederick. These reversals of policy, the Habsburg-Bourbon alliance and the Anglo-Prussian entente, came to be designated as the Diplomatic Revolution.

*The Diplomatic
Revolution*

Prussia took the initiative in precipitating the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Frederick, despite his limited resources as compared with the man power and wealth of his enemies, assumed the offensive by seizing Saxony. The duration of the war was dominated by the attempts of his enemies to squeeze his kingdom into submission. He, however, at the head of a splendid army, enjoying the inner lines, and assisted by British financial subsidies, was able to stand off his enemies largely through his own military genius. Nevertheless, his cause looked hopeless when, despite brilliant victories and occasional defeats, his enemies pressed forward steadily from all directions. Berlin was taken by the Russians in 1759, and Hanover was only saved from the French by the energies of his nephew, the Duke of Brunswick. He could maintain his armies in the field only by recruiting prisoners of war captured from the enemy. The desertion of the British, who had crushed the French in India and Canada and now discontinued the subsidies, was another crushing blow. Then his enemies were strengthened as a result of the Family Compact (1761), a defensive alliance of the three Bourbon kingdoms, France, Spain, and the two Sicilies. In 1762, Spain came into the war against Prussia.

*The Seven
Years' War
(1756-1763)*

¹ For a discussion of the colonial aspect of the War of the Austrian Succession and the peace which followed, see p. 786.

Confronted by the prospects of crushing defeat, Frederick was saved by a fortuitous circumstance. In 1762, the Tsarina Elizabeth, his bitter enemy, died, and was succeeded by Peter III, a madman, who was, however, a great admirer of the Prussian king's military prowess. The new tsar deserted his allies and offered to support Prussia. By this time, most of the belligerents were hopelessly war-weary and agreed, therefore, to the treaty of Hubertsburg (1763). Thereby Maria Theresa acknowledged again, albeit reluctantly, the title of Frederick to Silesia. Later, in the same year, Great Britain made peace with France and Spain, by the treaty of Paris.¹

Thereafter, the great continental powers, except for an insignificant dispute between Austria and Prussia over Bavaria (1777-1779), derisively known as the "Potato war," preserved peace among themselves until the international convulsions of the period of the French Revolution. During the generation after 1763, Poland and Turkey became the chief sacrificial offerings upon the altar of the continental imperialism of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. France, exhausted and embarrassed with domestic difficulties, and Spain, weak and decadent, and Great Britain, preoccupied with economic and colonial problems, exerted comparatively little influence for the time being on the course of international events in eastern Europe.

Poland was the logical, if perhaps not legitimate, prey of more powerful neighbors. Her area, second only to that of Russia, consisted of a level plain, shielded by no natural frontiers. The population was predominantly Polish, but there were unassimilable minorities of Germans, Russians, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and Jews. Religious dissension was common for the Poles were Roman Catholics, whereas the Germans were chiefly Lutheran and the Russians were Orthodox. An antiquated social system and a backward economy lingered, in which a ruling aristocracy of 150,000 Poles controlled about fourteen million serfs. There was scarcely any middle class, and the country's extremely limited trade was conducted chiefly by Germans and Jews.

The political system of Poland was almost a standing invitation to foreign intervention. It was an aristocratic oligarchy, which found its chief expression in a diet which represented only the nobles. This body's authority was emasculated by the *liberum veto*, by which any member could block legislation or dissolve the chamber by a single adverse vote. Since unanimity was virtually unattainable, the diet lacked positive authority; on the other hand, it had vast negative power by virtue of the fact that the king was powerless to enact laws, impose taxes, or declare war, without its consent. The kingship was elective and was usually sold by the nobles to the highest bidder. A candidate often found it necessary to diminish still further the authority of the crown by granting additional privileges to the selfish nobles. Frequently, the nobles chose a foreigner as their king, because his ignorance of Polish conditions would assure

Poland in the eighteenth century

Political weaknesses of Poland

feeble rule or because he was the candidate of a neighboring power which had generously distributed bribes among the electors. Monarchs so chosen usually pursued policies beneficial to their sponsors rather than to Poland, they were wedges for the transplantation of international antagonisms into the heart of Poland.

Poland had long been a center of international intrigue. A roll-call of her kings testified to this fact: "a Frenchman, a Hungarian, three Swedes, one or two Gallophil Poles, two Saxon Kings nominated by Austria, and finally the discarded lover of the Empress Catherine of Russia — such were the men upon whom during the last two centuries of 'independence' the oligarchy conferred the dubious honour of the Polish crown."¹ Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, France, Austria, Sweden, and Saxony, had found Poland a fertile field for diplomatic interference. Prussia and Russia, however, were more dangerous to Polish independence. The former aimed at securing the Polish provinces on the lower Vistula, which separated East Prussia from the balance of the country; Russia desired to secure the bulk of Poland as a stepping-stone into the heart of the continent. Austria, on the other hand, preferred an independent Poland, under the rule of her protégé, the Elector of Saxony.

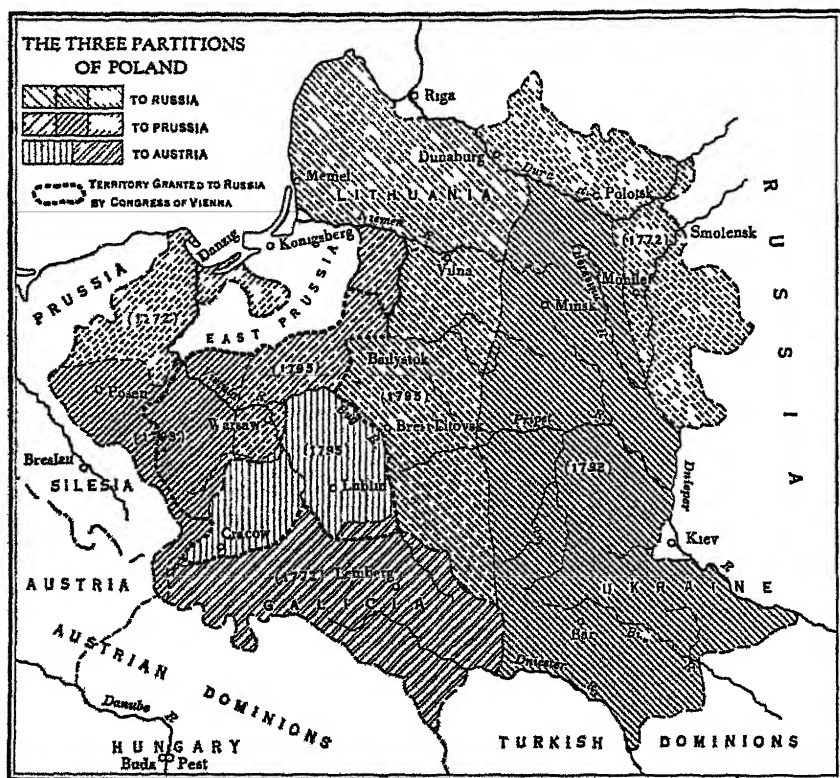
*Poland as a factor
in international
relations*

Until 1763 the powers co-operated in preserving a sort of international equilibrium in Poland. A crisis in that year revealed a lapse in the policy. At that time Russia and Prussia, hoping to steal a march on Austria, France, and other interested parties, combined forces to place Catherine's protégé, Stanislas Poniatowski, on the throne, made vacant by the death of Augustus III. A number of Polish nobles, invoking the help of Austria, Saxony, and France, organized the Confederacy of Bar, and tried to kidnap the new king. A Russian army, sent by Catherine, defeated the forces of the Confederacy, captured Cracow, and threatened to solve the whole Polish question unilaterally in favor of Russia. France, therefore, disinclined toward open intervention, incited the Ottoman Empire to war against Russia. Catherine's troops, however, expelled the Turks from the Crimea and overran Moldavia and Wallachia. By 1770, it appeared as though Turkey, like Poland, was going to be dismembered at the behest of Catherine.

Prussia and Austria, however, were not prepared to see Russia overturn the balance of power in eastern Europe at the expense of Poland and Turkey. Therefore Frederick revived an old project — the partition of Poland. He perceived that in a three-power division of this unfortunate country the conflicting interests of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, could be harmonized. Bribed by generous slices of Poland, Russia, he believed, would abandon her plan to conquer the Ottoman Empire; Austria, if granted compensation, would consent to the Russian advances. As a reward for his services in maintaining the balance of power, Frederick proposed to take a share of Poland. In February, 1771, he wrote to his min-

*The first partition
of Poland*

¹ Marriott, J. A. R., *Historical Problems of the European Commonwealth*, 157.



ister in St Petersburg "You will yourself feel that an acquisition of this sort could not give umbrage to anybody, that the Poles, the only people who have a right to complain, do not deserve to be humoured by either the Court of Russia or myself, considering the conduct they are pursuing"

Catherine, demanding the largest share, and Maria Theresa, asserting that she "had no desire for Polish territory and [that she] regarded Frederick's scheme as immoral," acquiesced in the design of the Prussian king. Thereupon, the monarchs, acting simultaneously in 1772, in accordance with the prior agreement among themselves, seized their shares of the booty. Russia secured the eastern part of Lithuania, Austria obtained Galicia (except Cracow), and Prussia annexed an area, excluding Danzig and Thorn, which linked her directly with East Prussia. Poland lost one-fifth of her population and one-fourth of her area. Neither France nor England saw fit to exercise a restraining influence on behalf of Poland.

The first partition of Poland did not check Catherine's drive against the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the weaknesses of the latter, with its non-homogeneous population, its political decentralization, its linguistic and religious divisions, and its cultural decadence, *Russian aggression in the Near East* was an incentive for redoubled efforts on the part of the Russians. Turkish resistance was overcome and in 1774 the Porte was compelled to accept the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji. By the terms of this settlement, Turkey ceded Azov to Russia, gave her valuable commercial rights in the Black Sea, recognized the virtual independence of the Crimea, and granted the tsar protective rights over certain Christians living in Turkey. Nine years later Russia annexed the Crimea and established, rather portentously for the Turks, a naval base at Sebastopol.

Austria regarded this vast extension of Russian authority as inimical to her own welfare. Joseph II (1780-1790), Maria Theresa's son and successor, who was associated with his mother in the government after 1765, desired to curb Russia and Prussia in order to re-establish the prestige of the Habsburg empire. Catherine, desirous of avoiding war with Austria, made a proposal to Joseph for a joint Austro-Russian partition of the European portions of the Ottoman Empire. According to the terms of this agreement, Russia was to obtain the northern shore of the Black Sea as far west as Odessa, and Austria was to receive northern Serbia and Bosnia. Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia (regions which today constitute the bulk of Rumania), were to comprise an independent state, called Dacia, under Austrian protection. The balance of the Balkan peninsula was to become an independent Greek empire, with its capital at Constantinople, and with a Russian prince, under Russian protection, as its ruler. Joseph II, perceiving the advantages of a project that would enable him to gain a share of Turkey and that would isolate Prussia, his chief enemy, accepted Catherine's proposal. The two sovereigns, leaving Frederick out in the cold, soon proceeded to attack Turkey.

The Austro-Russian project for the partition of the Ottoman Empire

But Catherine and Joseph were unable to carry out their plans. Prussia, disapproving their ambitious designs, encouraged Sweden, Russia's old rival, to declare war in 1788 upon the tsarina's empire. Furthermore, Great Britain, arranging a triple alliance, consisting of Prussia, the Dutch, and herself, seemed on the point of attacking Russia. Still more damaging to the partition design was the defeat by the Turks of the Austrians, who were now driven back across the Danube. Joseph's premature death in 1790 ended the scheme, for his successor, Leopold II (1790-1792), abandoned the Russian alliance, made peace with the sultan, and re-established friendly relations with Prussia.

Russia, in view of the Austrian defection, of anti-Russian movements in Poland, and of the crisis in the west that was rising out of the French revolution, determined to liquidate her war with Turkey. She consented, therefore, to the Treaty of Jassy (1792), by which the terms of Kuchuk-Kainarji were confirmed. A small slice of Turkish territory, between the Bug and the Dniester rivers, went to Russia. Thus Catherine, even though frustrated in her ambitious design, retained for Russia a favorable position in the Near East.

The Polish question still baffled the chancellories of Europe. While the Russians were fighting the Turks, Prussia had endeavored to check their advance in Poland. To this end Prussia signed in 1790 a defensive alliance with Poland, which guaranteed the latter's integrity and political freedom. Encouraged thereby, the Poles introduced the short-lived constitution of 1791 which was designed to infuse new vitality into the decadent monarchy. The hereditary principle was substituted for the elective, representation in the diet was broadened, the *liberum veto* was abolished, the towns were granted autonomy, religious toleration was conceded, but Roman Catholicism remained the official faith, and the emancipation of the serfs was considered. Polish patriots were trying, desperately but belatedly, to preserve their country's freedom by modernizing and thereby strengthening it.

Catherine was unsympathetic towards any scheme of reform that would tend to stabilize the Polish monarchy. She found it expedient, however, to simulate approval of the constitution so as to lull Prussian and Austrian suspicions as to her real motives. Actually, she wanted to absorb much of the remainder of Poland, but desired to see the hands of Austria and Russia tied by commitments elsewhere. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, leading to international complications which involved the interests of Austria and Prussia, caused those two powers to arrange a defensive and offensive alliance directed against France. She lent all of her efforts to embroil the two Germanic states in war with their rather unneighborly neighbor in the west. "I rack my brain," she said, "to push the courts of Vienna and Berlin to mix themselves up in the affairs of France. I want to engage them in those affairs so as to have my elbows free."

*Failure of the
partition project*

*Reforms in
Poland*

*Influence of the
French Revolution
on the Polish
question*

War broke out in the west in the spring of 1792 between Austria and Prussia, on the one hand, and France, on the other. Catherine took advantage of this circumstance to rush an army into Poland, ostensibly to protect a certain group of nobles who claimed that the constitution of 1791 violated their liberties. Frederick William II (1786-1797), the nephew and successor of Frederick the Great on the Prussian throne, however, was more interested in Poland than he was in the French Revolution. Catherine decided, therefore, to extend him an invitation to co-operate in a second partition of Poland. He accepted promptly, and coerced Austria into approval by threatening to leave her in the lurch in the war against France.

The second partition of Poland took place in January, 1793. Operating with the skill of a surgeon, Russia and Prussia sliced off handsome shares of Polish territory for themselves. The former secured all of the eastern provinces between the upper Dvina and the Dniester rivers, while the latter seized her northwestern areas, including Danzig and Thorn. Meeting for the last time, the Polish diet, its defending forces scattered by the invaders and surrounded by Russian troops, consented to the partition.

The second partition of Poland

But a fragment of Poland remained independent. The Poles, perceiving the imminence of their country's complete suppression, rose in general revolt in 1794 under the leadership of Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746-1817). For a while the cause of the insurrectionists prospered as they inflicted defeats on both the Russians and the Prussians. The tide turned, however, as Austria intervened, the Poles, beset on all sides by Austrians, Prussians, and Russians, were overwhelmed. By the successive treaties of 1795-1796, the dismemberment of Poland was completed. Austria acquired southern Masovia and western Galicia, Prussia received western Masovia, including Warsaw, and Russia annexed all of the rest.

The final partition of Poland

The disappearance of Poland as an independent power had a marked influence on the European equilibrium. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, now found their frontiers contiguous with one another, since there was no longer a buffer state. In some respects, Poland had functioned as a shock-absorber when the central and eastern countries felt impelled to adjust their boundaries. Now, however, the three great empires were flush against one another; their rulers had to adjust their sights to an eastern frontier in which there was no longer a "no man's land" in which to intrigue and manoeuvre. France, too, was conscious of a gap in the east where she was accustomed to a traditional ally in Poland. Although the Poles were now reduced to the status of a subject people, they kept alive their national self-consciousness and could never be assimilated by their conquerors. In some respects the Polish nation in subjection was a more vital factor in European life than it was as an independent state, for it became a symbol of the rising tide of nationalism which was to engulf the continent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Significance of the partitions of Poland

CHAPTER LIV

CHAMPIONS OF PROGRESS

"Antiquity deserveth that reverence that man should make a stand there-upon and discover what is the best way, but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression" In thus requesting that men stop worshipping the past and that they look forward, the far-seeing Francis Bacon (1561-1626), revealed himself as one of the many champions of progress who preceded the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century Opposition to authority was also expressed by such seventeenth-century scientists as René Descartes (1596-1650) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727), who held that progress was possible only through logic and an appreciation of realities Descartes wrote "If we use the proper method, we shall be able to outstrip our ancestors The golden age is not behind us Not only is progress possible, but there are no limits that can be assigned to it in advance" Emancipation from prevailing authority and current dogma, one of the significant achievements of eighteenth-century intellectuals, however, was facilitated largely through the expansion of scientific learning.

Man's knowledge of the universe was vastly increased during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries Although progress in the development of the natural sciences had been made prior to this time, their growth was hindered by the prestige of a dogmatic theology and by the restraining influence of the classical studies By this time, however, the appearance of men of scientific distinction, and the establishment of academies were indicative of a new spirit and a broadened interest

Seventeenth-century thinkers laid the foundations for an understanding of the universe. Descartes, Newton, and Gottfried Leibnitz (1646-1716), established a sound basis for physical science by developing higher mathematics and by showing that matter and body could be reduced to mechanism and that they were susceptible of physical analysis While Leibnitz and Newton, independent of one another, were inventing calculus, and the latter was discovering his law of gravitation, Edmund Halley (1656-1742), James Bradley (1693-1762), and William Herschel (1738-1822), through their astronomical studies, contributed to man's knowledge concerning the heavens. By so doing, they prepared the way for physicists, who made startling discoveries in regard to light, heat,

and electricity Robert Boyle (1627-1691), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), and Antoine Lavoisier (1743-1794), anticipated the modern chemist by revealing the existence of chemical elements

From the sixteenth century onwards there was also marked progress in the study of mineralogy. In the early eighteenth century scientists were already describing and classifying fossil remains. But it was not until James Hutton (1726-1797), a Scottish researcher, began his study of the nature and formation of various minerals and rocks that geology, as a science distinct from mineralogy, was born. Hutton, in fact, startled contemporaries by asserting, on the basis of his investigations of the earth's crusts, that the world was much older than most people were led to believe by the Bible. *Mineralogy*

Significant advances were also made in the fields of botany, zoology, and the study of man. An English scientist, Robert Hooke (1635-1703), discovered the cellular structure of plants and invented the name "cell." John Ray (1628-1705) and Carl von Linné (1707-1778), also known as Linnaeus, studied and classified various forms of plant life and summed up existing botanical knowledge to date. The French scholar, George Buffon (1707-1788), performed a similar service for the animal world in his famous work on natural history. Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), a Dutch microscopist, discovered bacteria, the red blood-corpuscles, and the capillary circulation of the blood, and described human spermatozoon. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Linnaeus divided all men into four main categories — the white, the yellow, the red, and the black. A fifth division, the brown race, was added by Johann Blumenback (1752-1840). These classifications, despite their naivete, influenced subsequent thought for many decades, until they were superseded by the findings of scientific anthropologists. *Botany, zoology, and the study of man*

Extensive progress was also made in medicine during the eighteenth century. One group of investigators, including Lancisi (1655-1720), Baglivi (1668-1706), and Hecquet (1661-1737), emphasized the study of the human body as an organism. They believed that it was a mechanism and that disease was merely an evidence that some part of it was out of order. More important than the mechanists were the members of the humoral school, inspired by George Ernest Stahl (1660-1734) and Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), who claimed that illness was due to the entrance of a humor, causing a morbid change, in the body. Closely related to this theory was the doctrine of irritability, advocated by Albert von Haller (1708-1777) and William Cullen (1710-1790), which held that life and disease were controlled by irritability (the power of the muscles to contract). John Brown (1735-1788) added the Brunonian precept that irritability was regulated by an outside force, excitability, which varied with the individual in accordance with his health. *Medicine*

Other conceptions of disease were developed. Leading naturalists, such as Buffon, Linnaeus, Charles Bonnet (1720-1793), and Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729-1799), identified and classified diseases, and, by their experiments, promoted the study of comparative anatomy. The Frenchmen, Paul Joseph Barthez (1734-1806) in advancing, and Stephen Bichat (1771-1802), in explaining, the idea of vitalism in 1798, made the last important contribution of the eighteenth century to medicine. This concept asserted that life, the vital factor, could only be appreciated by a study of the human body's reaction to external stimuli. Vitalism served as an improved working principle for medicine, and also conferred the benefit of placing great emphasis on the experimental method.

Scientific progress in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not involve simply an increase of detailed knowledge about the physical universe, it gave impetus to a revolution in the field of thought. Science was not merely a passing fad, but it developed a technique of logic, analysis, and synthesis. Intellectuals, perceiving how authority in the form of established dogma and learning, had been overturned by scientific research, were convinced that the same method could be applied to politics, society, religion, and art. In other words, repudiating an attitude of blind reverence toward tradition, custom, and authority, they became advocates of reliance on reason. They came to believe in the idea of progress and, concluding that all opinions and institutions which were unreasonable or unprogressive should be swept aside, they became the harbingers of an intellectual revolution.

By the eighteenth century, a repudiation of Christian theology by the scientifically-minded intellectuals appeared inevitable. Differences between scientists and theologians in the Middle Ages were not serious, because of the prestige of the church and because of its reliance on Greek science which had not yet been superseded. From the time of the Renaissance on, however, the breach between science and theology widened, as scientists revealed more and more of the nature of the universe with which the teachings of the church seemed to differ. In their outlook on life, intellectuals came to rely on experience, observation, experimentation, and logic, the churches, Catholic and Protestant alike, preferred to adhere to their established beliefs and practices.

Many intellectuals soon found themselves in revolt — not necessarily against Christianity, but against the established churches, both Protestant and Catholic, which, the new learning notwithstanding, still proclaimed their infallibility in matters of faith, morals, and knowledge. Descartes, for example, rejected supernatural explanations for natural phenomena, but retained his belief in God and the human soul; Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), a profound Hebrew thinker, accepted the existence of both body and spirit, and

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), a brilliant German philosopher, argued in favor of the existence of God, of free will, and of an immortal soul

Most eighteenth-century thinkers, permeated by rationalism, and full of enthusiasm for the work of the scientist, could no longer accept conventional ideas concerning the divinity of Christ, the fall of man, divine revelations and miracles, and the indispensability of the church *Deism* as a medium for the salvation of soul. They had become so impressed by the natural laws which seemed to control the universe, that they were convinced that there must also be natural laws regulating religious life, politics, and society. If the church, the state, and other man-made institutions could be set aside, then, they believed, these natural laws could function to the universal betterment of mankind. Therefore, many learned men, in striving for a natural religion, i.e., one in accordance with the dictates of reason and natural law, embraced deism.

Deism developed earliest in England and spread from there to the continent. Traces of a natural religion could be depicted as early as the twelfth century, in Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648) there appeared a devotee of such a cult. It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that deism became an important factor in Europe, and then chiefly in France, since that country had become a fertile seed-bed for advanced ideas as a result of the development of scientific studies there. As deism spread it became more radical, causing many of its adherents to break with Christianity. Orthodox theologians denounced this tendency, but a militant defender of the new faith appeared in Jean François Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire (1694-1778). Attacking the established church savagely for its intolerance and obscurantism, he upheld the deistic philosophy. On the other hand, a few skeptics, such as the Baron d' Holbach (1723-1789), a German residing in Paris, finding deism an unsatisfactory substitute for orthodox Christianity, denounced all religion and preached atheism.

Some intellectuals, nevertheless, refused to abandon Christianity. Instead, they organized societies for the purpose of harmonizing religion and science. In 1717 such a group, called the Grand Lodge, was organized *Free masonry* in England, because its members adopted much of their ceremonial from the medieval guilds of master masons, they were called "Free-masons." Its members were non-sectarian but they had to accept the belief in God. Before the eighteenth century was over, there were affiliated lodges in Scotland, Canada, the United States, India, and most European countries.

There were other manifestations of interest in religious reform on the part of contemporaneous thinkers. One group, called Pietists, recommended a compromise in the religious-scientific controversy *Pietism* and urged Christians to stop quarreling over dogma and to pattern their lives after that of Christ. Two of its leaders were the Lutheran pastor, Philip

Spener (1635–1705) and the Swedish professor, Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), who as advocates of religious toleration, inspired a number of sects. Pietism in England was represented by George Fox (1624–1691), who founded the Quakers, and by John Wesley (1703–1791), who organized a Holy Club whose members were nicknamed “Methodists,” because of their methodical cultivation of piety and charity.

A tendency towards religious toleration was, perhaps, one of the significant contributions of the eighteenth century. The prevalence of new ideas led to broadmindedness and freer expression. Both Catholics and Protestants, condemning witchcraft, terminated the practice of trying, burning, and beheading of witches. Some Christians even went so far as to denounce prevailing laws which oppressed the Jews. The Hebrew philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), asserting that Judaism was but one of the several true faiths, urged Christians to appraise this religion on its own merits. In fact, a greater spirit of tolerance prevailed in the eighteenth century, because many of the certainties of the preceding age seemed to have faded away before the advance of the new learning.

One institution which helped to disseminate new ideas, in an age during which newspapers were comparatively rare, was the salon. Many aristocratic ladies, and frequently members of the bourgeoisie, continued a custom, originated during the Renaissance, of entertaining on certain days. The intelligentsia acquired the habit of congregating in their salons in order to exchange ideas and news. There were to be encountered the intellectuals, artistic folk, men of affairs, musicians, faddists, and all sorts of bizarre beings, who wished to give expression to their own ideas, or to listen to those of others. In effect, the salon was a sort of clearing house.

Another factor which contributed to the cultural broadening of the eighteenth century was the *Encyclopaedia*. This monumental work, under the editorship of Denis Diderot (1713–1784), was a collaborative effort, in which leading experts in each field of learning wrote the pertinent articles. Most of the famous intellectuals of the day were contributors. Thus, in a way, the *Encyclopaedia*, which came out volume by volume, the first appearing in 1751, and the last in 1780, was a sort of epitome of eighteenth-century learning. It was permeated with the spirit of the age, rationalism, natural laws, deism, and humanitarianism, all helped to color a gigantic compilation of knowledge, which, because of widespread public interest therein, became an important agency for the diffusion of the new ideas.

A rebirth of conscience accompanied the spread of advanced thought. Humanitarians were aroused over the plight of the unfortunate elements of society, such as the poor, the orphans, the ill, the insane, the slaves, and the criminals. They endeavored to improve the status of these groups by calling the attention of their fellow-men to social

conditions. As a result, there was a widespread tendency on the part of wealthy patrons and philanthropists, members of the aristocracy and of the bourgeoisie, to establish and to endow places of refuge for the poor, asylums for orphans and the mentally ill, hospitals, and schools for various types.

Friends of slaves and criminals were active on their behalf. An abolition movement devoted to the suppression of slavery developed. In England, William Wilberforce (1759-1833) formed an anti-slavery committee and in France a "Society of Friends of the Blacks" was established in 1788. Sponsors of penal reform appeared in Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794), the Italian criminologist, and Jerry Bentham (1748-1832), the English exponent of utilitarianism. Denouncing harsh criminal laws, the maltreatment of prisoners, and the use of torture, they urged humane legislation and an improvement of prison conditions. Some of these reformers, in fact, developed a cosmopolitan humanitarianism which transcended barriers of race, creed, and political affiliation, and looked hopefully to a future of international peace.

Eighteenth-century historians were influenced by this humanitarianism. The German scholar, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), urged historians to emphasize cultural development rather than politics and war in their writings. He felt that they, through a study of *History* the past, should endeavor to explain the present. In his *Life of Charles XII* and the *Age of Louis XIV*, Voltaire offered not only an historical narrative but also an interpretation of his own era. Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, influenced by the intellectual unrest of his day, extolled the virtues of pagan antiquity and indirectly minimized the importance of Christian civilization in the Middle Ages. The English historian, David Hume (1711-1776), although stressing politics, recognized the value of cultural history.

While science, religion, and historical writing were thus being transformed by revolutionary changes which amounted almost to a revolt against the past, music, art, and education, were dominated by the classical spirit. Classicism, implying the respect and veneration for the classics of ancient Greece and Rome, was a sort of heritage from the Renaissance. It was influenced by the enlightenment of the ancients and was characterized by its emphasis on reason which tried to subordinate completely the passion, caprice, and emotionalism of the individual. Classicism, therefore, with its balance, clarity, lucidity, synthesis, but above all, intellectuality, had great appeal for the rationalists of the eighteenth century.

During that period music experienced its classical age. Some of the outstanding composers flourished at that time. Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725), an Italian forerunner of the classical com- *Music* posers, produced operas, cantatas, and oratorios, which are still highly esteemed. A German genius, George Frederick Handel (1685-1759), imitated

the Italian School and composed voluminous works, the best known of which, perhaps, was the *Messiah*. Another German master, Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), produced a vast number of chorales, sonatas, concertos, masses, and fugues, which, despite their originality, intellectuality, and sublimity, had less appeal to his contemporaries than for people today. More popular, but infinitely more superficial, were the works of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) and Christoph Gluck (1714-1787). They were important, but not profound. Of far greater significance than these fashionable composers were the Austrians, Josef Haydn (1732-1809) and Wolfgang A. Mozart (1756-1791). Both wrote extensively covering virtually every field of musical expression. The former established the symphony in its classical form and the latter with his grace, balance, and superb intricacy, symbolized classicism in music at the acme of its development.

Architecture, too, reflected the classical spirit. The typical classicist form of expression in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the baroque. A derivative of the styles of the Renaissance, it was patterned after the architecture of ancient Rome, but revealed great exuberance in its decoration. It gained widespread popularity, however, and flourished in every civilized country in Europe. A very elaborate, overly intricate form of the baroque, called the rococo, developed too. Like the baroque, it was excessively grandiose. In the eighteenth century, however, there was a reaction against both the baroque and the rococo. A classical style was evolved, which, striving for greater purity and authenticity, was less pompous and less ornamental. It seemed to reflect more accurately the spirit of eighteenth-century rationalism.

Contemporaneous painting and sculpture underwent a development that was curiously parallel to that of architecture. The English portrait painters, Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), in their elegance and formality, represented the baroque, whereas Antoine Watteau (1683-1721) and Francois Boucher (1703-1770) in France painted in the rococo style. As in architecture, there was a reaction toward realism as exemplified in the satirical paintings of William Hogarth (1697-1764), Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801), and Francisco Goya (1746-1828). These men, like the exponents of eighteenth-century naturalism who idealized nature, and like those who succumbed to a very powerful stream of Chinese artistic influence, were really revolting against the formalism, the conventionalization, and the artificiality of the standards of their day.

Classicism, on the whole, prevailed in education which was restricted to the few. Pedagogues clung to established ideas and traditional methods, Greek, Latin, and the classics, constituted the fundamental core of learning. A few radical thinkers, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), urged a revolution in educational methods and

emphasis. He, for example, believing that children should be allowed to follow their natural inclinations, denounced a system which tried to fashion every child after a prescribed pattern. He urged that children be taught useful things instead of classical languages. His ideas, somewhat too advanced for his age, exerted more influence at a later date.

Literature in the eighteenth century was undergoing an emancipation from the arbitrary restrictions of classicism. Voltaire, it is true, tried to make his works faultlessly classical in form and content. The German critic and dramatist, Gorthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), *Literature* proclaimed the dependence of German literature on that of antiquity. In England, however, the novel, with its emphasis on contemporary characters and manners, aimed not only to amuse but also to instruct. This literary vehicle likewise became popular on the continent, where it helped to shatter the restraining influence of tradition.

A romanticist movement in literature arose out of the intellectual ferment of the eighteenth century. Representatives of this tendency derived their inspiration, not from classical antiquity, but from natural scenery, folk customs, and from sentimentalized conceptions of primitive life. They substituted the mystical, passionate, free-spirited, and capricious standards of the Middle Ages, for the simplicity, harmony, restraint, and austere purity of classicism. They were rebels, the literary counterpart of the scientist, the intellectual, and the reformer, who fought against other aspects of the Old Régime. Rousseau, Herder, Robert Burns (1759-1796), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), and Johann Schiller (1759-1805), were typical of this romanticism.

The middle classes encouraged these signs of revolt against the Old Régime. Therefore, they supported romanticism in literature just as they did rationalism in science. In fact, most of the intellectuals, artistic figures, and scientists were themselves members of the bourgeoisie, *Literature and the middle classes* and were often acutely conscious of the institutionalized inferiority of their class under the Old Régime. Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), in such writings as *The Compleat English Tradesman* and *The Compleat English Gentleman*, had already glorified the middle classes and their typical virtues such as thrift, honesty, and diligence. His works were followed by such masterpieces of characterization as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), and Oliver Goldsmith's *Visar of Wakefield* (1766), which carried on the bourgeois tradition.

Drama was also influenced by the spirit of the age. Established conventions concerning tragedy and comedy were thrust aside, as dramatists disregarded tradition and devised innovations in form, technique, and *Drama* stage setting. Realistic scenery in comedy and symbolism in tragedy impressed vividly audiences in the eighteenth century. A national spirit tended to permeate drama, new schools, such as that in Germany, under

the leadership of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, and that in England, inspired by the comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan, tended to supersede orthodox drama. Symbolical, perhaps, of the bourgeois revolt against the *status quo*, was Pierre Beaumarchais (1732-1799). This great playwright, in such plays as *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Le Mariage de Figaro*, satirized the nobles, exposed the weaknesses of the Old Régime, and revealed the characteristics and beliefs of the middle classes.

All in all, whether by Defoe, Voltaire or other writers, whether in England, France, or countries less commercially prominent, whether in plays, novels, or periodicals, it was evident that the middle classes by the eighteenth century were an accepted subject for the various national literatures and a recognized factor in political, social, and intellectual life.

To a considerable extent the Intellectual Revolution, like the Renaissance, was a bourgeois movement. Members of the business and professional classes became patrons of literary, scientific, and artistic figures, who represented the ideas and ideals of the middle classes. The bourgeoisie, with its wealth and increasing social importance, looked forward to a still greater growth in the future. Therefore, it could subscribe readily to the idea of progress which conceived of society as being in a state of flux. Furthermore, the middle classes, with their capitalistic outlook, tended to measure success in terms of profit and wealth. Thus they stressed the economic factor and advocated such reforms as would contribute to a fuller and wider prosperity. Eventually they came to favor such sweeping changes in the political, social, and economic structure, as to signify virtually the disappearance of the Old Régime.

Eighteenth-century economists became protagonists of bourgeois individualism. They denounced mercantilism, claiming that its theories concerning wealth, prosperity, a favorable balance of trade, and monopoly were fallacious. Famines, they claimed, had frequently resulted from official restrictions on the sale of grain; they asserted that the mere possession of precious metals was no guarantee of prosperity, and they demanded the termination of the whole mercantile system, with its regulations and its restraints on trade and industry.

A new school arose which championed the idea of economic liberty, in which the individual would be left free to work out his own economic salvation. In France, there emerged a group of economists, led by François Quesnay (1694-1774) who came to be known as Physiocrats. One of its characteristic spokesmen, Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759), developed the *laissez-faire* doctrine that the government should keep its hands off economic life. He held that agriculture, rather than commerce or industry, was the chief source of wealth, and that it would prosper more if all feudal and governmental restraints were removed. Turgot (1727-1781), an enlightened bureaucrat, urged that the *laissez-faire* idea be applied to commerce and industry as well. In envisioning an economic *milieu* com-

Intellectuals and the middle classes

The Physiocrats

pletely free of all official interference, he wrote "Every seller, it being his chief interest to merit preference over his competitor, will sell in general the best goods at the lowest prices at which he can make a profit in order to attract customers. The merchant or manufacturer who cheats will be quickly discredited and lose customers without interference of government." Like most of the Physiocrats, Turgot was a monarchist; he believed, however, that the property-owning classes should be made politically articulate through a system of assemblies to which they should send delegates.

No writer of the eighteenth century, save Rousseau, equalled Voltaire in the expression of bourgeois ideals. He constantly advocated law, order, and the sanctity of private property. Although he favored equality, ^{Voltaire} he realized that it was an ultimate goal rather than an immediate objective. A sincere monarchist he, however, never hesitated to attack royal tyranny. In his opinion, both the state and the church should be deprived of all powers that impeded the rise of a bourgeois society. The chief function of the government, he believed, was to maintain the sanctity of property. As an anti-clerical, he contended that the church should be subordinate to the state in temporal matters. In short, Voltaire, himself a successful businessman, was a firm exponent of a bourgeois state.

Possessing a sincere belief in benevolent despotism, Voltaire at no time subscribed to radical views. He did not espouse the idea, advanced in England by the seventeenth-century writer, John Locke, that the people, as the ultimate source of government, had the right of revolution against constituted authority. Nor was he impressed by the advocacy of the limited monarchy, found in a work entitled *The Spirit of the Laws*, written by his fellow countryman, Montesquieu (1689-1755). Avoiding extremes, Voltaire relied on reason as the certain guide to progress and enlightenment.

Rousseau, perhaps more than Voltaire, ^{Rousseau} was the harbinger of bourgeois democracy. He favored the overthrow of the decadent, monarchical state, with all its trappings, and urged the establishment of a natural society based upon the so-called instincts of man. Members of the bourgeoisie, and even aristocrats, were so intrigued by his advocacy of a simple life, undefiled by the corrupting influences of civilization, that they sponsored a "back-to-nature" movement. In itself this tendency was interesting rather than important, but it revealed a wide-spread desire to escape from the over-sophistication of eighteenth-century society. More significant for the bourgeoisie was the doctrine of popular sovereignty which he presented in a political brochure, entitled the *Social Contract* (1761). Therein he endeavored to annihilate the ideology of the Old Régime and to recall to people their alleged right of revolution. Despite his apparent radicalism, many of the bourgeoisie endorsed his doctrines, because they conceived of themselves as the leaders in the impending regeneration of society.

Actually, Rousseau was more of a romanticist than a rationalist. Con-

fronted with realities, he usually recommended moderation and patience. For example, although recognizing the injustice of serfdom in Poland, he felt that no solution for the problem was immediately available. Again, contrary to his expressed radicalism, when he drafted a model constitution for Corsica, he revealed himself a moderate rather than an extremist. Despite this opportunism, he was inspired by the vision of a utopia. Unlike Voltaire, who favored the wealthy bourgeoisie, Rousseau cherished the interests of the lesser businessmen and the lower classes. He envisaged an ideal society, in which there would be extremes neither of wealth nor of poverty.

It is rather difficult to assess Rousseau's influence. He was denounced by pious Christians, adherents of the Old Régime, by plutocrats, and even by rationalists such as Voltaire, who distrusted his radicalism and his extravagances. On the other hand, he was very much admired by Hume, the historian, by Kant, the German philosopher, by Thomas Paine, the English rationalist, and by countless thousands of the middle and lower classes. Rousseau's influence achieved its zenith during the French Revolution, when it was reflected in the pursuit of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Adam Smith (1723-1790), the Scottish economist, came closest to being the ideal bourgeois philosopher of the eighteenth century. In his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), he claimed that the real strength of a state
Adam Smith consisted in the prosperity of its citizens. Therefore, he asserted the right of the individual to hold private property and to acquire further wealth. Like the Physiocrats, he opposed feudal and mercantilistic regulations and championed the *laissez-faire* theory, claiming that each individual knew best how to enrich himself, and thereby, the whole community. Consequently, he demanded complete economic liberty, insisting that the preservation of this freedom and the safeguarding of private property were among the primary obligations of the state. Thus, Smith's philosophy, congenial to the bourgeoisie, was based on the right to have and to hold.

By the end of the eighteenth century, scientists, intellectual, and theorists, had created the ideology indispensable for a revolt against the Old Régime.

Extreme individualism, however, was a two-edged weapon.
Individualism and the middle classes Its potentialities could be exploited at this time by the middle classes for the purpose of wrecking the prestige and the institutions of the old society. On the other hand, individualism, if taken up by the lower classes, as it was in the nineteenth century, might operate to the disadvantage of a class which desired merely to substitute itself as a privileged caste in place of the old aristocracy. In the eighteenth century, however, the bourgeoisie were too keen on shattering the hegemony of the nobility to be unduly concerned about the aspirations of the masses.

CHAPTER LV

REFORMS FROM ABOVE THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

As champions of individual liberty the Physiocrats and other critics of the old order opposed all tyrannical methods of government, at the same time most of them favored a particular kind of central authority which they called benevolent (or enlightened) despotism. In their opinion a despot should be the servant of his people, exercising his power solely for their benefit, and identifying their welfare with his own. He should, wrote the famous Physiocrat, Dupont de Nemours, "promulgate by positive ordinances the natural and essential laws of the social order."

*Champions of
benevolent
despotism*

In advocating benevolent despotism, these philosophers visualized the creation of an ideal state. Its political and social organization was to be orderly, harmonious, and permanent. The inhabitants thereof were to be well educated, were to enjoy equality of opportunity, and were to be completely freed of ancient habits and prejudices.

Eighteenth-century despots, however, were fundamentally mercantilists. Their dominant motive was to create strong and prosperous states, especially through the exclusive policy of increasing exports and decreasing imports. Inasmuch as the problem of foreign trade was far less important in the Germanic states, the mercantilist philosophy of governmental intervention in those countries turned more towards domestic problems. Social improvements under the auspices of the state gave a humanitarian cast to German mercantilism which has been called cameralism.

Mercantilism

Cameralist ideas influenced most eighteenth-century despots. Contemporary rulers subordinated everything within the control of the state to the problem of national existence. They tried to create strong and prosperous countries by strengthening their personal rule, by increasing military power, and by handing down beneficial reforms. Most enlightened despots, in their efforts to diffuse prosperity, endeavored to abolish the restrictions which hampered the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. They tried to unify their legal systems, to abolish judicial abuses, to weaken the temporal power of the church, to encourage industrial, commercial, and agricultural development, to emancipate the serfs, and to promote the training and education of the people.

Frederick the Great (1740-1786) of Prussia was a characteristic benevolent despot. Maintaining that the king was the first servant of the state, he de-

voted considerable energy to the internal problems of administration. Every department of government came under his scrutiny.

But Frederick's achievements in the field of internal reform were limited. From the beginning of his reign he opposed serfdom, denouncing it as

*Frederick
the Great*

"revolting to mankind," and abolishing it on his estates. Nevertheless, he was unwilling to arouse the opposition of the powerful Junker landlords by depriving them of their serfs. Dependent upon the support of the property-owning classes, he refused to antagonize them by the introduction of sweeping social and class reforms.

The Prussian ruler, however, wanted to improve the economic structure of his kingdom. By careful economies in the management of the state, he was able to devote part of the revenue to agricultural and industrial developments. For example, he succeeded in building a system of drainage canals which reclaimed for cultivation thousands of acres of waste land. Frederick encouraged the expansion of old industries, subsidized new ones, and by his visits to various parts of the country, he infused into business as well as into local government much of his own energy and love of order.

Frederick, like Voltaire and other skeptics, felt contempt for religious intolerance. He maintained that his subjects should be allowed to worship God freely in any way they chose. Tolerating the Catholic minority in his kingdom, Frederick also permitted religious sects, expelled from other countries, to establish homes and to flourish in Prussia. Catholics, as well as Protestants, were admitted to his service. "My aim," he said, "is to show the adherents of the different churches that they are all fellow-citizens."

Legal reforms as well as religious toleration strengthened Prussia. Before Frederick became king a subject found it very difficult to obtain justice in disputes because of the legal system which was cumbersome, contradictory, and in many respects unreasonable. Determined to establish a unified system, Frederick began the formulation of a new code. Although he died before it was completed, it was promulgated by his successor. In a way, this code was a sort of Magna Carta of benevolent despotism. It asserted that the government existed to promote the welfare of the people; it granted personal liberty to a man in so far as he did not harm anyone else, and it even declared that the state must care for the poor and the unemployed. At the same time, it sanctioned the established order — serfdom, the absolute king, and the privileged classes. It also gave the ruler the right to suppress freedom of press and speech. Frederick's code, in short, is a picture of the eighteenth-century benevolent despot, and, as we shall see later, the twentieth-century Dictator. It proclaimed the "leader's desire" to reform all things and to help everybody, at the same time it refused to recognize the right of the subject to express opinions in regard to what should be done.

In Russia, as well as in Prussia, certain rulers had already tried to introduce

reforms Peter the Great (1689–1725), a slightly primitive form of enlightened despot, had attempted to Europeanize his country. To this end, he tried not only to draw Russia closer to Europe by obtaining for her a seaboard on the Baltic, but also to introduce into that country western customs and culture. He reorganized his military forces provided them with adequate equipment, and started the building of a navy. Although he followed no fixed plan, Peter attempted to create an efficient government. He divided Russia into administrative divisions to facilitate the collection of taxes, he curbed the rights and privileges of the nobles, and he overhauled the official machinery. For the medieval *duma*, consisting of nobles, he substituted an advisory council, consisting of a few persons, not all of noble birth, chosen by himself, and created the Holy Synod as an advisory council to himself in running the affairs of the church.

Influenced by mercantilist doctrines, Peter tried to increase the wealth of the country by encouraging industrial and commercial expansion. He also attempted to bring about social reforms. Following his whims, he endeavored to Europeanize the Russians by requiring them to shave off their beards, to dance in the western style, and to curtail their long trailing robes. Unfortunately the heavy cost of his wars, the deep-rooted opposition of the Russian people to alien customs, and Peter's personal limitations prevented him from achieving complete success. In fact, he did little more than create a veneer of westernism which was apparent chiefly among the upper classes.

Catherine II (1762–1796) was the second Russian ruler who sponsored an extensive reform movement. During her reign she displayed keen interest in progressive ideas and in the works of the intellectuals. She subscribed to the *Encyclopaedia*, invited its editors, Diderot and d'Alembert, to visit her, and corresponded with Voltaire, to whom she explained her numerous plans for reform. Imbibing something of the skepticism of the philosophers, she confiscated much religious property, and devoted part of the wealth so acquired to endowing schools and hospitals.

Influenced by the ideas of Montesquieu and Beccaria, the tsarina called an assembly in Moscow (1766) which represented every nationality and class in her vast empire. At this meeting she suggested the establishment of an enlightened legal code. This proposal declared that "the nation is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation," it gave the individual the right to do anything that was not forbidden by law, and it condemned intolerance and such cruelties as torture. War with Turkey, however, prompted Catherine to dismiss the assembly and to abandon her reform program. At one time she favored the emancipation of the serfs, but the vested interests of the great landowners were so menaced that she gave up the scheme. Instead, she strengthened the institution of serfdom by making it illegal for the serfs to complain of the harshness of their masters. Despite her genuine sympathy

for the poor and the oppressed, practical considerations prevented her from carrying her reforms beyond the blue-print stage

Joseph II (1780-1790) of Austria was more radical than his contemporaries, Frederick II and Catherine the Great. Despite an uncertain education, he early came under the influence of the writings of the philosophers. Himself a cynic and a skeptic, and full of contempt for all things that seemed to him irrational, he became especially interested in the question of church and state.

This problem attracted considerable attention in the eighteenth century. In 1763, a German scholar, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, published a book attacking the power of the pope. Accepting the Gallican idea, set forth in the Declaration of Gallican Liberties (1682), that the pope "had been granted authority from God only in spiritual matters and not in temporal affairs," Febronius expressed the belief that the church "had, it is true, made the Pope its head in spiritual matters, but he remained subordinate to a general council."

Influenced by these ideas Joseph determined to bring the church in the Habsburg domains under his control and to introduce radical religious reforms. Numerous monasteries were abolished and their wealth devoted to charity and education, bishops were appointed without consulting the pope, marriage was made a civil contract, and toleration was accorded other sects. Pope Pius VI, bitterly condemning these acts, journeyed to Vienna in order to remonstrate with the emperor. But Joseph saw to it that he and the Holy Father did not meet.

Possessing the courage of his convictions, Joseph II also tried to unify administratively his heterogeneous territories. Old political divisions were abolished; local privileges were abrogated, and an attempt was made to place Germans, Magyars, Italians, Poles, Bohemians, and Belgians, and other groups living in the empire, under a uniform system in which Joseph's own officials enjoyed the control.

Few rulers worked more conscientiously for the welfare of their people than did Joseph II. Interested in social reform, he emancipated the serfs in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, and reduced their services in other parts of his empire. To improve economic conditions, Joseph taxed the nobles and the clergy, introduced a uniform legal system, and stimulated industry by means of a protective tariff. In the field of education Joseph II entertained enlightened but dogmatic views. He planned to bring the universities, intermediate and primary schools, into a single system and to administer them as a department of government. Teachers, thus converted into governmental officials, were expected to furnish a plentiful supply of civil servants.

Powerful opposition thwarted the bulk of the reforms introduced by this modern ruler. Some important measures were enacted, but Joseph II was

unable to bring about the sweeping transformation of society which he contemplated

"The work piles up daily," he wrote his brother Leopold in 1772, "and nothing is done I labor unceasingly all morning, and until five and six in the afternoon, with fifteen minutes out while I eat a solitary lunch but there is no result The petty objections, the intrigues, of which I have been so long the victim, hinder and delay me, and with the delay everything is going to the devil"

In 1790, Joseph II died, a bitterly disappointed man The privileged classes, the clergy and the nobility, with the aid of the subject nationalities which opposed political centralization, had succeeded in preventing him from establishing an orderly, efficient, and modern state Conscious of his failure, the unfortunate ruler, shortly before his death, selected as his epitaph "Here lies Joseph II, who was unfortunate in everything he undertook"

A number of lesser despots attempted to carry out similar reforms As Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II, successor of Joseph II to the Austrian throne, introduced some rather modern changes Influenced by *Lesser* physiocratic ideas, he brought about the construction of roads, *benevolent* the draining of marshes, the introduction of new crops, and *despots* the abolition of restrictions on commerce, industry, and agriculture Tuscany, as a result of these measures, became one of the most prosperous states in Italy A sincere humanitarian, Leopold was influenced by Beccaria's opposition to cruel and unusual punishment, such as branding, mutilation, breaking on the wheel, and drawing and quartering By his famous penal code he prohibited the use of torture and abolished the death penalty, save in cases of parricide or lèse-majesté It was indeed unfortunate that this able man died two years after he became Holy Roman Emperor (1792). His son and heir, the phlegmatic Francis II, not only opposed further reforms, but pursued a conservative policy which made Austria the most reactionary of the great powers

Like other enlightened despots, Charles III of Spain (1759-1788) tried to modernize his country As king of Naples and Sicily (1735-1759) he had attempted to reduce the power of the church there and to better conditions thereby Influenced by the stories of his benevolence, the Spanish people, when he became king in 1759, anticipated a golden age But his appearance must have disappointed them Short, dark, round shouldered, toothless and shabbily dressed, he probably looked more like a broken-down clerk than a king.

In a short time Charles proved that he was a true champion of progress. A typical despot, who believed in handing reforms down to his people, he ignored the national assembly, or *cortes* At the same time he tried to encourage industry by means of protection, agriculture by the establishment of agricultural colleges, and commerce by the founding of trade schools, by the relaxation of mercantilistic regulations, and by the construction of highways,

bridges, and canals. Interested in education, he secularized the schools, and modernized the curriculum in several universities through the introduction of such studies as science and philosophy. He also attempted to crush the temporal power of the church by limiting and taxing the wealth of that institution, by abolishing the inquisition, and — following the example set by Portugal and France — by expelling the Jesuits (1767).

Portugal, as well as Spain, enjoyed a brief period of benevolent despotism. Under the direction of a very able statesman, the Marquis of Pombal, who was virtually a dictator from 1755 to 1777, that country was subjected to sweeping reforms. The budget was balanced, the legal system unified, education, improved, the army, reorganized, and commerce with the Portuguese colonies was stimulated. Opposition, especially on the part of the Jesuits who were financially interested in the colonial trade, was disregarded. Determined to free Portugal from foreign influences and at the same time to create a prosperous nation, Pombal did not hesitate to inflict severe punishment upon the recalcitrants. In 1759, Joseph I, king of Portugal, inspired by Pombal, banished the Jesuit order from all the dominions of the Portuguese crown.

During the eighteenth century benevolent despots flourished in various other parts of Europe. In the tiny German state of Baden, Charles Frederick, attained greater success as an enlightened despot than did many of his more illustrious contemporaries. Influenced by physiocratic ideas, he bettered agriculture by introducing new crops, by technical improvements, and by freeing the serfs on his domains. He also encouraged commerce and industry, reduced taxes, and fostered the development of education. As a result of these policies, he made Baden the most enlightened and the most prosperous state in the Germanies.

Gustavus III of Sweden (1771-1792) was another intelligent ruler who was actuated by reforming zeal. "The one object I have in view, my dear subjects," he said in 1772, "is the reestablishment of liberty. No longer shall any restriction be laid upon honest industry, or justice be administered in partial and arbitrary fashion. Each citizen shall be left free to enjoy what is his without let or hindrance, and we shall see reborn among us a new spirit of brotherhood, a pure piety purged of all hypocrisy and all superstition."

With this promise of a utopia, Gustavus III inaugurated his reign. Under his direction a sincere attempt was made to create a powerful and prosperous state by the reorganization of justice, the establishment of religious toleration, the stimulation of trade and industry, and the promotion of education. Aroused by the bitter opposition of his selfish landlords, Gustavus tried to carry out his program by dictatorial methods. His assassination in 1792, however, marked the end of benevolent despotism in Sweden.

While Gustavus III was trying to modernize Sweden, a court physician,

Struensee, was introducing reforms in the Danish state. As chief councilor of the king and queen, he reorganized the governmental administration, balanced the budget, and modernized the judicial system. State officials and other office-holders, who lost their jobs when he cut governmental expenditures, proceeded to oppose his program. By 1772 they were powerful enough to bring about his imprisonment and death. As a result his reforms, such as religious toleration, free trade, free labor, and legal changes, were not carried out. The institution of a system of hospitals and the establishment of a program of public hygiene probably constitute his outstanding achievements.

Most of these benevolent despots failed in their attempts to hand down reforms to their subjects. Under the sway of the philosophers they had decided that it was politically inexpedient not to oppose social and economic progress. All of them appreciated the advance to the state of economic enterprises, and adopted policies designed to help the small farmer and the middle classes. But, despite these traces of social idealism, these rulers refused to limit their own personal authority through the granting of political reforms. Moreover, they were unable to obtain the support of the vested interests, the clergy, and the nobility, who were determined to retain their huge estates and their valuable privileges. Actually, the Old Régime, which the enlightened despots sought to preserve in a modified form, could not be coordinated with the aims and ideals of the Age of Reason. The old and the new thought were mutually incompatible.

*Failure of
benevolent
despots*

In one country, Great Britain, the government did relinquish political power to the business and landed classes. The kings of England in the seventeenth century, as we have seen, were forced to accept the transfer of leadership from the executive to the legislative branch of government. After the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688, the initiative in foreign as well as in domestic affairs was left, for the most part, to royal ministers. These, with rare exceptions, had the support of Parliament, which represented the wealthy landowning and mercantile classes. When the ministers lost this backing, they usually resigned.

*End of
despotism
in England*

During the reign of the first Hanoverian king, George I (1714-1727), the cabinet secured an independent position which enabled it to initiate policy and to chart the course of the ship of state. George I had little interest in British problems, and was handicapped by his inability to speak English. Therefore he did not attend the meetings of his ministers, preferring to leave to them the formulation of policy. This freedom from royal dominance on the part of the cabinet, except for a spasmodic interference by George III, remained the rule henceforth.

The development of the party system in England enabled the commercial groups to dominate the cabinet. In the eighteenth century two great political

parties struggled for the approval of the electorate — the Tories, supported by the aristocratic elements, and the Whigs, who represented some of the landed and most of the mercantile classes. It was through control of the latter party that the commercial interests of England were able to influence British policy in such a way as to insure their country's economic pre-eminence.

While those who benefited by the commercial-colonial expansion of England were dominating the policies of their country, the business classes of France,

*Decadent
despotism
in France* lacking political power, were unable to advance their interests. Their king, Louis XVI (1774-1792), was willing to assume the rôle of an enlightened despot and to introduce policies designed to create a strong and prosperous state. But he did not possess the will-power requisite for a definite stand on important issues. Consequently, when the state finances in France approached bankruptcy, and a satisfactory solution of this problem demanded a general overhauling of the feudal system, the king was incapable of furnishing the necessary leadership. This failure, as we shall see, cost the king his head and the feudal aristocracy their privileges.¹

¹ See Chapters LVI-LVII

CHAPTER LVI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION MODERATE PHASE

In order to understand the French Revolution it is necessary to examine the conditions and institutions out of which it grew. The government of France toward the end of the eighteenth century was essentially the same as that which had been fashioned by Henry IV, Richelieu, and Louis XIV in the century preceding. Nobles and clergy retained a large part of their feudal privileges. The various *parlements* (law courts), especially that of Paris, watched jealously over old customary rights. In such provinces as Artois, Brittany, Burgundy, Languedoc, and Flanders, the estates, still possessing some power, continued to assemble. Officially, the executive, administrative, and legislative functions of the government were vested in the hands of the king. He appointed officials and judges, levied taxes, and directed the expenditure of the government money. He was head of the army and navy and had complete control of foreign affairs. Actually, much of his authority was delegated to officials who ruled in his name.

The king, especially if he were a weakling like Louis XVI, was little more than the titular head of a bureaucratic system over which he had little control. Inasmuch as the vast work of governing France could not be handled by one man the direction of affairs was in the hands of officials chosen from the nobility and the middle classes by the king. They functioned in various councils and elsewhere, and constituted the bureaucracy which governed the realm. Officials, responsible to the central government, controlled local as well as general matters. Delegates of royal authority, the thirty-two intendants, represented the king in the thirty-four *gouvernements*, or administrative divisions into which France was divided, and actually governed the kingdom.

Justice was administered in a number of courts. A system of ecclesiastical tribunals dealt out church law, miscellaneous feudal courts handled civil and criminal disputes. For the most part, important legal matters, however, had long before come under the jurisdiction of the royal courts—the highest of which were the *parlements*.

Governmental income was derived largely from two kinds of taxes—direct and indirect. Direct taxes were those paid as such on particular articles. The chief of these, and the most important revenue producer, was the *taille*, or property tax levied on non-noble lands and individuals. In view of the exemptions of the clergy and the nobles, this was paid by the unprivileged

groups. Then there was a poll tax, to which the commoners and some nobles were liable. A tax called *vingtième*, originally a twentieth but now approximately eleven per cent of the subject's income, was also collected. In addition, there were the indirect taxes, which were paid on commodities and included in the price. The most important of these was the *gabelle*, or salt tax, but there were a number of others.

Despite the marked increase of taxes during the eighteenth century the amount remained within the capacity of the French people to bear. In fact, much more was paid during the generation that followed 1789. But the exemption of the wealthy groups forced the government to increase the taxes of those who had less ability to pay. As a result, these people, especially the unprivileged middle classes, found the cost of government burdensome and hateful. At the same time, the government, as a result of wasteful policies and irresponsibility, could not obtain enough revenue and was threatened with bankruptcy. Constantly pressed for money, it resorted to such desperate expedients as lessening the value of coins, and borrowing at ruinous rates. In 1788 revenues were being anticipated even into the second year.

There were men in France capable of solving the financial problem. Turgot, Louis XVI's financial minister from 1774 to 1776, had planned to do so by effecting economies, by taxing the privileged groups, and by sponsoring an individualism in business calculated to restore prosperity and to increase the revenues. But the privileged elements, whose interests were jeopardized, opposed his program. Through the queen, Marie Antoinette, certain nobles persuaded Louis to discharge Turgot. Following his dismissal, another minister, Necker, tried, during the years 1776-1781 to balance the budget by a policy of economy, when he published a report, however, which revealed the deplorable state of governmental finance and the extravagance of the court, he too was dismissed. His successor, Calonne, at first attempted to revive prosperity by a lavish spending of government money. His methods simply destroyed what little credit the monarchy still retained. In 1787, the Assembly of the Notables, composed of distinguished nobles and ecclesiastics, was called for the purpose of dealing with the fiscal problem, but it failed of positive achievement. These failures to solve the financial matter had convinced many people that reform in France could not come from above—that it must come from below.

Unfortunately, at this critical time the monarchy lacked leadership. Louis XVI was an honest, amiable, well-intentioned man, but he suffered from an inferiority complex which paralyzed his will-power. His consort, Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, was an obstinate, pleasure-seeking spend-thrift, who helped to waste the financial resources of France. Frenchmen disliked her because she was a foreigner. Neither one of them was calculated to inspire great confidence among those

*Threat of
Bankruptcy*

Louis XVI

who felt that reform was imperative. Inefficient administration also weakened the government in France. Most of the officials, who were not chosen on the basis of ability, were hostile, or indifferent to reforms. Governmental inefficiency, the result of privilege, maladministration, and overlapping of the powers of miscellaneous officials, made absolutism doubly irritating.

Despite its weaknesses the government might have maintained control by the use of the army. But the king's military forces could not be relied upon to put down even local riots. Like the *Spread of discontent* civilian population, the soldiers were infected by subversive propaganda, free masonry, and reform sentiment. The Swiss mercenaries were actually the most reliable troops in the king's army.

The spread of discontent among the French people, especially the bourgeoisie, greatly weakened the government. By 1784, elements of all classes were influenced by Montesquieu's exaltation of the British limited monarchy, by Voltaire's bitter attacks upon the church, and by the intellectuals' worship of reason and natural law. An increasing number of middle-class men, accepting the *laissez-faire* doctrine, favored the abolition of all restrictions on commerce, industry, and agriculture. They also embraced Rousseau's conception of society as based on a social contract between ruler and ruled. His contention that man possessed natural rights, such as freedom, equality, property, and the pursuit of happiness, reconciled many to the necessity of immediate change.

Despite inefficient government, economic conditions prior to 1789 were on the upgrade. French peasants were much better off than were their brothers in Central Europe; foreign trade had doubled between 1750 and 1789; old guild and handicraft organizations were dis- *Economic conditions* integrating (their numerous regulations receiving little consideration from a growing number of independent merchants and artisans), and improvements in industry and in agriculture promised prosperity for the country as a whole. These favorable signs, however, merely threw into bolder relief the political incompetency and the social decadence of the Old Régime.

It was the financial problem that finally opened the way for revolution. Facing a real crisis in 1787, Louis XVI decided to oppose the forces of privilege for a moment by favoring the enactment of a land tax on all classes without distinction. The Parlement of Paris, *Parlement of Paris* determined to embarrass the king, refused to register the royal edict, declaring that "the nation alone in an Estates General assembled can consent to a perpetual impost." Thereupon, the king, displaying unusual resolution, ordered parlement into exile. But other judicial bodies also denounced the tax as illegal and insisted upon the re-establishment of the Parisian court. The latter, recalled by the government, continued to demand that the Estates General be summoned.

Thus the king had permitted the Parlement of Paris to assume the rôle of

champion of the masses in a struggle with arrogant despotism Unwilling to put through tax reforms, but at the same time hopeful of staving off a financial crisis by getting new loans to meet current expenses, the king finally consented to the calling of the Estates General within five years This concession did not satisfy parliament It demanded an immediate convocation and was supported in its contention by the provincial parlements With the treasury practically empty, Louis XVI, on July 5, 1788, issued a summons for an Estates General

The Estates General was an assemblage, consisting of delegates selected by the three orders of the realm—the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners It was called only in grave emergencies and had not met since 1614 In fact, no one, not even the government, knew precisely what its authority, organization, functions, or procedure were to be Elections were held in every section of the country, and electors for each order selected the delegates, who represented, therefore, a specific class The nobles and clergy were each allowed three hundred representatives, and the Third Estate, six hundred Each group was to sit as a separate body, if they voted by order, the privileged classes would have a two-to-one advantage, but if they voted by head, the commoners, able to count on the support of the lower clergy and the liberal nobles, would have control of the political balance Memoranda called *cahiers*, generally prepared by the electors, were brought to Versailles by the delegates These contained lists of grievances and of suggested reforms, of which the most universal were the curtailments of privilege, tax relief, and constitutional government

A great majority of the delegates representing the Third Estate, of whom over half were lawyers, favored extensive reforms. They planned to draw up a constitution wherein the rights of all would be defined and maintained by law, and to establish an assembly which would meet in national emergencies and would oppose all violations of the proposed charter of liberties They did not intend to overturn the monarchy or to deprive the nobility and the clergy of all their privileges, they only wanted to insure political, legal, and financial equality among all property owners In short, these members of the Third Estate were determined to convert the Estates General into a national assembly, and to carry out such physiocratic reforms as the abolition of fiscal privileges and economic restrictions By these changes they hoped to increase prosperity, swell revenues, and balance the national budget

The assembling of the Estates General afforded Louis XVI an opportunity of leading it on the path of reform But the ever-vacillating king, lacking a definite plan, and at the mercy of the influences surrounding him, was unable to fulfill this rôle. Actually, he found it impossible to lead or to intimidate the Third Estate Instead, the mantle of authority, slipping from the royal shoulders, was seized by

*The Estates
General*

*Louis and
the Estates*

the Third Estate, which thereby assumed the initiative in the task of regenerating France

Prior to the meeting of the Estates General on May 5, 1789, the monarchy seemed disposed to grant such significant reforms as a constitutional government and a responsible ministry. Louis XVI had paved the way for these changes when, before the assembly met, he *Third Estate and National Assembly* doubled the membership of the Third Estate. But it was soon apparent that this concession would not count for much unless the three groups—the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate—could meet together rather than in separate bodies. Only then would the Third Estate enjoy the full advantage of their double representation. But the government soon proved to that body that Louis intended to consider in the Estates General the matter of finances only. Ignoring the bourgeois program for political and legal reforms, and the demands of the Third Estate that the various estates be consolidated into one assembly, the king refused to adopt a policy of bourgeois reform and defended the cause of feudal privilege.

Despite the opposition of the king and the aristocracy, the Third Estate tried earnestly during the first few months that the Estates General was in session, to win over the privileged orders to the plan of a single house in which each delegate should have one vote. Finally, the Third Estate announced early in June that it would constitute itself a national assembly, and the other orders were invited to unite with it for that purpose. Thereupon a great number of the lower clergy and many liberal nobles came over, because their sympathies lay with the commoners rather than with the privileged orders.

On June 17th the Third Estate boldly proclaimed itself the National Assembly of France. Then, fearing dissolution by the king, it decreed that the people should pay no taxes from the day they were prorogued. Three days later, excluded from their meeting-place by the king, who thus planned to curb their reforming zeal, they adjourned to a nearby tennis court. There they took the famous oath whereby they agreed never to separate until they had given France a constitution. Such spirit dissipated the half-hearted opposition of the king. Unwilling to assume the responsibility for a violent upheaval, he and the privileged classes, on June 27th, finally gave way, henceforth the Estates General sat as one house, the National Assembly. By thus transforming the Third Estate into the National Assembly, the members of that group had seized the initiative and paved the way for their virtual capture of the government.

The struggle over representation in the National Assembly was really the first stage in the Revolution. After the union of the three estates, dissatisfaction developed inside and outside this body. *Beginning of radical revolution* There was lodged in all groups of delegates a feeling of bitterness, tempered, however, by a widespread conviction that a golden age

of reform was at hand. Inspired by the court, the king, planning to suppress the Assembly, ordered the concentration of foreign mercenaries near Versailles and Paris. On July 11, Necker, and other colleagues favorable to reform, were suddenly dismissed. Meanwhile unrest had developed in the city and country districts of France. Aroused by the lurid tales about the king and the nobility, peasants attacked and destroyed buildings, manorial records, and other evidences of feudal authority. Stimulated by a street orator, Camille Desmoulins, a group of Paris rioters seized the old fortress, by this time a rarely used prison, the Bastille, on July 14th. Its capture was hailed by the Assembly, by reformers, and by the masses, as an event of tremendous importance, it was interpreted as a blow for freedom against despotism, and as the symbol of the dawn of a new era.

During the next few months a great wave of unrest swept the country. It soon manifested itself in outbreaks of spontaneous revolt and in organized uprisings and in a marked increase of opposition to authority — seigneurial, ecclesiastical, judicial, municipal, and royal. In various parts of France, bishops, nobles, local officials, judges, intendants, tax-collectors, and even businessmen and peasants who did not approve of the Revolution, were attacked and ill-treated. Manors, government buildings, granaries, religious houses, and crops were destroyed, nobles fled from these regions and even from France, officials went into hiding, courts of justice ceased to sit, and taxes could not be collected.

Panic-stricken as a result of these riots, which brought about not only the abolition of orderly government but also the destruction of private property, the middle classes and other groups of owners took immediate action. In Paris, as in the various towns and villages of the rest of France, popularly controlled governments (called communes) and National Guards (civil militia) were established to protect and preserve law and order. They were of local origin, that is, they were not organized and supported by the crown. It would seem that they were created primarily to stop the destruction of bourgeois property by the mob, at the same time, they were prepared to defend the Revolution against the king.

These disorders attracted the attention of the representatives in the National Assembly as well as of the middle classes in cities and towns. On the night of August 4th, irresponsible, excitable, and frightened delegates forced the Assembly to declare for the abolition of feudal dues in principle. Decree after decree was passed, amounting to thirty in all, abolishing serfdom, feudal payments, church tithes, internal tariffs, guilds, and certain clerical, aristocratic, and municipal privileges until, when adjournment came at eight o'clock in the morning, the injustices of the old order had been theoretically overthrown and a new society, wherein men were equal before the law, had been inaugurated. In

*Communes
and National
Guards*

*Night of
August 4th*

reality the bourgeois Assembly did not abolish the Old Regime completely. The aristocrats still retained their social privileges and were to be compensated for the loss of personal services. Many conservative businessmen and enlightened noblemen, through a bourgeois-aristocratic alliance, planned to bring about the establishment of a limited constitutional monarchy, resembling that of England.

In August of 1789 the representatives of the Third Estate pushed through the National Assembly the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. In this document it was proclaimed that "men are born free and with equal rights. The end of all political associations is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation."

*Declaration of
Rights of Man*

While the Assembly was engaged in the creation of a new political and administrative order, riots continued to break out in various parts of the nation. In October, the unrest in Paris resulted in the famous march of the Parisian mob (consisting, for the most part, of men wearing women's clothes) to Versailles. The timely arrival of Lafayette and the National Guard at the capital averted an attack upon the palace, but the next day, the royal family and the National Assembly were forced to return with the mob to Paris. Henceforth both king and legislature remained in that city under the control of Revolutionary elements.

Despite this interruption, the National Assembly managed to formulate the Constitution of 1791 (dated from the year of its official promulgation). The men largely responsible for this document were the bourgeois exponents of a decentralized government, such as Lafayette. Opposing the attempts of Mirabeau and other advocates of a strong central authority, they succeeded in drawing up a constitution which created a weak monarchy, controlled by property owners. In the new government the king was to be little more than a figurehead, and real authority was vested in a single legislative body elected by those who paid taxes. Thus the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, and the urban workers, were excluded from a voice in the government which was placed under the control of the wealthy middle classes. Property franchise and the system of indirect elections insured bourgeois control of the legislative body.

*Constitution
of 1791*

Local as well as central government was radically changed by the Constitution of 1791. The old provinces, the intendants, and the parlements were abolished, being replaced by eighty-three departments, each of which was subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes, each with elected governing bodies. Local authorities everywhere were dominated by the Revolutionary communes which had sprung up in all parts of France. Each commune under bourgeois control was a little republic in itself. It selected its officers,

controlled its own militia, collected taxes, and exercised the other powers of a modern city government. Also, courts and judges, elected by the people, replaced the parlements, and brought the judiciary under popular control. In short, the local, as well as the central government, was placed largely in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

While formulating a constitution the National Assembly also tried to solve the financial problem. With the removal of fiscal immunities it was felt that the national budget would be balanced. Liquidation of the national debt, however, was a difficult problem, for it required the obtaining of a tremendous amount of money on short notice. Unsuccessful in its attempts to raise sufficient money by taxing the hitherto privileged classes and by imposing new levies, the National Assembly determined to confiscate the property of the church. In a series of decrees in 1789-1790, the government took steps which provided that all ecclesiastical property should be transferred to the nation. Inasmuch as the sale of these extensive holdings might cause a

Assignats disastrous depreciation of the market, the government decided to issue *assignats*, which were a form of mortgage bond based on the value of the property. At first these assignats carried interest, but later this interest was abolished. As bullion was nearly driven out of circulation, the assignats circulated throughout the country like national paper currency. Unable to resist the temptation to inflation, the government proceeded to pay its bills during the next seven years by successive issues of assignats. With each issue the security behind the assignats, namely, the church property, became relatively less. Therefore, the value of the currency deteriorated. Consequently, an inflationary boom resulted which completely dislocated the economic life of the nation.

Confiscation of religious property by the state produced another problem. Having deprived the church of its wealth, the government was forced to provide for the support of the clergy and the expenses of worship. The National Assembly was willing to take over this financial burden if the

The Civil Constitution church was brought under the control of the state. Therefore, it issued, in the summer of 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy which made the Catholic Church in France virtually a department of the state. It required that the clergy, bishops and priests, be elected by their diocese and parishes, abolished the old ecclesiastical divisions, and stated that henceforth the clergy were to be paid by the government.

This Civil Constitution served to fan still further the flames of unrest in France. The pope, suspicious of the ideas expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and resentful of the seizure of ecclesiastical property in France, refused to sanction the constitution and prohibited the clergy from taking the required oath of allegiance.

Thereupon many ecclesiastics failed to take the oath, thousands of peas-

ants, loyal to the church, became hostile to the Revolutionary government, the king, and many noblemen, too, opposed this act. In short, this religious policy alienated a large part of the nation from the National Assembly and from the Revolution.

During the year 1791 internal and external difficulties facing the Revolutionary Government increased rapidly. In certain parts of France the people openly advocated the establishment of a confederation of small autonomous states. With the rapid rise of prices and *Increase of discontent* the marked slowing down of industry and commerce, wage-earners in the cities, especially Paris, became discontented, unrest, affecting the army, resulted in mutinies, and the privileged classes in foreign nations, resenting the attacks upon the nobility and the treatment of the French king, became increasingly hostile toward the Revolutionary Government.

Encouraged by this foreign interest in French affairs, Louis XVI decided, in 1791, to leave France. Then, with the help of foreign rulers and the émigrés (nobles who had fled abroad), he planned to return to France and overthrow the Revolutionary régime. Recognized and arrested in the little village of Varennes, however, the king and his family were brought back to Paris. The Assembly, rather than run the risk of a reactionary or radical uprising, which might prevent the adoption of the constitution which they had been so long in making, announced that the king had been kidnapped and forced to flee against his will. It ignored the charges, brought by extremists, that he was guilty of treason.

A group of men, members of a club in Paris known as the Cordeliers, nevertheless refused to accept this explanation. Maintaining that the king was a traitor, they advocated his dethronement and the establishment of a republic.

Amidst this general unrest, the National Assembly finally finished its deliberations. In September of 1791 it declared a general amnesty, passed a self-denying ordinance which stated that its members should not be eligible to membership in the new Legislative Assembly, and dissolved itself in favor of the new government. On September 14, 1791, the king half-heartedly took the oath to the constitution, and the work of bourgeois statesmanship, the limited monarchy, was born.

Unfortunately the founders of the new order had made some serious mistakes. In passing the self-denying ordinance, they insured the election to the new Legislative Assembly of men who had little experience in the art of governing. In establishing a unicameral legislature, and in separating the legislative and executive powers of government — giving the preponderance of authority to the assembly — the framers of the constitution created a system wherein growing antagonism between the Legislative Assembly and

the crown was inevitable. Moreover, in decentralizing the administration, the National Assembly jeopardized the enforcement of the decrees of the central government.

Mirabeau, the leading opponent of this decentralized monarchy, saw what was coming, for shortly before his death on April 2, 1791, he said "I carry with me the ruin of the monarchy. After my death factions will dispute about its fragments."

CHAPTER LVII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION RADICAL PHASE

With the dissolution of the National Assembly, the French Revolution entered upon a new phase and into the control of a different group of men. The upper bourgeoisie, largely responsible for the creation of a new order within the framework of the monarchy, soon found themselves manoeuvred into the position of conservatives. *Opposition to the new government* Opposed to their rule was a petty-bourgeois — proletarian alliance, supported by the Paris mob, which were determined to scrap the rule of the wealthy bourgeoisie who had merely substituted themselves as the privileged group in place of the old aristocracy. The Revolution had moved to the left, and those like the propertied classes, who refused to do likewise, now appeared to be reactionary backsliders.

This opposition to the bourgeois monarchy was to a large extent the result of economic distress. The National Assembly had ignored the welfare of the masses. Bent upon establishing bourgeois political supremacy and finding a solution of the financial question, it had not concerned itself with such problems as the high cost of living (accentuated later on by inflation), unemployment, and the distribution of land among the peasants. Instead, it had permitted the rich bourgeoisie in the towns and cities of France, through their control of the communes and the national guards, to preserve their political and economic hegemony.

By 1791, the masses, especially in Paris, were becoming increasingly restless and self assertive. Workers, without jobs, and peasants who had flocked to the capital for food and employment, the petty bourgeoisie (small artisans, merchants, and some professional men, especially lawyers) who were victims of economic instability due partly to the Revolution, and, finally, the riff-raff of any city, all became more and more hostile toward the bourgeois régime and welcomed an opportunity to destroy this system of privilege.

Revolutionary clubs, stimulated by popular unrest, were also responsible for the decline of the limited monarchy. Most famous of these was the Jacobin Society. Originally an informal group of Breton *Rise of Revolutionary Clubs* deputies at the Estates General in Versailles, it had, in October, 1789, moved to Paris with the National Assembly, where it established itself in a Jacobin monastery and came to be called the Jacobin Club. Prior to the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly in

1791, the society began to increase its membership. By September of that year over 406 affiliated groups were organized in the provinces of France. This efficient centralized society with its hundreds of daughter chapters, its headquarters at Paris, its own press, its propagandists, and its itinerant agents, soon became the most powerful organization in France. Before its overthrow in 1794 it was the actual ruling force of the nation.

During the period of the National Assembly the Jacobin Club became an important agency for the moulding of public opinion. At that time it favored the drawing up of the Constitution of 1791 which set up the limited monarchy. After this government was created the majority of Jacobins, together with other kindred groups, took on a radical hue. Comprising petty bourgeoisie for the most part, the Jacobins remained bourgeois in their outlook in that they never ceased to support the principle of private property. On the other hand, they tended to become proletarian, especially in their political program, advocating the overthrow of a monarchy dominated by the propertied classes. Their proletarianism, however, was partly a means to an end. Determined to rule France, they later favored the distribution of food to the hungry and the creation of work for the unemployed. These aims were in part inspired by a desire to win the support of the Paris Commune, whose strength lay in the mob.

Other important clubs also came into existence. Opposed to the republicans, who by 1791 had gained control of the Jacobin Societies, defenders of the Constitution and of the king organized the Feuillant Club (July, 1791). This organization, however, was so bitterly attacked by the enemies of the government, that it was dissolved in 1792. A moderate republican club, as well as the Feuillant organization, incurred the opposition of the "radical" Jacobins. In 1791 a group of young lawyers of the Legislative Assembly who came originally from the province of Gironde, organized informally. They proposed the establishment of an aristocratic, decentralized government, in which each commune should be autonomous of the central authority.

Most radical of the Revolutionary organizations was the famous Cordelier Club. Unlike the Jacobin Society it was limited to Paris, it exerted influence especially with the working classes. This organization was led by a lawyer, named Georges Jacques Danton (1759-1794), an able, astute, and ruthless opportunist. Under his direction it became a hotbed of radicalism and sought to impose its will upon moderate elements and upon the representatives of the nation.

A counter-Revolutionary movement, that is, one which aimed to undo the work of the Revolutionists (largely inspired by hostility to the religious policy of the government, by social dissatisfaction, and by the economic depression) contributed to the overthrow of the monarchy. Plots of the émigrés to bring about foreign intervention in the Revolution, and to stir up royalists and religious revolts

*Counter-
Revolutionary
movement*

in France, and the attempted flight of the royal family—all tended to increase the opposition to the king, who was generally accused of being disloyal to the Revolution.

France's declaration of war on Austria in April, 1792, followed a little later by hostilities against Prussia, actually precipitated the crisis which brought about the dethronement of Louis XVI. It inflamed the people, gave a nationalistic impetus to the Revolution, *Declaration of war 1792* exposed treason and apathy, and carried the radicals to power. "We have need of great treasons," said Brissot, a Girondin, "for there is still poison in the heart of France which needs a powerful explosion to expel it."

Nearly all sections of public opinion in France favored a war. The king and the courtiers believed that it would revive the loyalty of the country to the king and place military power in their hands, wealthy bourgeoisie thought it would remove the rowdy elements and restore law and order, and the petty middle classes were of the opinion that it would lead to the overthrow of the monarchy. Only a small group of Jacobins, including the famous Revolutionary leaders, Maximilian Robespierre (1758-1794) and Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793), opposed the declaration of war, claiming that it would harm the lower classes, destroy the Revolution, and result in the rise of a dictator. Later developments proved that they were right.

Austrian opposition to the French Revolution helped to bring about the conflict. During the early phase of the Revolution this ancient foe—Fatherland of the "treacherous" Marie Antoinette—had defended the rights of the German princes in Alsace, which had been *Pillnitz* disregarded by the French when they tried to abolish feudalism in that region. The Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold II, had not only afforded protection to the émigrés who were plotting the ruin of the Revolution, but also had displayed sympathy for the plight of his sister and brother-in-law in France. In addition, he and the king of Prussia had warned the French in the famous Declaration of Pillnitz (August 27, 1791) to restore Louis XVI to his former position. This declaration, however, was merely a threat. Although opposed to the Revolution, Leopold, in view of the Polish and eastern situation, mentioned above,¹ had no desire to entangle Austria in a foreign war by leading a crusade against the Revolution.

The declaration offered the Revolutionaries, especially the Girondins who wanted to give liberty to the world outside and also to expose the treachery of the king, an opportunity to bring about the struggle. During the winter of 1791-1792 they had influenced the Legislative Assembly to pass laws directed against the non-juring priests and the émigrés. On March 1, 1792, Leopold's death resulted in the accession of the more bellicose Francis II (1792-1835) as emperor. Meanwhile, adopting every means to create war-

¹ See pp. 834-835.

fever, the Girondins finally were able to overthrow the moderate (Feuillant) ministry of the king, and to place their own leaders, Roland Dumouriez, and others, in office. On April 20, 1792, they persuaded the Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, to declare war against Austria. Prussia, hostile to the Revolution and allied with Austria, declared war on France a little later.

The conflict soon expanded into a European struggle which lasted over twenty years. On the one side there were the Austro-Prussian armies, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who threatened the people of France with dire punishment, in his manifesto, if they did not restore the old order of things, beside him were the French émigrés, of whom more than twenty thousand were assembled in the Rhineland alone—an angry class, who set all their hopes on the victory of the German armies. On the other side, there were the Revolutionary armies, and beside them were many German liberals, who, hating despotism and inspired by Girondist idealism, preferred a French victory. Aware of this following, the government admitted many Germans to French citizenship, as a counter thrust to the Duke's manifesto.

During the first five months of the war, the Revolutionary armies made very little progress. Invading the Austrian Netherlands they were soon defeated and had to retreat. Demoralized, many Revolutionary soldiers fled, after having taken the precaution of murdering their officers. Meanwhile the Austrian and Prussian armies invaded France, announcing that all who dared to defend themselves would be treated as rebels. Capturing Longwy and Verdun, with the aid of French royalists in these towns, they, by September, 1792, were a fortnight's ride from Paris.

Threatened by enemies within and without, certain Revolutionary leaders had already decided to get rid of the king. The Jacobins, denouncing the Girondins for their inefficient leadership, organized a popular demonstration against the monarch, the object of which was to force him to sign certain decrees. On June 20th, workers and many petty bourgeoisie, bearing with them Revolutionary petitions, visited the Legislative assembly and then called upon the king. After they had forced the panicky ruler to put on a red cap of liberty and to drink with them, the mob dispersed. Conservative middle-class men, as well as aristocrats, condemned this whole affair and urged that the leaders of the mob be punished. Lafayette now offered to use the National Guard to protect the monarchy; but the king and queen, distrusting him, refused his protection.

On August 10, 1792, an insurrection brought about the fall of the limited monarchy. This uprising was the work of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, a Jacobin-controlled government that had been organized after the overthrow of its less radical predecessor. The plans for this attack on the Tuileries had been very carefully made. At the sound of a bell the mob marched toward the palace,

*Invasion
of France*

*End of
Monarchy*

where the royal family was residing. Meanwhile the king and his family took refuge with the Assembly, leaving the palace to be sacked and their defenders, the Swiss Guard, to be massacred by the mob. The Assembly thereupon suspended the king from his office, handed the royal family over to the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, appointed an executive committee to carry on the government, dissolved itself, and arranged for the election of a constitutional convention to reorganize the government. On September 20th the Convention met and quickly voted for a republic. Throughout Paris the people cried "The monarchy is dead, long live the republic."

After the dethronement of the king, the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, representative of the lower classes and of Jacobinism, became a powerful factor in the government of France. It, and not the Legislative Assembly, was the real ruler of the country in the interim between the *coup d'état* of August 10 and the meeting of the Convention on September 20. Even under the Convention it continued to be an important factor, until the overthrow of Robespierre in July, 1794, initiated a swing away from the Left and toward the Right.

The man of the hour was Danton, the shrewd leader of the Cordelier Club. One of the chief organizers of the insurrection of August 10, he was for the next year and a half the incarnation of French patriotism in its struggle against invaders and the counter-Revolutionists. Prior to the assembling of the Convention, he, as Minister of Justice, permitted a "treason" hunt of aristocrats, monarchists, and other disloyal persons. Professed exponent of violence, he condoned the famous September Massacres, a purge, organized by the Jacobins, in which the inmates of the prisons, irrespective of the reasons for their incarceration, were murdered. Elected to the Convention, Danton resigned the Ministry of Justice and played thenceforth an important rôle in the debates of that body. His patriotic appeals to the masses, and his incessant praise of Paris as the natural center of a free France, helped to establish his great popularity.

French military success undoubtedly stimulated Danton's Revolutionary patriotism. On September 20, 1792, the Prussian troops were checked at the battle of Valmy, and the invaders were forced to withdraw from France. The Revolutionary armies then assumed the offensive and helped to "liberate" the oppressed peoples of neighboring states. Savoy, Nice, the Rhine towns—Spires, Worms, Mainz, and Frankfurt—were occupied; and the Austrians were virtually expelled from the Austrian Netherlands which was placed under the authority and protection of the Convention.

Inspired by these victories, the French Revolutionaries now prepared to aid all peoples who wished to replace despotic rulers by governments which would grant to their citizens liberty, fraternity, and equality. At the same time, these crusaders, as practical and patriotic Frenchmen, determined to

extend the frontier of France to the "natural boundaries" by the annexation of all territory between France and the Rhine River. While engaged in this imperialistic venture, the republican government, afraid of a monarchical restoration, and desirous of defying conservatives both at home and abroad, guillotined Louis XVI on January 21, 1793.

All of the great powers, including England, now realized that Revolutionary France threatened not only the political and social order in Europe, but also the Balance of Power. In the Germanies, many rulers prepared to fight the Revolutionary ideas. Political writing and Revolutionary literature, as well as freemasonry, also suspect, were interdicted, and in Treves, the Elector demanded the restoration of the Jesuits as a counterweight against the Revolutionary tendencies. Great Britain and the Dutch Netherlands had a practical reason for engaging in a war with their neighbor. Interested in maintaining the suppression of Belgian trade by keeping the Scheldt river closed, they resented very much its opening by the French in 1792. They realized that this change constituted a serious threat to their commerce. Consequently, these countries joined hands with other enemies of the Revolution and of French imperialism. In 1793, a great coalition was formed, comprising Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, the papacy, and a number of Italian states. Thus France found herself at war with the major part of Europe.

Despite Revolutionary enthusiasm France at first was unable to achieve military success. Led by General Dumouriez, a French army tried to invade Holland, but was checked by the enemy. Later, after being defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden, Dumouriez betrayed the republic and agreed to help the enemy restore the French monarchy. Meanwhile the Austrians recovered the Netherlands, the English took Toulon and besieged Dunkirk, the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees Mountains, and the Prussians and Austrians drove the French out of the Rhineland region. By the fall of 1793, France, torn by civil wars, faced an invasion by foreign armies. Two developments, however, saved the republic at this time. First, the delay of her enemies who refused to advance because of jealousies and rivalries (especially over Poland), and because of the belief that France would destroy herself by her own excesses if let alone, and second, the establishment by the Jacobins of an efficient government.

Backed by the masses, the Jacobins determined to overthrow the Girondins and to obtain complete control of the government. Largely responsible for the declaration of the war, the Girondins had proved themselves incapable of carrying it to a successful conclusion. They were idealists rather than men of action. Advocates of political decentralization and economic individualism, they tried to conduct the war with an army which selected its officers and removed them when it so desired.

It was soon apparent to Danton, Robespierre, and other Jacobin leaders,

*France vs
Europe*

*French military
failures*

*Overthrow of
Girondins*

that the military defeats, mutinies, and internal opposition to the government were largely the result of Girondist weakness. France and her Revolution, these men of action believed, could only be saved by the reestablishment of discipline and authority in the form of a dictatorship. They were not parliamentarians but dictators, emphasizing the importance of the state, the desirability of imperialist expansion, and the necessity of helping the lower classes by the complete abolition of feudalism and the introduction of bourgeois social reforms. The Jacobins, favoring state control over the economic, political, and social activities of its citizens, supported the subordination of all political divisions to Paris. "Paris has made the Revolution, and when it shall perish there will no longer be a Revolution," said Danton. "Let Paris be reduced to her 83rd share of influence," was the retort of a Girondin.

During the winter of 1792 and the spring of 1793 the quarrel between the Jacobins and the Girondins became more acute. Each group accused the other of dictatorial ambitions. Meanwhile the political power of the Girondins was being steadily undermined. Girondist loyalty to the Revolution was greatly weakened by military disasters, by the desertion of General Dumouriez, and by their lukewarm support of the death sentence imposed upon Louis XVI. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre all opposed a Girondin constitution prepared by the Convention which provided for a decentralized republic. Instead, they demanded the creation of a powerful government capable of defeating the enemy and of consolidating the Revolution.

By April, 1793, such a strong government had evolved. New organizations had been created with plenary powers, such as the Committee of General Security, responsible for the internal police and the preservation of order, the Revolutionary Tribunal, a criminal court charged with the duty of wiping out treason, and the Committee of Public Safety, an emergency executive. The latter group, which originally consisted of twenty-five members but was later reduced in numbers, became the chief governing body of Revolutionary France. Given vast executive powers by the Convention, it proceeded to maintain law and order in France, to continue the Revolution, and to push the war against the enemy states. Under orders from this committee were the famous "deputies on mission," committees of two members of the Convention chosen to go to every department and to every army in the field. They were empowered to enforce loyalty, as they interpreted it, wherever they went, and had the authority to depose and punish local, civil and military officials. Further, by the Law of Suspects, Revolutionary committees were able to arrest and to send anyone accused of treason before the Revolutionary Tribunal. In short, the Jacobins, by 1793, through these octopus-like arrangements, had established the machinery of the Reign of Terror.

This dictatorship was created in order to end civil war, to defeat the foreign invaders, and to preserve the political and social changes brought

*Establishment
of jacobin
government*

about by the Revolution. It was an emergency régime, arising out of a desperation which forced the government to make the people put their liberties in storage and forget the principles of the Revolution in order that they might triumph in the end.

Prior to the establishment of this strong government, the Jacobins in the Convention attempted to check internal unrest by legislation designed to help the peasants, the workers, and the bourgeoisie. In 1793 the confiscated property of émigrés was divided into small holdings and offered for sale (most of it, however, was purchased by speculators), the plan to compensate noblemen for the loss of feudal rights was abandoned, a maximum price was placed on certain food stuffs in order to combat the high cost of living (this policy was abandoned later on because it was so harmful to the peasants), a minimum wage law was enacted for a time, and the tax burden of all but the plutocrats was reduced.

Meanwhile, the Jacobins, by means of the Terror, proceeded to get rid of their internal foes. Having ousted the Girondins from power — virtually all of them had been guillotined or forced into exile —

*The Reign
of Terror*

Danton and his Jacobin colleagues took over the task of suppressing internal revolts and of defeating the foreign enemies. In 1793 there was an uprising of the Catholic peasants in the Vendée. This civil war, largely an outgrowth of provincialism and royalist sentiment, rose out of the opposition to the military levy decree of February. About the same time there was a revolt of the cities in the south and west, where Girondist sympathies were still strong, against the rule of Paris. By December, 1793, the Paris government had suppressed the civil war with great brutality, but the Vendean revolt remained a problem for many years.

During the same year the Jacobin leadership changed the fortunes of war. Under the direction of superb military organizers, Carnot, and Prieur, fourteen Revolutionary armies were raised on a semi-conscript basis, were equipped with munitions and new weapons, and were placed under the command of trained officers.

*French military
victories*

Carrying out well-planned campaigns, these forces defeated the enemy and assumed the offensive. By July, 1794, the Austrian Netherlands was again in French hands, by the following January Holland was conquered, and in the spring of 1795 the French troops were advancing on the Spanish and Italian frontiers. As a result of these defeats the first coalition broke up. Prussia, afraid of being left out of the third Partition of Poland, accepted terms of peace at Basle (April, 1795). Spain did likewise and became an ally of France. A republic was established in the Dutch Netherlands, under French auspices, which also made peace with France. Determined to defeat France and to curb thereby the Revolution, Austria, Great Britain, and Sardinia, continued the struggle.

While the strong government was restoring law and order and was

carrying out a successful war, it also was endeavoring to regenerate France. The task was not an easy one. On the one hand, certain moderate leaders, such as Danton, urged that the Revolution, in view of the defeat of the foreign enemies and of the reorganization of France, had gone far enough. On the other hand, a group of extremists, petty bourgeois and proletarian followers of Hébert for the most part, believed that the Revolution should go on. They claimed that the government should confiscate all wealth and distribute it among the poor so as to bind that portion of the population to the Revolution. Opposed to these moderates and radicals was a third faction. Led by Robespierre, this group was determined to continue the war and to establish a bourgeois republic which would intervene directly in the interests of the lower classes.

By April, 1794, Robespierre had succeeded in removing his two great rivals, Danton and Hébert (via the guillotine), and had obtained control of the Revolutionary government. Backed by his brother, Couthon, Saint-Just, and other satellites, he, as virtual dictator of the Committee of Public Safety, tried to create his version of a perfect state. He forced the Convention to pass the famous Ventôse decrees which sequestered all property of the émigrés with a view to permitting these lands to be distributed among the families of soldiers. But this was a war measure. It merely proposed to give some means of support to a definite class for the duration of the struggle. Robespierre, a firm advocate of law, order, and private property, constantly opposed attempts of the radicals to pass laws designed to confiscate and to redistribute wealth.

Robespierre was a leftist dictator, but not an extremist. By 1794 he was an imperialist, favoring the continuation of war in order to strengthen the Revolutionary cause by the acquisition for France of foreign territories. He desired to see the establishment of a mercantilist republic, wherein, due to an equable diffusion of prosperity, there would be extremes neither of wealth nor of poverty. Moved by the unrest which usually exists in an era of inflation, high prices, unemployment, business depression, and war, he tried to restore a system of state regulation. Freedom of trade and industry was abolished, and commerce, industry, the sale and distribution of goods, were put under the direct control of the state, which inspected, appropriated, and regulated all the essential activities. In addition, the merchant marine was confiscated, imports and exports were placed under a license-system, and maximum prices were fixed—at about one-third of those prevailing in 1790—for all the common articles of everyday use. Furthermore Robespierre introduced a form of industrial conscription which paralleled the military measures. Thereby the whole population, regardless of sex, was placed at the disposal of the nation, and could be called upon to serve in any occupation.

Besides introducing these war measures, Robespierre tried to recast the state in a fresh mould. As an idealist, devoted to the doctrines of Rousseau,

he planned the creation of a virtuous nation. It was to consist of people who developed their minds as well as their bodies, who lived moral as well as useful lives. Frugality, stoicism, and equality were sought after by the dictator, who, through them, hoped to achieve a slightly puritanical utopia.

The program of this apostle of virtue included some practical measures. He favored the establishment of a uniform legal code, urged the creation of a public school system which would produce intelligent and patriotic citizens, and even contemplated the enactment of social legislation, such as old age pensions. To some extent, he outlined bourgeois society under capitalism as it developed in the nineteenth century.

But while Robespierre talked about need of civic virtue and planned the fairer distribution of wealth, he failed to carry out any well defined program of social reform. As a result, people began to criticize his rule, especially when the great victory of Fleurus on June 26, 1794, seemed to prove beyond a doubt that the Terror was no longer needed. Opposition, however, caused Robespierre to overreach himself. To stiffen the Reign of Terror, he passed a law that admitted any sort of evidence in trials, and the question of guilt was left to the discretion of the jurors. By a special provision of this act, everyone, even a member of the Convention, could be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. With the Terror dangling over their heads, many individuals whose conduct was anything but pure, concluded they had better get rid of this so-called Incorruptible.

The people of France was growing tired of the Robespierre-inspired Committee of Public Safety, of the factional struggles, and of the campaign of ruthless terrorism. From the summer of 1793 to July, 1794, more than twelve thousand people — monarchists, priests, profiteers, unsuccessful generals, fallen factionaries, lukewarm Revolutionaries, and others — had been put to death. In the opinion of many citizens, the justification for the continuation of this Revolutionary terroristic government had ceased with the passing of the dangers of invasion and civil wars. Tired of terror, of virtue, and of war, and desirous of enjoying the benefits of the Revolution, one faction was determined to side-track Robespierre. Aware of a movement against him, he made the tactical mistake of absenting himself for several weeks from meetings of the Committee of Public Safety. During this time his opponents perfected a plot, the maturation of which led to the fall and imprisonment of Robespierre. An attempt of the Paris Commune to effect his escape having been frustrated, he was outlawed by the Convention, and finally guillotined on July 28, 1794.

After the dictator's death the Thermidorian reaction set in as the Revolutionary pendulum began to swing back toward the Right. The enemies of Jacobinism, such as the Girondins and the wealthy bourgeoisie, gained control of the Convention. Determined to destroy the entire Jacobin system, the Convention proceeded to reorganize the Paris Commune, the Revolutionary

*Overthrow of
jacobin
government*

Tribunal, and the Committee of Public Safety so as to abolish the machinery of the dictatorship. Meanwhile the enemies of Jacobinism instituted a White Terror. Armed groups of young men, called *Jeunesse dorée*, proceeded to assault Jacobins and to destroy all evidences of the radical régime. In the fall of 1794, the Jacobin Club itself was closed. While this reaction was taking place, the Convention encouraged speculation in food and other necessities of life by passing legislation which encouraged inflation. At the same time they proceeded to take the government out of business by creating a plutocratic republic — the so-called Directory.

The new government, established in 1795, set out to achieve the following aims: the maintenance of law and order, the preservation of private property, and the termination of the war. It consisted of an executive Directory of five members, and a two-chambered legislature — consisting of a Council of Five Hundred (whose members, selected on a property qualification, were to be at least thirty years of age), and a Council of Ancients (whose members were to be at least forty years old and whose chief function was to suspend, when desirable, the decisions of the Five Hundred). Neither council was to meet in Paris, and two-thirds of the representatives of both were to be selected from the membership of the Convention.

The Directory (1795-1799) tried to pursue a middle-of-the-road policy, and, as a result, was an anathema both to conservatives and to radicals. It promptly suppressed all hostile movements, both royalist and proletarian. For example, François Babeuf, an advocate of *The policy of indifference* complete community of property, was executed in 1797 for conspiring to put his ideas of equality into practice, his subversive organization, The Society of Equals, was completely eradicated. Innumerable other conspiracies were crushed with equal vigor. Attempts were made by this government to conciliate the various opposition groups — clergy, nobles, petty bourgeoisie, workers, and poor peasants — by introducing some reforms, but on the whole they were ineffectual.

France remained exhausted and demoralized. The treasury was empty, and save for wartime profiteers and speculators who thrived on the misfortunes of their fellow men, the people were poor. Most of the gold had left the country; assignats were practically valueless; and the feeble attempts on the part of the government to improve conditions by establishing a new currency and by creating a new Law of the Maximum, designed to maintain wages and prices at a certain level, only served to increase the general insecurity and to disorganize commerce, industry, and agriculture. Production was almost at a standstill, work shops were closed, widespread unemployment and famine were greatly increased by enemy blockades. There was a complete breakdown of law and order, as bands of vagrants and robbers wandered through the land.

Unrest lay throughout France. Royalist and Jacobin riots occurred in

various parts of the country and indicated the existence of wide-spread opposition to the government. The wealthy bourgeoisie and peasants who had gained land as a result of the Revolution, alone supported the corrupt Directory. Thus the stage was set for another political upheaval. Discontented, exhausted, and leaderless, the French people by 1799 were willing to turn from the leadership of mediocre politicians to that of any man capable of restoring peace, order, security, and the Revolutionary reforms. Such a leader appeared in Napoleon, the man of destiny. Posing as the heir and guardian of the Revolution, he became successively dictator, emperor, and European arbiter.

*Opposition to
the Directory*

CHAPTER LVIII

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE A MODERN CAESAR

"If France emerges from all this, she will be obedient as any lamb," remarked Catherine II of Russia in 1794, "but what she needs is a man of superior intellect, skillful, courageous above all his contemporaries and perhaps even his century. Has that man been born into the world?" Her question was answered five years later when a young officer in the French army, Napoleon Bonaparte, became First Consul of France.

This obscure Italian was born August 15, 1769, on the island of Corsica, which had, just before his birth, in 1768 passed from the possession of Genoa into that of France. He was educated in French military schools, where he displayed marked ability in the study of *Napoleon Bonaparte—Early life* military tactics and mathematics. On completing his military training he was made a second lieutenant and assigned to a French army stationed in the south. Poor and without the backing of an influential patron, he had little hope of advancement in service. He became involved in Corsican affairs as a result of patriotism. Absenting himself from his command as often as he could, Napoleon Bonaparte became involved in a series of intrigues in Corsica with the hope of making himself dictator of the island. He fell out, however, with rival patriots and he and his family were banished from the island in 1793. The Bonapartes then went to live in France.

Under ordinary circumstances Napoleon probably would have remained a second lieutenant under the Old Régime, but the Revolution threw open the gate of promotion to young men of talent. Vacancies in the military staff, due to the desertion of aristocratic officers, and the distinction gained by Napoleon in the recapture of Toulon from the British (1793) enabled him to become a brigadier-general of artillery in December of that year. A brilliant opportunist, Napoleon then proceeded to play politics (after the fashion of most Revolutionary generals). Identifying his interests with the Robespierre faction, he made every effort to obtain an active command in the field. Robespierre's overthrow prevented him from reaching this end and temporarily deprived him of his position in the army. Too valuable an officer to lose, he suffered nothing worse than an eight-day imprisonment.

Determined to carve out a career for himself, regardless of obstacles, Bonaparte refused to accept an unimportant assignment in the army of the west; instead he decided to seek advancement in Paris, the center of political intrigue. For this insubordination he was suspended from rank and faced

the possibility of expulsion from the army. He redeemed his prospects, however, in 1795, by defending the bourgeois Convention against the mob of Paris, led by the radicals. Thereby he won the confidence of the influential politician Barras, who became his patron temporarily.

Having conquered a Parisian mob, this defender of law and order was himself conquered by a woman. Introduced by his friend Barras into the gay society of the capital, he met and fell madly in love with Josephine Beauharnais, a widow six years older than himself. She did not lose her heart, but she was impressed by the vehemence of Napoleon's passion. Sensing perhaps that the future held great things for him, she finally decided to accept this young officer, despite his awkward manners and ill-fitting uniform. Two days before their marriage, Bonaparte received his reward for his defense of the Convention, in 1796, at the age of twenty-seven, he was appointed by the Directory to command the Army of Italy which faced the Austrians and the Sardinians.

By this time the Directory had decided to launch an aggressive war against the remaining enemies of France—England, Austria, and Sardinia.

Bonaparte and the Directory England still refused to make peace while the Austrian Netherlands remained in French hands, nor would Austria listen to peace proposals while France retained her possessions and certain other territories in the Germanies and in Italy. Realizing that England could not be attacked, the Directory decided to assail Austria by sending the main army over the Rhine through south German lands, while a minor force was merely to keep the Austrians engaged in Italy. Bonaparte was placed in charge of this latter command.

Much to the surprise of the Directory, the little Corsican turned the Italian front into the main theatre of the war. After winning ascendancy over his own officers and soldiers, he struck with lightning rapidity. Between April, 1796, and April, 1797, he won eighteen victories, subduing the Italian troops, forcing the Austrians out of Italy, and compelling the Habsburg emperor to accept peace terms whereby France took Nice and Savoy from Sardinia, the Ionian Island from Venice, and Lombardy from Austria.

The first Italian campaign Desirous of creating friendly, buffer states in Northern Italy, Napoleon formed Lombardy and several central provinces into a federation known as the Cisalpine Republic. He even invaded the papal states and forced the Holy Father to permit the union of part of his northern holdings with the newly established state. Nominally representative institutions were permitted in the Cisalpine Republic, but actual control remained in his own hands. He also overthrew the existing government in Genoa and created another pseudo-democratic state, the Ligurian Republic, likewise under French control. This satellite republic gave France control of the coastal route to Italy.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797), Austria was not only forced to cede to France rights in Italy but also the Austrian Netherlands and territory on the left bank of the Rhine. The emperor, in fact had to undertake to bring about a meeting of the imperial diet to effect these changes. In return for these concessions, Napoleon seized Venetia and handed part of it over to Austria, though that republic had preserved a friendly neutrality. Napoleon, by thus recasting the state system of Italy, ignored the traditional and historic pattern of Italian politics and gave the peninsula a never-to-be-forgotten impetus toward national unification.

*Treaty of
Campo Formio*

Napoleon not only conquered Italy, he plundered her. From the very beginning of the campaign he had decided that the invasion must not only pay for itself, but also yield a profit to the French treasury. Accordingly, he exacted large contributions from the princes and peoples whom he conquered. He deprived the Italians of their money and robbed them of their art treasures. His agents ransacked various art galleries and selected pictures which Napoleon demanded as prizes of war. Paintings, sculpture, and other *objets d'art*, as well as prisoners and money, were sent to France, where they were paraded through the streets, a visible symbol of Bonaparte's achievements.

After this display, the much publicized leader himself returned to Paris. There he was the cynosure of all eyes, the object of tremendous curiosity. Realizing that the masses preferred heroes who were remote to those who had become commonplace, he cleverly kept in the background, affected simplicity of dress and demeanor, and won thereby, praises for his modesty. The Directory was not taken in by Bonaparte's affectation of political disinterestedness. Indeed, the Directors became nervous and suspicious because his popularity was so great, his powers so brilliant, and his independence so evident. Actually, he had no intention of emulating the example of Cincinnatus in returning to his plow, for he had determined already "to keep his glory warm." But it was difficult for him to adopt a plan of action. He realized that he was too young to enter the government and was yet unprepared to overthrow it. He could only bide his time until something turned up.

The Egyptian project afforded the idle hero the needed opportunity. This campaign, an attempt to strike at England through her route to India, was welcomed by Bonaparte as another chance to acquire glory, and by the Directory as a convenient means of getting rid of a too popular general. Great Britain was the only member of

*The Egyptian
adventure*

the First Coalition still at war with France in 1798. The British Channel barred the way to a French invasion of England. Moreover, there were not enough British soldiers in Europe for Napoleon to inflict upon them a decisive defeat. The Egyptian adventure was a rather indirect method of hitting at England by threatening her colonial interests in the Orient. Never-

theless, the commander's instructions were sufficiently vague so as to leave scope for spectacular achievements such as the conquest of Constantinople or of India

To the great relief of the Directory, Napoleon, in May, 1798, set sail for Egypt. Accompanied by a large army and a brilliant staff of scientists, this young general intended to conquer, explore, and develop the East in the style of Alexander the Great. "This little Europe has not enough to offer," he remarked one day to a friend. "The Orient is the place to go to. All great reputations have been made there." "I do not know what would have happened to me," he said later, "if I had not had the happy idea of going to Egypt." Wildly imaginative and yet intensely practical, this "child of the Mediterranean" was bent upon an achievement which would astound the world.

In October, 1799, Napoleon, accompanied by a few companions, returned to France, leaving his army behind in Egypt. For over a year he had endeavored to carry out his plan, but as a military campaign, despite victories at the Pyramids and Aboukir Bay, it failed to achieve decisive results. Facing Russian, Turkish, Egyptian, and British opposition, Napoleon soon appreciated the futility of the whole enterprise. His failure, however, was largely due to the destruction of his fleet by the British Admiral Nelson at the battle of the Nile. This naval defeat undermined any prospects of a decisive blow at the British empire. But it was the European, not the Egyptian, situation that influenced Napoleon to hasten back to France. Receiving word that this country was in a condition of external peril and internal chaos, he decided that the opportunity he had been looking for had presented itself—"the pear (France) was ripe enough to pick."

By 1799, the stage was set for the rise of a dictator. French aggressions in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy had resulted in the formation of another European coalition against her, this time consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples, Portugal and Turkey. Assuming the offensive, this Coalition had expelled the French from all Italy, save Genoa and Switzerland, and an Anglo-Russian expedition had landed in Holland. The little republics created by the French in Italy had all disappeared. Actually, the tide of battle had turned in favor of the French before Napoleon's return, but the French people were still alarmed at the advance of their enemies. At home, the corrupt Directory faced social and economic chaos as a result of its inability to meet such problems as inflation. Religious and aristocratic unrest, as well as the social discontent of the masses, resulted in governmental crises in Paris and uprisings in Brittany, in La Vendée, and in other parts of France.

Taking advantage of this widespread opposition to the Directory, and of the public fear of invasion, Napoleon, within a period of three weeks, played the decisive rôle in the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November, 1799) which

*Overthrow of
Directory*

resulted in the overthrow of the Directors and the establishment of a new form of government, called the Consulate (1799-1804). The new constitution, drawn up largely by the Abbé Sieyès, Revolutionary intriguer, provided for a government consisting of an executive authority of three Consuls, a Council of State, a Senate whose members were appointed for life by the First Consul, a Tribune selected by the Senate, and a Chamber of 300 nominated by the Senate out of representatives elected by the departments. Appointed First Consul, Napoleon easily transformed himself into a dictator. Through control of the executive, the command of the army, and the power of appointment both of central and local officials he was soon able to concentrate all real authority in his hands. Meanwhile, the people in a plebiscite approved of the new constitution, believing that it signified the establishment of an efficient government.

*Establishment
of the Consulate*

"We have finished with the romance of the Revolution; it is time to begin its history," said Napoleon, upon becoming First Consul. Many French people received this announcement with enthusiasm. They were tired of Revolutionary theories and yearned for peace, order, and prosperity. To a few, especially some of the bourgeoisie, however, the rise of this "man on horseback" simply meant the continuation of war and the return of tyranny.

*First Consul
of France*

Desirous of universal support, Bonaparte determined to restore peace at home and abroad. In order to suppress internal unrest he established a centralized administrative system. Prefects and sub-prefects, appointed by him, took over local government, restored discipline, and established law and order throughout the realm. Before the end of 1799 Napoleon proclaimed a general amnesty and invited the émigrés and the non-juring priests to return to France. In 1800 he undertook to terminate the war. Taking advantage of international rivalries which had begun to destroy the unity of the coalition, Napoleon assumed the offensive. Following the French victories of Marengo (in Italy) and Hohenlinden (in Germany) against the Austrians, he induced Russia to withdraw from the war and forced Austria to accept the peace of Lunéville (1801). By this settlement France again strengthened her position in the Italian peninsula and in the Rhineland. In the following year Great Britain, who had been at war with France since 1793, concluded the Peace of Amiens with that country. Thereby England acquiesced in the territorial *status quo* in Europe and returned some of the French colonies which she had conquered. This settlement was largely the work of the trading classes in England who believed that peace between their country and France would enable them to dispose of the surplus goods which they had been unable to sell during the war. Neither of the late belligerents regarded this peace as more than a temporary truce.

Having suspended the European struggle, Napoleon assumed the rôle of a

civil administrator Adopting a modest and conciliatory attitude — ostentatiously putting away his general's uniform in order to don civilian clothes — he pledged to the people (especially the business classes) order without reaction at home, financial stability, encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry (by protection), and the attainment by all men, regardless of class, of political, social, and economic positions befitting their talents

*Napoleon
the Statesman*

Throwing his boundless energy into the task of fulfilling these promises, Napoleon proceeded to carry out what had been an aim of the Revolution, the overhauling of the internal economy of France. An efficient system of tax collecting was established, and the assessments were fixed for a definite period at moderate rates so as to gain public confidence and thus to secure prompt payment. For the purpose of strengthening government credit by stabilizing the price of national bonds, a sinking fund was set up. A great part of the public debt was refunded, a regular budget was created, and state officials were held responsible for public funds. Financial aid to businessmen as well as to the government was enlarged through the establishment of the Bank of France (1800). To check speculation and to prevent frauds, the stock exchange was regulated. Financial stability was also promoted by Napoleon's opposition to the issuance of new government bonds and his insistence upon a "pay as you go" policy. Of special importance to the businessmen were the tax laws introduced by Napoleon. These measures were designed to lighten the taxes on capital and real estate by shifting a large part of the burden on to indirect taxes, such as those upon luxuries like tobacco and liquors. All of these measures had a rejuvenating effect upon the condition of the country. As trade began to revive and public credit to function, the reckless profiteering invited by depreciated currency was brought to an end.

Napoleon tried to bring about economic recovery in many ways. New industries were encouraged, old business enterprises were given aid, industrial and chemical experiments were fostered, and industrial expositions were held. In his attempts to restore prosperity he planned the creation of a chamber of commerce and the introduction of ordinances regulating industrial and agrarian affairs. Schools designed to teach workers to use machinery were opened; exhibitions with rewards for excellence in workmanship were held; and the system of communications was improved by the construction of numerous roads and canals. Napoleon also endeavored to stimulate the economic development of France by the creation of tariffs, by the regulation of imports and exports, and by the attempt to create a colonial empire equal to that of Great Britain. Indeed, if Napoleon could have avoided war, France might have experienced an era of great economic prosperity, for in 1801 the much-needed Belgian coal fields were inside her frontiers.

While engaged in these undertakings Napoleon also promulgated a new

system of graded law courts with appointed officials for both civil and criminal justice. But his greatest achievement in the legal field was the codification of the law, which, before the Revolution, had been a mass of overlapping, confused, and contradictory regulations. His general codes, dealing with criminal, civil, and commercial matters, still remain the basis of French law. Imposed by France upon all states which she brought under her influence, these enlightened codes were introduced into Italy and the Germanies.

In these codes Napoleon did much to strengthen the position of the middle classes. The sanctity of property was emphasized, labor unions were outlawed, because they constituted a state within a state, and equality of opportunity was stressed. Government and military positions were open to men of talent, regardless of social or economic distinction. Nevertheless, Napoleon ignored the principle that all professions were open to all men. He permitted the middle classes to form organizations, although he frowned on the unionization of wage-earners.

Napoleon's program even included the fields of education, art, and literature. A four-graded educational system was established, ranging from primary schools to an imperial university which was founded in 1808. He subscribed to the liberal idea that educational facilities should be offered by the state to those who possessed ability. He held that education and nationalism were closely allied, for in private as well as in public schools, he demanded the teaching of patriotism to all students. Art, music, and literature were encouraged by the state; but artistic expressions were rather pompous and official for the government was suspicious of originality and excessive freedom.

Religious problems, also, were dealt with by this able dictator. After careful negotiations with the pope, Napoleon arranged the Concordat of 1801, restoring the French church to communion with His Holiness and re-establishing Catholicism in France. The earlier confiscation of church property was sanctioned by the pope and in return the clergy were to be paid salaries by the French government. Higher church dignitaries, however, were to be appointed by Napoleon, subject to rejection by the pope only on the grounds of heresy and immorality. Liberty of worship was allowed to non-Catholic sects, but Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews, like Catholics, were brought under state control.

Well satisfied with these achievements, the French people, with few exceptions, hailed Napoleon as a great benefactor. He had brought peace and order to the country, and prosperity, as a result of his program, seemed likely to follow. Influenced by these considerations, they permitted him to revise the government in the direction of further centralization. In 1802 his term as First Consul, originally for ten years, was extended to life, and he was granted the privilege of naming his successor. Two years later the Consulate, still ostensibly republican, was abolished and an hereditary Empire took its place. The Council of State was supplanted by a Privy Council, and the

Tribunate was divided into five sections, its debates being held in secret, and its members being selected by Napoleon. An elaborate imperial court was created, consisting of a hierarchy of officials — Grand dignitaries, Grand officers, Princes, and ministers — as formal as that of the Bourbons. Theoretically, members of all classes who had achieved distinction, especially in the service of the state, were eligible, but old social distinctions and values began to reassert themselves.

*Establishment
of the Empire*

In his attempt to expand the external as well as the internal resources of France, Napoleon encountered formidable opposition. From the beginning of his administration he had conceived of a French colonial empire which should equal or surpass that of Great Britain. He tried to reestablish French authority in the West Indies, compelled the Dutch to cede part of the Guiana to France, and forced Spain to cede to him Louisiana (though he sold it to the United States almost immediately). He attempted to expand French influence in the Orient by arranging an alliance with the sultan of Turkey and the shah of Persia and by planning the restoration of French power in India. He also sent an expedition, partly scientific, partly political, to Australia. At the basis of these imperialist policies was his fundamental objective of expanding French commerce, industry, and agriculture, so as to make France, rather than England, the workshop of the world.

*Imperialist
ambitions of
Napoleon*

These plans were interrupted by the outbreak of war between France and England in May, 1803, as the latter power became suspicious of Napoleon's continental, colonial, and economic aggressions. At the beginning of the struggle Napoleon planned to invade England. A powerful army was stationed on the channel coast, and a fleet of flat-bottomed boats was concentrated to carry it across. An elaborate naval plan was devised whereby the British fleet was to be manoeuvred out of the way while the troops were crossing the channel. This naval campaign, however, ended disastrously for France. In July, 1805, Sir Robert Calder defeated a French fleet under Admiral Villeneuve near Cape Finisterre, and in October, Admiral Nelson destroyed

the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar. Prior to this last defeat, however, Napoleon had already decided to abandon the invasion of England in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war against England's partners in the Third Coalition. These naval defeats were a decisive factor in the struggle which followed. During the next decade Great Britain, in control of the seas, and with the backing of her international bankers, was able to protect her empire, feed her people, subsidize her allies, survive the attempt of Napoleon to strangle her economically by the Continental system, and finally to play an important rôle in the military campaign which destroyed forever Napoleon's power.

Great Britain and her allies had to fight for ten long years before they were able to reach this objective. Between 1805 and 1807 the so-called Third

Trafalgar

Coalition, consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples and Sweden, was decisively defeated and destroyed by Napoleon. Austria was the first victim. Leaving Marshal Massena in charge of the army on the Italian front, Napoleon struck across the Germanies, forced an Austrian army to surrender at Ulm (October, 1805), and in November occupied the Habsburg capital, Vienna. In December, he defeated at Austerlitz the combined Austro-Russian armies. After this reverse, Francis II ^{Ulm and Austerlitz} had to submit to the Treaty of Pressburg. By the terms of this settlement, the Austrian ruler surrendered a portion of his lands in Swabia and the Tyrol to Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden, and also ceded Dalmatia and Venetia to the newly established kingdom of Italy, of which Napoleon had made himself king.

The reconstruction of the Germanies and the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire now followed. Continuing the policy which he had initiated after the Treaty of Lunéville (1797) Napoleon consolidated many ecclesiastical and small secular states. A number of South ^{Treaty of Lunéville} German and Rhenish states, including Bavaria, Baden, and Wurttemberg, were formed into a Confederation of the Rhine under French protection, and pledged to an alliance with France. Then, upon the demand of France, Emperor Francis renounced his title of Holy Roman Emperor (August 6, 1806), thus clearing the way for the establishment of a new European empire under Napoleon.

Suspicious of this large-scale intervention of France in German affairs, Prussia abandoned her neutrality and took the field against Napoleon. Unfortunately her action was poorly timed. Russia, after her defeat at Austerlitz was too demoralized to furnish immediate aid, and, therefore, Prussia had to meet Napoleon single-handed. Her speedy destruction followed. In October, 1806, two Prussian armies were defeated on the same day at Jena and Auerstädt. These reverses were followed by the complete collapse of Prussia. Her armies surrendered; her fortresses fell, and her capital opened its gates to the French. Determined to punish Prussia severely, Napoleon deprived that country of over half her territory and population, including most of the Polish provinces obtained in the Partitions. These provinces were formed by the French conqueror into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a version of the Polish buffer state. At the same time he levied a ruinous financial tribute upon Prussia.

Not waiting to complete his deliberate humiliation of these Prussians, Napoleon marched toward Russia. After a rather futile winter campaign in Poland he defeated the Russians at the battle of Friedland (1807), and thereby influenced the tsar, Alexander I (1801-1825), into accepting peace negotiations. In June, 1807, the two emperors met on a raft in the middle of the river Nieman and discussed peace terms which were ^{Treaty of Tilsit} later incorporated into the Treaty of Tilsit. Europe was divided into

two spheres of influence, with Napoleon presiding over the west and Alexander the east. As a result of their conferences, Prussia's western provinces and certain small German states were combined into the kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother, Jerome. As compensation, Alexander was given to understand that he might take Finland, which he coveted, from Sweden, attractive pickings from the vast Turkish Empire were also dangled, but somewhat vaguely, before him. Both rulers decided that Great Britain should be asked to make peace and to give up her maritime claims. If she refused to do so, the two emperors agreed to make war against her and to force Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to close their ports to her goods. Great Britain, anticipating these manoeuvres, retained access to the Baltic by forcing Denmark to surrender her navy. Thus, still in control of the seas, these active islanders or "enemies of the world," as they were called by Napoleon, were definitely in a position to continue the war.

After Tilsit, Napoleon returned to France as virtual master of Europe. He had destroyed another coalition and had forced all the great powers, save Great Britain, to accept peace terms, he had completely reorganized the map of the continent, and by 1812 he had created a French Empire which extended to the Rhine and included Belgium, Holland, and the North Sea coast as far as the Danish frontier in the north, and to the south, Savoy, Piedmont, Genoa, Parma, Tuscany, and the Italian coast as far as Rome, which was called the second city of the Empire. The balance of Italy, except for Naples, was united to France by the dynastic bond of a joint ruler, Napoleon himself. There were also a number of dependencies distributed among clients and members of the Bonaparte family, such as the Kingdom of Westphalia, with Jerome Bonaparte as king, the Confederation of the Rhine with Napoleon as protector, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with a subservient Saxon ruler as its head, the Kingdom of Naples, with Napoleon's brother-in-law, General Joachim Murat, as its chief, and after 1808 the Kingdom of Spain, with Joseph Bonaparte as its ruler. Most of the remaining European monarchs were under Napoleon's control. French troops occupied Prussia and thus kept the Hohenzollern dynasty under surveillance, Alexander I of Russia was an ally; Pope Pius VII was a prisoner on French soil, and the Austrian Emperor after 1810 was dynastically connected by a marriage.¹ Only Great Britain and a few minor states were not under Napoleon's control. Since the time of Charlemagne no ruler in Europe had created as powerful an Empire as had Napoleon. He had completely demolished the eighteenth century balance of power and had substituted a federative system of kings; and he had established French hegemony over Europe through the creation of a super-state

The Napoleonic Empire

Despite its grandeur, this Napoleonic structure possessed vital weaknesses. Its size made it too unwieldy for one man to rule and its very strength and power aroused antagonisms which jeopardized its stability. After 1807, Napoleon faced constantly the nationalist opposition of the countries he had conquered. A regeneration movement in Prussia was especially significant. Aroused by the disastrous battle of Jena and the losses suffered at Tilsit, Prussian statesmen, such as Baron von Stein and Prince Hardenburg, decided that the only hope for national recovery lay in a drastic, social and intellectual revolution in Prussia. Desirous of bringing *Regeneration of Prussia* this about, they abolished serfdom in 1807, introduced educational and moral reforms, including the establishment of the University of Berlin and the Gymnasias (or high school), and encouraged the formation of such patriotic societies as the *Tugendbund*, which promoted morality and public spirit, accompanied by a love of fatherland and a hatred of French domination. Under the direction of the military genius, Scharnhorst, the Prussian army was modernized. To circumvent Napoleon's decree that Prussia should maintain an army of no more than 42,000, Scharnhorst hit upon the ingenious device of having men serve with the colors only a brief time. Then they would pass into the reserve and others would be put rapidly through the same training. By this method, he succeeded in creating an army of 150,000 men, while ostensibly adhering to the limit imposed by the French.

In addition to the opposition of conquered rulers and their peoples, Napoleon also roused the personal enmity of his leading ministers. Long before his fall his position was undermined by the disloyal activities of Fouché and Talleyrand. Possessing an uncanny ability to distinguish "a band wagon from a hearse," Talleyrand, for example, intrigued with the Russians and participated in the secret negotiations which facilitated the return of the Bourbon dynasty.

The inability of Napoleon to destroy his great rival, Great Britain, however, was the fundamental reason for his overthrow. After the abandonment of the plan to invade England in 1805, Napoleon tried to defeat that country through an attack upon her commerce. *The Continental System* To do this he announced his famous Continental System in the Berlin and Milan Decrees of 1806 and 1807. By these he excluded British-borne goods from a large part of Europe. Every state, as it came under his direct or indirect control, was forced to join this blockade. Eventually it became necessary to conquer the entire continent, so as to cut off England completely from trade with Europe, and thus ruin her financially.

In control of the seas, England immediately took retaliatory measures. France and her allies soon found themselves in a state of blockade. Both sides suffered heavily. Napoleon's policy greatly injured British commerce, but at the same time the British blockade which deprived Europe of world trade

inflicted tremendous economic hardships upon all peoples under French control. The consequent breakdown of commerce and industry, and the marked scarcity of goods in Europe, aroused great resentment among all classes, even in France. Despite this antagonism, Napoleon refused to abandon the blockade. Resolved to defeat England, once and for all, he refused to drop this economic war.

In the end the Continental Blockade not only failed, but proved to be a boomerang. Smuggling increased to huge dimensions, licences weakened the blockade, there were places of leakage in Portugal and along the Baltic coast where British goods came in. Political alliances, also, were strained by this policy. Russia found it increasingly difficult to maintain her close relations with France. The Russian aristocrats from the first opposed this alliance with a radical country which had destroyed feudalism and had proclaimed the equality of man. Moreover, the Continental System had practically ruined Russia's important trade with Great Britain. At first Tsar Alexander tried to carry out the terms of the alliance concluded at Tilsit, but Napoleon's opposition to Russia's desire to obtain Constantinople, and Alexander's belief that Napoleon planned to make the Grand Duchy of Warsaw another Kingdom of Poland, finally caused the tsar in 1812 to break with France. /

Prior to the outbreak of the struggle between Russia and France, Napoleon had encountered powerful opposition to his system in other parts of Europe.

The Peninsular War

In 1807 he inaugurated his famous Peninsular War. Determined to make a satellite state of Portugal and to force that country to adhere to the Continental System, he first arranged with Spain for its conquest and partition. In July, 1808, he put his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne and planned, through the reduction of the church and the feudal régime, to unite the people of Spain in policy and revolutionary principles with France. But this co-ordinating program aroused little enthusiasm in Spain. Regarding Napoleon as an alien conqueror, who, like the Moors, intended to subjugate their country, the Spanish people united in common opposition to this intruder. Already, in June, 1808, they had defeated an isolated French force at Baylen. Napoleon for the first time encountered the formidable opposition of people, not kings. For over six years Spanish and Portuguese forces, aided most of the time by British troops under General Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington), engaged in a continuous struggle against Napoleon's armies. Distracted by other problems, Napoleon was unable to subjugate completely these determined Iberians. After 1808, the Peninsular War, like a running sore, gradually sapped Napoleon's military strength.

In the spring of 1809 the declaration of war against France by Austria for the fourth time, forced Napoleon to give up his attempt to participate personally in the conquest of Spain. Leaving that country he proceeded to lead another army into Central Europe. This time the Austrian forces, well organ-

ized, ably led by the Archduke Charles (brother of the Emperor) and imbued with the spirit of national consciousness, put up a surprisingly stubborn opposition to Napoleon. By July, however, the French again emerged victorious — this time at Wagram. After this battle Austria again made peace with Napoleon. By the Treaty of Schonbrunn she ceded Galicia — part of it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and part of it to Russia. She was also forced to hand over Trieste, Carniola, and part of Corinthia and Croatia to France. Austria was thus reduced to the rank of a lesser power, almost entirely shut off from the sea.

Though in 1810 and 1811 Napoleon seemed at the zenith of his power, his empire was already tottering. Following the outbreak of war between Russia and France in 1812 events moved to bring about Napoleon's downfall in a swiftly culminating succession. The stupendous invasion of Russia, in which the Russians balked Napoleon by simply avoiding battle until his forces were near Moscow, and the disastrous retreat from that city which destroyed the Grand Army, shook Napoleon's prestige to its foundations, and started a renewal of intrigues at home and hostile negotiations abroad. For a while Napoleon's enemies hesitated to begin another war against him. But the Prussians, seeing the remnants of the Grand Army pass through their country, realized that Napoleon's wings were clipped. Prussia, therefore, entered into a secret alliance with Russia, and when the king perceived the determination of the Prussian people to liberate their country from the shackles of Napoleon, he consented to declare war against France. Meanwhile, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden had organized the Sixth Coalition to which Prussia and eventually Austria (in August, 1813) were added for the purpose of liberating Europe from the French.

By now the odds were beginning to turn against Napoleon. Lacking capable generals and experienced soldiers to replace those he had lost, he was unable to carry the war into the enemy's territory and defeat them quickly in a series of crushing battles. He tried to do so, invading the Germans with characteristic speed. But a series of victories was nullified by his defeat in the three-day battle of Leipzig (October, 1813); and with this reverse the entire Napoleonic system began to tumble down. Enemies and traitors now appeared everywhere, the Continental System collapsed, and tributary states prepared to discard French control. Despite these discouraging developments Napoleon refused to listen to peace terms and engaged in a brilliant but futile campaign in northern France in the early part of 1814. His efforts were of no avail, however, and after the fall of Paris, Napoleon abdicated on April 6, 1814. About two weeks later he departed for exile in the little island of Elba, and Louis XVIII, a brother of the guillotined Louis XVI, returned to France as king with the blessings of the allies.

In March, 1815, while the representatives of the victorious powers were arranging peace terms in Vienna, Napoleon escaped from Elba, landed in France, and regained his throne. Entering Paris, vacated just a short while before by Louis XVIII, Napoleon reestablished the empire. Thereupon, the allied powers, proclaiming him an outlaw, despatched new armies for the purpose of accomplishing his overthrow a second time.

Napoleon, hastily liberalizing his empire in an effort to secure wider support, prepared to resist the enemy. At the head of an army he left Paris (June 12th) to take the field against the forces of the allied powers.

Waterloo

After defeating Blücher's Prussians in two indecisive battles, the last of the Napoleonic armies was completely destroyed by British and Prussian forces under Generals Wellington and Blücher at the Battle of Waterloo on June 18. Four days later he again abdicated and gave himself up to the British government. This time the British treated him as a dangerous prisoner of war, rather than as a retired general and statesman of distinction. Banished with a few companions and guards to St. Helena, an isolated island lying in the south Atlantic, below the equator, he spent the remaining six years of his life in recalling his past triumphs and in the preparation of his memoirs. He died in 1821 after suffering the tortures of ill health.

With the overthrow of Napoleon, wars which for twenty-three years had distracted Europe came to an end. As a result of this long struggle, millions of lives had been sacrificed, treasures beyond comprehension had been wasted, and the progress of mankind had been impeded. A huge debt was bequeathed to the future generations which had to be paid out of their resources and savings. But vast as were these evils, the compensations were not entirely inadequate. The energy and patience, begotten in the long years of trial, enabled men to achieve, in the long period of peace which followed, tremendous advances in the non-military phases of life. After Napoleon's downfall, assaults upon despotisms and vested interests persisted as millions of people reasserted their claims to liberty, fraternity, and equality. And, temporarily, at least, so strong a repugnance to war developed that representatives of the leading nations revealed a willingness to settle differences by means other than war.

// During the period which bears his name, Napoleon exerted an influence upon human affairs which is almost without parallel in history. Few men inflicted upon his fellow creatures miseries so appalling. At the same time, never before did a man's hand scatter seeds destined to produce a harvest of political changes so beneficial.

Napoleon's place in history

Assuming, as he did, the control of a people who had flung aside their antiquated institutions, he was forced not only to heed the changes brought about by the Revolution but to introduce new ideas and ideals to the peoples whom he conquered. He robbed Italy, but at the same time aroused her from a sleep of centuries and led her toward the road of national unity. He, by

destroying the innumerable small states which comprised the Holy Roman Empire and by cruelly humiliating the Prussians, inspired among the Germans that ideal of unity which enabled them to create, some decades later, the German Empire. He was the dreaded apostle of fraternity and equality — but not liberty. In short, by the institutions which he created by the doctrines which he was obliged to profess, by the very violence of which he was guilty, he communicated to the human mind an impulse which it could not disregard. And even when he became utterly despotic — when he laid intolerable burdens upon the people, when he squandered their lives, when he trampled on the freedom of nations — even then his influence encouraged the development of national rights. For the hatred which his dictatorship invoked, and the vast combination of forces which it rendered necessary, united among themselves the various peoples whom he conquered — and taught them to know their own strength.

CHAPTER LIX

AFTER NAPOLEON — THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

After the downfall of Napoleon the representatives of the victorious powers faced a most difficult problem — the reconstruction of Europe. This task was undertaken by them at the famous Congress of Vienna (September, 1814–June, 1815). Beyond question this was one of the most imposing diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe. Never before had there been such an assemblage of celebrities. There were emperors, kings, generals, lesser princes, diplomats from practically every European power except Turkey, there were representatives of the great European banking houses too, — men who by their financial support had helped to bring about Napoleon's overthrow, and there were a great number of adventurers. Inasmuch as the representatives of the four great countries, Metternich of Austria, Alexander I of Russia, Castlereagh of Great Britain, and Humboldt of Prussia, agreed to decide all important questions among themselves, the delegates of the smaller powers played unimportant rôles in the peace negotiations. Talleyrand, the French representative, at first was ignored by the allies. Later, antagonisms among the victorious powers enabled him to advance the interests of France.

The main work of the Congress was the restoration of "the good old days" and the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Ardent defenders of the Old Régime, most of the diplomats decided to check once and for all the spread of such radical and subversive ideas as constitutionalism, nationalism, democracy, and equality. They realized that the past two decades had left their heritage of influences and counter-influences reflected in such unsettling forces as democracy, nationalism, militarism, and a deep-seated fear of revolution and of war. They also knew that the years immediately following would be marked by a strong desire on the part of the people everywhere for peace and political stabilization. Therefore the chief significance of the generation after 1815 lies in the attempt of the leading statesmen and rulers of Europe to give expression and form to this demand for peace and stability through the division of territorial spoils and the restoration — so far as possible — of the Old Régime.

In their attempt to carry out these aims, the diplomats were aided by an intellectual reaction. Able writers, as we shall see later,¹ extolled the old

¹ See pp 904, 1022

order and maintained that the radicalism of the Revolution and the caesarism of Napoleon were responsible for the destruction, the bloodshed, and the chaos of the past twenty-five years. Bitterly antagonistic to recent changes, these romanticists advocated the re-establishment of the perfect civilization, which, in their eyes, had existed in medieval times. In short, they wished for the revival of an Old Régime, the perfections of which existed only in their own idealizations.

The general desire for peace also helped the diplomats. By 1815 people, thoroughly war-weary, had lost interest in the revolutionary crusade to attain an earthly utopia, instead, they craved immediate security. Conservative statesmen, aware of this yearning for peace, maintained that the solution of Europe's problem lay in a return to the conditions and the institutions of the Old Régime. Therefore they accepted the principle of legitimacy as the guiding light of the congress.

Count Metternich (1773-1859), the Austrian chancellor, was the outstanding exponent of restoration. Determined to set up another equilibrium, this guiding spirit at Vienna decided to bring about a redistribution of territory, involving the re-establishment of the balance

of power, the revival of the Old Régime, and the aggrandizement of his own state. Shortly after Napoleon's abdication Metternich and the other representatives of the allied powers in the first Treaty of Paris (1814), had recognized the re-establishment of the Bourbon monarchy in France, had limited her boundaries to those which she had in 1792, and had permitted her to create a constitutional government. The allies had made no attempt to restore the Old Régime in that country, nor had they tried to destroy the revolutionary reforms. After Waterloo the allies, as a punishment for allowing Napoleon to return, deprived France of Savoy, reduced her frontiers to those of 1790, and levied an indemnity upon her. Pending the fulfillment of the peace terms, an allied army of occupation was to be stationed in France.

Despite these drastic terms, and the hostility of the victorious powers, Talleyrand, the French representative at Vienna, was able to play an important rôle in the peace negotiations. Quick to take advantage of a controversy between the victorious powers over the disposition of Poland and Saxony, he backed Austria and Great Britain as against Russia and Prussia. By this clever move he enabled France to become once more a significant factor in the policies of the great powers.

At the Congress of Vienna the diplomats strove, while safeguarding the principles of autocracy and legitimacy, to reconcile the demands of individual countries with the interests of the European equilibrium.

In the Germanies, for example, they tried to satisfy the desire of the various states to retain their sovereignty and at the same time re-establish the ascendancy of Austria in that region through the creation of the Germanic Confederation. This new political organization,

consisting of the thirty-nine states into which Germany was now divided, possessed a diet composed of delegates representing the ruler of each realm, with the emperor of Austria as president. This confederation decentralized middle Europe and thus was an important factor in the re-establishment of the equilibrium. It also restored the prestige of Austria in Central Europe. Assuming the influential position, formerly held by France, she, as president of the Confederation, prepared to oppose the expansionist policies of Prussia and Russia and, led by Metternich, to become the champion of the *status quo* as created at Vienna.

Austria's close ally at Vienna, Great Britain, was more concerned with the restoration of the continental balance of power than with the suppression of liberalism. Determined to prevent France from again dominating the continent, she insisted that the defeated power be surrounded by buffer states. To her satisfaction, the allies hindered French ambitions in the Rhineland by granting territory in this region to Prussia. They also merged the Austrian Netherlands and Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands under the House of Orange. Thus was established a strong obstacle to a French advance in the north. In compensation for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands, Austria gained possession of Lombardy and Venetia. Her influence in Italy also was strengthened by the re-establishment of legitimate dynasties in the central states. Napoleon's second Empress, Marie Louise, became Duchess of Parma, the papal states were restored to their former size; and the Bourbons were returned to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and to Spain. A confederation was also re-established in Switzerland and its independence was guaranteed by the powers. England, the persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, and the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, was satisfied. France had been surrounded by buffer states and the political equilibrium of Europe had been restored.

Political stability in Europe was achieved by granting territorial rewards to practically all of the victorious powers. Russia retained certain minor territories which she had taken from Turkey in the war prior to 1812. She also obtained Finland and received a considerably larger share of Poland. Distrust of the allied powers, who resented her aggrandizement, forced Russia to form Poland into a separate constitutional kingdom linked only by a personal union with the Russian state. As a reward for her part in the overthrow of Napoleon, Prussia took over western Pomerania (the remnant of Sweden's Germanic Empire), half of Saxony (which thereby paid the price of having supported Napoleon in 1813), and the important Rhine area of Westphalia. Sweden, also one of the victorious allies, demanded and obtained Norway from Denmark in compensation for the cession of Finland to Russia. The Norwegians refused to recognize the legality of this transaction, drew up a constitution, and elected a king. Bernadotte, the Swedish monarch, how-

Other territorial settlements

ever, overcame their opposition by inducing the Norwegians to accept him as their monarch on condition that they should have their own government and constitution. This personal union of Norway and Sweden lasted until 1905 when Norway became an independent kingdom.

Chiefly responsible for Napoleon's overthrow, Great Britain received the greatest rewards. Very wisely she selected strategic territories which would enlarge her empire and at the same time would insure her commercial and maritime supremacy. Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, Cape Colony in South Africa, Ceylon in the east, and miscellaneous islands in the West Indies, including Trinidad, now became parts of the British Empire. Henceforth Great Britain, with her sea power unchallenged and with her industries at home untouched by invasions was, after a short period of post-war depression, able to take advantage of peace by reviving and expanding her commerce and industry. In short, the Napoleonic wars helped to make Great Britain the foremost industrial, capitalist, and imperialist state of the world.

Associated with the allied attempts to attain peace and political stabilization were two historic experiments—the Holy Alliance proposed by Alexander I of Russia, and the Quadruple Alliance formulated by

Metternich of Austria and Castlereagh of Great Britain. For *The Holy Alliance* a number of years the impressionable tsar had revolved in his plastic mind a scheme by which the peace of Europe could be preserved. During the war he had outlined a project for the arbitration of international disputes by a third power, but at Vienna he presented a solution which represented not only his own peculiar form of idealism, but also that of his spiritual advisor, the pietistic Baroness Krudener. As formulated, this so-called Holy Alliance simply introduced the concept of a moral compact among Christian rulers. The monarchs of Europe were asked to declare solemnly "in the name of the most Holy and Indissoluble Trinity" that they would take "the sublime truth of holy religion" for their guidance, "that they would act towards each other as Christian brothers, and towards their subjects as fathers of families." This scheme could scarcely be called an alliance, for it had no machinery to enforce its will; in fact, it was little more than the expression of a pious ideal.

All European rulers, save the non-Christian sultan, were asked to join the alliance, they all accepted the invitation save the pope and the Regent of England, who was prevented from doing so by Parliament. Alexander thought of inviting the President of the United States to sign it, but general opposition in Europe probably prevented the discouraged idealist from carrying out this plan. European rulers refused to take the scheme seriously. It was politically useless, not necessarily because of its religious character, but because it was unrealistic and could not be harmonized with the aims and methods of practical diplomacy. Castlereagh called it "a piece of

sublime mysticism and nonsense," Metternich "a loud-sounding nothing," — "words." The Regent of England sent a private letter to Alexander expressing his general sympathy with his intention.

During this discussion of Alexander's plan, the allied statesmen, especially Metternich and Castlereagh, accepted the tsar's idea of concerted action on the part of the European powers and advanced a practical scheme, called the Concert of Europe. This plan provided for the maintenance of the newly established European equilibrium through the cooperation of the four great monarchical powers: Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain. These four states constituted themselves as the guardians of European stability against military aggressions and of legitimate governments against revolution.

The Quadruple Alliance

The Quadruple Alliance, determined to preserve the *status quo* and to maintain peace, decided to renew the wartime alliance in November, 1815. In joining this organization they agreed to maintain for a period of twenty years the territorial set-up and to exclude the Bonaparte dynasty from Europe. Further, they decided to accept Castlereagh's suggestion that they hold meetings "at fixed periods either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns or through their representatives devoted to the grand interests they have in common, and to the discussion of measures which shall be judged to be most salutary to the repose and prosperity of the nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe."

For the first time, perhaps, the idea of a Concert of Europe was translated into fact. This international government was equipped with rather clumsy and rudimentary machinery, and it thwarted political and social progress in its efforts to check the spread of liberalism in order to maintain the territorial *status quo*. Nevertheless, it was a significant experiment, for it was the first serious attempt in modern times to establish an international society.

✓ The Concert of Europe, dominated by Metternich, was unable to check the irresistible forces of change, especially the modern conception of nationalism.

After the overthrow of Napoleon the various peoples who had been conquered and humiliated by him became more and more conscious that each nationality had its own language, traditions, and interests which distinguished it from other peoples. Patriots in the Germanies, Italy, and Greece, for example, recalled the glorious histories of their forefathers, and also, in the case of the Germanies, especially, they remembered the liberal promises of their rulers made during the struggle against Napoleon. Gradually there developed a feeling that a people should possess a government suited to its customs and needs, and should be governed by its own ruler. Accepting the principle of national self-determination, these exponents of nationalism insisted that no people should be dominated by another, nor should its territories be divided up and transferred to other states without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants. Influenced by these

Nationalism

ideas, Germans, Italians, Greeks, Belgians and other peoples demanded, and most of them obtained, eventually, unity and independence.

The Quadruple Alliance tried to prevent the spread of liberalism and nationalism (at least, on the part of subject peoples). To achieve this aim the members of the Quadruple Alliance held four meetings — at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822. At these meetings the conservatives, led by Metternich, urged the suppression by the Alliance of all liberal movements. Great Britain, represented at first by Castlereagh and later by the liberal Canning, refused to intervene in the internal affairs of other states. These statesmen were especially interested in the nationalist revolutions which were taking place in South America at that time. They knew very well that the overthrow of Spanish control with its monopolistic system by the insurrectionists would advance British commercial interests in that region. Therefore they insisted that the only aims of the Quadruple Alliance were the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in Europe and the exclusion of the Bonapartes from the French throne for a period of twenty years.

These revolutions in Hispanic America represented an attempt on the part of the provincial peoples to obtain freedom from Spain and also to abolish a social order which was based on rigid class distinction. The revolutions passed through various phases. At first there were several preliminary movements which did not succeed. Then a general uprising was precipitated when Napoleon invaded Spain. Out of this opposition to the French Emperor emerged the struggle for independence — a struggle which resulted in the final expulsion of Spanish rule.

Despite the hostility of Great Britain to intervention in Hispanic America, Metternich determined to preserve the *status quo* in Europe. At the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference (1818) he favored not only the rehabilitation of France, but also her inclusion in the Concert of Europe. He realized that Paris was still the center of revolutionary unrest and believed that these radical tendencies could be curbed if France became a member of the conservative league. Moreover, he was of the opinion that unless France joined the Concert, she might seek a separate alliance with another great state, perhaps Russia. After some discussion the representatives of the other three powers agreed to enter into a Quintuple Alliance which would include France. The latter power paid up its war indemnity and the allied army of occupation was withdrawn.

In general, the meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle was a success. The Big Four, for example, decided unanimously to intervene in a quarrel over the succession to the throne of Baden and to back Bavaria in its opposition to the claims of the Elector of Hesse to the title. They also

*Meetings of
Quadruple
Alliance*

*Revolutions
in Hispanic
America*

*Establishment
of Quintuple
Alliance*

Aix-la-Chapelle

decided to reprimand Bernadotte, King of Sweden, for ignoring the treaty rights of Norway and Sweden. The big powers, however, failed to cooperate on all international matters. Great Britain, for example, refused to sanction an attempt on the part of the Quadruple Alliance to intervene in the revolts of the Spanish colonies in South America and thereby restore them to the mother country. Castlereagh and Metternich also opposed a plan to end piracy in the Mediterranean by joint action on the part of the big powers. Neither statesman wanted Russian war vessels on the Mediterranean sea, and therefore no action against these sea bandits was taken, though the pirates became so powerful that Austria was forced to place her sea-borne commerce under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. In retaliation, Prussia and Russia, who favored intervention both in South America and in the Mediterranean, opposed England's proposal to police the seas against sea-traders. Despite Metternich's claim that there never was "a prettier little Congress," rifts, small, but well defined, were apparent at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A revolution which broke out in Spain in 1820 helped to widen the breach between the great powers. In an attempt to establish a constitutional government Spanish liberals forced King Ferdinand to adopt the democratic constitution drawn up in 1812. Alexander I of Russia, who, by that time, was the leading opponent of all revolutionary movements, was astounded when he received word of this development in Spain. Believing that no monarch in Europe would be safe if this subversive influence spread, he thereupon asked all sovereigns to send their royal Spanish brother aid in the form of an army.

In opposing this suggestion, Castlereagh maintained that this Spanish trouble—in fact, all domestic strife—was outside the sphere of the Quadruple Alliance. "It was never intended," he declared, "as a Union for the government of the world, or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other states." Great Britain in joining the Alliance agreed only to prevent the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty and to maintain the settlements of Vienna for twenty years. Moreover, England, as a constitutional monarchy with a revolutionary history of its own, could not participate in any plan to put down revolutions in other countries. Fearing the possibility of Russian military demonstration in Spain, Metternich backed Castlereagh in his opposition to Russian intervention on the Iberian peninsula.

The spread of the revolutionary movement, however, forced Metternich to favor Alexander's plan to call another Congress. In Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, liberals and patriots overthrew existing governments and set up constitutions. These revolts, especially the Italian disturbances, jeopardized Austria's position. Aware of this danger, the representatives of the big powers assembled at the Congress of Troppau (1820). Despite Anglo-French opposition, Metternich, Alex-

*England's
policy —
non intervention*

*The Troppau
Protocol*

ander, and the Prussian representatives had the Congress issue a statement of policy. Known as the Troppau Protocol it announced that "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other states, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European alliance. If, owing to such alteration, immediate danger threatens other states, the powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance." Disregarding the opposition, Metternich and Alexander succeeded in having the Congress adjourned to Laibach. Meanwhile, Austria proceeded to carry out the will of the Troppau Congress by suppressing the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont.

In 1822, European developments brought about another Congress at Verona, the last meeting in which Great Britain participated. Before it convened, the death of Castlereagh, a revolt of the Greeks against Turkish overlordship, and the threat of French intervention in Spain changed the entire complexion of the assemblage. Canning, called a "Malevolent meteor" by Metternich, had no faith in international cooperation and believed that England could benefit more from individualism in foreign affairs than through cooperation. Despite British objections, however, the revolutions in Spain and Greece threatened to provoke interventions on the part of the Concert of Europe.

*The Congress
at Verona*

When the Greeks rose against the Turks, Alexander, despite his professions of conservatism, found his sympathies engaged on the side of the insurrectionists. Having special historic interests in the Ottoman Empire he insisted that he be allowed to intervene in Greece as Austria had in Italy. He called the attention of the entire world to the fact that he was the protector of the Greek Christians—his co-religionists—and asked his diplomatic colleagues to give him their moral support in a crusade to emancipate the Greeks. But neither Canning nor Metternich seemed to favor Russian intervention in the Balkans. They apparently questioned the purity of Alexander's intentions and even intimated that his policy had as its main objective the aggrandizement of Russia in the Near East. Preferring to maintain the *status quo* there, Metternich, by adroit diplomacy, put off the discussion of the Greek question, and thereby delayed Russian intervention.

*The Greek
Revolution*

The Austrian statesman could not block consideration of the Spanish trouble. By 1822 the revolutionary situation in that country had become so menacing that France had determined to intervene. Therefore she asked the powers at Verona to approve her plan to re-establish law and order in Spain. This request precipitated a real crisis in the Congress. Canning refused absolutely to be a party to such action, and Wellington, the British plenipotentiary, withdrew from the Congress. The representatives of the other powers, however, re-

*France and the
Spanish Revolt*

luctantly granted France the right to intervene. In 1823 she suppressed the Spanish revolution and re-established the Old Régime.

Restored to his throne, Ferdinand VII (1814-1833) of Spain asked Metternich to call a congress to settle once and for all the revolutionary movement in South America. In making this request the Spanish monarch had the complete support of France who opposed the expansion of British interests in Hispanic America. But Great Britain refused to send representatives to this proposed meeting. Therefore the other nations, lacking sufficient naval forces to crush the revolutionary movement in the new world, decided not to act.

Ferdinand's attempt to bring about foreign intervention in South America led to one important act — the enunciation of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine

In this declaration, based on a message to Congress of President Monroe, the United States proclaimed the separation of European and American interests, declaring that while she would refrain from interfering in the affairs of Europe, no continental power would be permitted to interfere in the affairs of the American continent, or to appropriate colonies there. In short, the Monroe Doctrine, issued with the blessing of Canning, was the diplomatic means whereby the strongest power in the New World informed the great states of Europe that they must not extend their dictatorship to North and South America. This proclamation of non-intervention differed in form but not in spirit from the protests of Castlereagh and Canning. It outlined the foreign policy which the United States was to pursue henceforth, and it was followed by formal recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies by the United States and Great Britain.

Despite the breach in the solidarity of the Concert of Europe over the Hispanic-American situation, Alexander I in 1824 called another congress to consider the Near-Eastern problem. Great Britain refused to send a representative to this meeting, but the delegates of the other four powers met in St. Petersburg in 1825. After several months of discussion this assembly was adjourned without having come to any important decisions. Thereafter Metternich's international system rapidly collapsed. In 1827, England, France, and Russia created a Triple Alliance to handle the Turkish question, in 1830 the Concert failed to act when the French and Belgian revolutions succeeded, and in 1834, France and Great Britain, deserting the cause of conservatism, arranged alliances with the constitutional parties in Spain and Portugal. In short, Metternich's attempt at five-power cooperation had given way to an international individualism, epitomized by Canning in his saying: "Every nation for itself, and God for us all."

Collapse of the alliances

CHAPTER LX

AFTER NAPOLEON CONSERVATISM AND LIBERALISM

After Napoleon, Europe experienced a general economic depression. During the many years of war, industry, commerce, and in some places agriculture had been practically destroyed. Thousands of people were without jobs and food, while governments, facing tremendous debts, seemed powerless to aid them or to find solutions for the ills which beset them.

In France the situation after 1815 was especially critical. She was practically defenseless, her soil was occupied by her enemies, her man power had been sadly depleted, her trade was practically destroyed, and the demands of her conquerors had emptied the treasury. *France, 1815*

To meet this situation the government, disregarding the fact that her bonds were selling at 57, floated a new loan. But poor harvests and food prices so high that people could scarcely afford to live precipitated a crisis in 1816. To stave off famine the government was forced to regulate the price of wheat.

Great Britain, conqueror of France, also encountered economic difficulties. During the war she had enjoyed a period of prosperity. Prices of agricultural products and manufactured goods increased, and owners of farms and factories were able to pay good wages to workers. *Great Britain*

who managed to avoid military service. After the war those engaged in the spinning and weaving industries, especially, suffered severe cuts in wages and frequently lost their jobs. Not only the collapse of the war market, but also the substitution of the power-loom for the hand-loom weaver contributed to this decline. Other lines of industrial and commercial activity suffered correspondingly, and soon there were thousands of unemployed whose prospects of being rehired were very slight.

Social unrest was the natural result of this depression. Hungry weavers begged Parliament to intervene in their behalf, or to send them to Canada. Thousands of them urged that the power-loom be abolished by law, and, failing in their attempts to bring about this legislation, they tried to destroy the machines which, they said, "were devouring the bread of their children." At the same time they asked Parliament to establish a legal minimum wage scale, adequate for the maintenance of a family. "Unfortunately," wrote a contemporary, "it was beyond human power to grant their prayer. A better weaver than they had arisen. The hand-loom had to be put away among the rubbish of the past, and the poor workman had to endure a life of ever deepening want till he died."

Profits as well as wages collapsed after Napoleon. During the war rents had more than doubled and the high prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods had enabled many farmers and industrialists to accumulate fortunes. Determined to maintain prosperity for the great landowners at least, law makers — representatives of the landed gentry for the most part — decided to keep up the prices of foodstuffs, especially grain. They realized that a drop in the cost of living would have provided cheap food for the masses, but they also knew that it would bring about a decline in profits for the landowners. To avoid this calamity a new corn law was passed in 1815. It provided that no foreign grain was to be imported, until wheat in the home market had reached, for a period of six months, the prohibitive price of 80 shillings per quarter. Thus the domestic market was preserved as a virtual monopoly for the capitalistic, farming aristocrats.

High taxes delayed economic recovery in Great Britain as well as in France. During the Napoleonic wars England devoted a tremendous amount of money to the support of her soldiers, her sailors, and her allies. Between 1793 and 1815, for example, she furnished the allies over sixty-eight million pounds. When the war came to an end these debts had to be paid by the British people. To collect sufficient money for this purpose and yet not impair governmental credit, Parliament levied taxes on tobacco, malt, paper, and salt. These and other taxes bore most heavily on the working classes — the poor weaver, for example, paid nearly half of his income to the government in direct or indirect taxation. In commenting on this high cost of wars and government Sidney Smith, a contemporary, wrote

The school boy whips his taxed top, the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road, and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid seven percent into a spoon which has paid fifteen percent, flings himself upon his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two percent, and expires in the arms of an apothecary, who has paid a license of one hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten percent. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel, his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his Father — to be taxed no more.

Reactionaries took advantage of the social discontent, stimulated by the depression, to assume the rôle of defenders of law and order and to advance their interests thereby. Determined to prevent another revolution, conservative statesmen, privileged nobles and clerics, wealthy business men, country gentlemen, and reactionary intellectuals — all opposed liberal tendencies. Under their guidance governments ordered the police to spy upon persons suspected of being engaged in the promotion of subversive ideas or acts. All people were cautioned against

*Opposition to
liberalism*

making ill-considered remarks. Parents were to keep their children, teachers their pupils, and employers their workmen, off the streets. To keep the peace was to be the citizens' first duty. In Great Britain, for example, conservative leaders tried to stifle discontent by passing the famous Six Acts (1819), forbidding military exercises without permission, curtailing freedom of assembly, and establishing a stamp tax on pamphlets, similar to that imposed on newspapers. In the Germanies, Metternich, the same year, forced the Diet of the Germanic Confederation to pass the famous Carlsbad Decrees, regulating the press, intimidating university professors and students, and curbing public opinion.

A wave of romantic reaction gave the exponents of the Old Régime a moral basis for their repressive policies. This romanticism (which developed into the transcendental Idealism of the German philosophers) rejected the emphasis of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century rationalists upon reason which they declared was anarchic. Instead, the romanticists asserted that faith was binding and constructive. Recognizing the importance of the individual, they maintained that human nature was the product of man's instincts and feelings, and that his instructive and emotional life served to dominate and paint for him both his view of the world and his conception of human life. In other words, the poet or the saint was a truer guide on the pathway of life and thought than the scientist. Religion and morality were not sciences but matters of the heart. The romanticists developed an organic conception of society, believing that individuals were chiefly significant in so far as they were parts of the whole. They thought of society as co-operative, in which each class had its own interests and responsibilities. Influenced by these concepts, the romanticists favored the repudiation of eighteenth-century atheism, free thinking, and politico-economic individualism, and the reestablishment of the supremacy of God, and an idealized feudalism.¹

Like their intellectual defenders, the privileged classes in Europe were, on the whole, less liberal than they had been before the French Revolution. Churchmen, aristocrats, and monarchs joined in sharing the first fruits of Waterloo and trying to hold them. An ancient title again became the surest guarantee of preferment at court, in the army and navy, and in the church. Oblivious to the fact that they were living in a changing world, the privileged classes still clung to the social patterns of the Middle Ages. Devout advocates of tradition, they tended to rely upon the aid of the church in their opposition to revolutionary transformation. In France, bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church, reacting to the attacks of intellectuals and of revolutionary leaders on their spiritual and temporal powers, supported the nobility. Maintaining that unrestrained freedom would result in an atheistic world, they opposed civil

¹ For discussion of Romanticism in literature, see pp. 1021-1023.

marriages, divorces, public schools, and other modern tendencies. In Great Britain, Protestants also defended tradition and authority. Episcopalians, Methodists, and other denominations worked consciously or unconsciously for law and order. "None of us," stated the Statute of the Wesleyan Body, "shall either in writing or in speech speak lightly or irreverently of the government." Without authority and faith society could not endure, believed the Pietists of Germany.

✱ Even the upper bourgeoisie — merchants and bankers — feared political and social extremes. They disliked the economic and social restrictions of despotism, but at the same time they were alarmed at the potentialities of unrestricted license. Like the aristocrats, they ignored the rights of the lower classes, and favored a government of, and by, and for, the propertied classes.

Conservatives, however, were unable to extinguish the fire of liberalism. After 1815, persons of liberal inclinations still persisted in preaching the gospel of constitutionalism, republicanism, social equality, and freedom for suppressed nationalities. In England and France such champions of change were making the greatest advances. Challenging the supremacy of the land-owning and commercial classes, a new social group within the bourgeoisie,

Captains of industry the manufacturers, became articulate. These captains of industry demanded the establishment in England, and later on, in France, of a political and social order which would make

success dependent on economic proficiency rather than upon social or religious position. These self-made men, who had emerged from poverty and obscurity as a result of the Industrial Revolution, became devout exponents of the *laissez-faire* doctrines of Adam Smith and the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham. Believing money the chief criterion of success, these individualists subscribed to Bentham's idea, expressed in his *Principles of Morals and Legislation and Universal and Perpetual Peace*, that all institutions which stood in the way of individual economic advancement should be abolished. Antiquated laws, autocracy, aristocracy, theocracy — these and other obstacles to bourgeois progress, they insisted, must give way to more useful and efficient institutions which would promote the greatest good for the greatest number. An ideal state, they believed, should be ruled by the tax-payers, and should maintain law and order, the sanctity of property, and defend its citizens against alien attacks. It should not, as it had in the past, regulate the economic activities of its citizens. In short, each person should work out his own economic salvation, the duty of government was merely to protect life and property at a minimum of cost.

These exponents of the bourgeois state were firm advocates of constitutional government. In their opinion a constitution was a device which would establish and protect their ideals. It was the supreme law, to which all secular rulers were subordinate, and its existence was a guarantee of the assertedly inalienable rights of the individual,

Bourgeois liberalism

such as life, liberty, and private property. In short, the purpose of a constitution was to define and to describe the legal rights of the citizen and the structure and operation of the government which was to secure his enjoyment of these rights. But it need not establish democratic government. Instead it might better create a representative government in which the bourgeoisie could protect their economic interests through the ballot.

Freedom, in the economic sphere although not necessarily in politics, was the watchword of liberals in the nineteenth century. Individual liberty, said Henri Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) in his work *The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation*, was a fundamental of human society, for it determined morality and economic progress, and it alone made for human advancement. In his advocacy of liberty, Constant, however, did not champion political democracy. "Wealth and its twin brother leisure," he said, "alone render a man capable of exercising political rights."

Bourgeois emphasis upon freedom was a vital factor in the development of nationalism. It is true that the idea of self-determination in Italy, the Germanies, and in the Balkans originally was not of bourgeois origin. People of all classes in these and other lands, in order to justify their right to national independence were inspired by the romanticism of their day which emphasized the unifying cultural aspects of their glorious past. But, gradually, in the nineteenth century, nationalism, like individualism, became a bourgeois ideal. Both were incompatible with the *Nationalism* cooperative beliefs of the middle ages and of modern socialism. Thus, the bourgeoisie, convinced that economic individualism was the secret of success, soon saw in nationalism a means by which they as Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Germans might advance their personal interests under the guise of patriotism.

During the nineteenth century nationalism became an important check on internationalism as well as on unfettered individualism. There arose a growing emphasis upon the supremacy in all matters of the national state. Miscellaneous types of internationalists, such as ultramontanists, socialists, and communists, and disciples of complete individualism, such as anarchists, came to be regarded as enemies of the existing order and of patriotism.

Partly responsible for this practical loyalty were the captains of industry. With the overthrow of the old order and its replacement by a new one, those in power, the wealthy bourgeoisie, exploited patriotism as a means whereby they could check any group which threatened their rule or their economic power. Nationalism, welding together people of all classes, seemed the most inspiring doctrine of all and one of the valuable assets of the new régime, to the bourgeoisie it was an insurance policy—a safeguard which would absolutely protect them against the attacks of their enemies. To the early nineteenth-century exponents of nationalism, the romanticists, however, it was more than an inspiring doctrine or an insurance policy; it was a religion.

These intense patriots insisted that nationalism was the greatest influence in life. Epitomizing all that was moral, it was something that a man should be ready to die for — yes, and to kill for also.

Between 1815 and 1848 nationalist and democratic movements resulted in disorders and revolutions in all parts of Europe and the New World. Varying in intensity and in direction, according to local conditions, these agitations achieved different degrees of success. Prior to 1848 little headway was made by the forces of liberalism in Russia, Austria, and Prussia, but in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Greece, and in the various Hispanic-American countries, a considerable measure of success was attained. Despite numerous failures, the revolts during the period were of tremendous importance, they created the foundation upon which was to be built the modern capitalist-bourgeois state.

*Significance of
revolutionary
movements*

Curiously enough the backward, agrarian states of Serbia and Greece were the first to achieve nationalist success. Led by a brave but rather primitive pig-dealer, Kara George, the Serbs, in 1804, inaugurated a struggle to overthrow Turkish control. It was not until 1830, however, that they were able to gain autonomy.¹ Stimulated by the uprising of the Serbs, the Greeks in 1821 launched their rebellion. Admirers of antique culture, liberals, and Christians throughout the world, sympathized with the Greeks in their attempt to regain their freedom and restore the glorious past. Lord Byron, and numerous other Europeans, for example, participated personally in the revolution. Desirous of destroying the Ottoman Empire and acquiring Constantinople, Russia decided upon direct intervention on behalf of these Hellenic co-religionists. But Austria ruled over millions of Slavs, and Great Britain and France feared Slav dominance in the Balkans, therefore, the two western powers agreed to cooperate with the tsar in forcing mediation on the Turks. When the sultan demurred, however, the combined fleets of the three Christian powers in 1827 destroyed a Turko-Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino. Apologizing for this "unfortunate incident," Great Britain withdrew her forces and left Russia a free hand. Declaring war upon Turkey in 1828 Russia defeated the forces of the sultan and enabled the Greeks by the Peace of Adrianople (1829) to secure their independence. Thereupon the Kingdom of Greece was founded under the joint guaranty of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

*Nationalist
revolts in Balkans*

Although Russia aided the Greeks in their struggle for freedom, she was more orthodox when it came to liberal revolts at home. In 1825 a group of young military officers launched the Decembrist Revolt for the purpose of establishing a constitutional government. Their uprising was promptly squelched by the tsar. Five years later the Poles, perhaps encouraged by the revolution of 1830 in France, decided to fight for independence. The reactionary tsar, Nicholas I (1825-1855), who had

*Revolts in
Russia*

¹ See pp 945-946

ignored Alexander's constitution which permitted autonomy to the Poles, acted quickly and put down the revolution. The leaders were punished, the constitution was annulled, and all vestiges of autonomy were swept away.

The Belgians in 1830 also engaged in a nationalist uprising. For a time this struggle between Catholic, industrial Belgium, and Protestant and commercial Holland, threatened to bring about international complications. France favored the dissolution of the buffer state created at Vienna, and even planned a union between the French and Belgian peoples. Great Britain also decided not to oppose the national aspirations of the Belgians, but, at the same time, determined to prevent a Franco-Belgian union. After some Anglo-French wrangling, which nearly led to armed hostilities, the independence of Belgium was recognized (1831) under the rule of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, uncle of England's

*Establishment of
Belgian kingdom*

Queen Victoria. Holland, backed by Russia, withheld her acceptance. In 1839 general recognition, however, was accorded to the new Belgian kingdom when, in order to forestall future wars over this strategically-located country, the great powers of Europe, guaranteed her neutrality. It was this treaty that was violated by Germany in 1914, and was described by her chancellor as a "scrap of paper."

Liberal and nationalist movements developed in other small nations of Europe. In Sweden and Denmark attempts were made to establish constitutions, in Norway a nationalist group urged separation from Sweden; in Switzerland Catholic-Protestant antagonism, and rivalries between cantons inhabited by people who spoke French, German, and Italian resulted in a civil war in 1847 and the establishment of a unified government. A constitution, creating a federal republic, with cantonal democracy, was adopted.

*Liberalism in
small nations*

In the Mediterranean countries (Spain, Portugal, and Italy) and in the Germanies, the revolutionary movements were unsuccessful. The issues of Spain and Portugal were curiously parallel. Both states were involved in dynastic and constitutional struggles and in the process of losing their large colonial empires. King Ferdinand VII of Spain tried, after his return in 1814, to extinguish all traces of liberalism implanted in Spain during the Napoleonic occupation. Adopting a reactionary policy he restored the Inquisition, returned the wealth taken from the monasteries, persecuted all liberals, and ignored the constitution of 1812 which he had accepted upon his return. Saved by French intervention in 1823 when the constitutionalists threatened to bring about his overthrow, he instituted a reign of terror which lasted until his death in 1833. The constitutional question then became entangled with the dynastic question. For seven years Don Carlos, the late king's brother, who had the support of the absolutists and the clericals, fought the followers of Donna Isabella, the young daughter of Ferdinand, who favored the constitutional program. This strug-

*Liberalism in
Spain*

gle, however, came to a close in 1839 when Isabella II, with Franco-British support, defeated the Carlists. Her victory did not lead to the establishment of a liberal régime. On the contrary, her rule was a miserable record of confusion, intrigue, and scandal, which dragged on until 1868 when she was expelled as a result of a revolution.

Dynastic struggles also occurred in Portugal. After the revolution of 1820 its king, John VI, who had retired to the Portuguese colony of Brazil upon the French invasion of 1807, returned to Portugal. Thereupon his son, Don Pedro, became Emperor of Brazil, which declared itself independent of the mother country. Desirous of retaining a dynastic interest in the throne of Portugal, Don Pedro, upon the death of his father in 1826, announced that his seven-year-old daughter, Donna Maria de la Gloria, was a candidate for the throne of Portugal. But an uncle of the young lady, Don Miguel, disputed her claims. Backed by the absolutists and clerics he therefore engaged in a short struggle with the constitutionalists, who supported Donna Maria. With French and British aid Don Pedro in 1834 finally succeeded in establishing his daughter on the throne. Her reign, like that of her Spanish counterpart, was repressive and turbulent. Portugal's transition from medievalism to modernism, hindered by poverty and by acute social and economic distresses, presented an unsavory spectacle.

Constitutional and national movements failed in Italy. After Napoleon's downfall, reactionaries proceeded to restore the Old Régime. Split into numerous political divisions that unfortunate country therefore became the prey of selfish despotism, helpless divisionalism, and alien (Austrian) influence. In certain parts of that peninsula the Napoleonic code was retained, but clericalism, feudalism, and autocracy again prevailed for the most part.

Despite their war on revolutionary ideology, reactionaries were never able to eradicate the impulse toward national unity and democracy. Secret societies flourished in all parts of Italy, agitating in behalf of liberalism and nationalism. Of these organizations the Carbonari was the most famous. Its origin is obscure, and is frequently connected with Freemasonry. Appearing in Southern Italy and Sicily just before Napoleon's fall, it advocated certain liberal changes. Soon it spread throughout Europe. Everywhere it consisted of groups of twenty, with a certain ritual based on the charcoal-burner's trade. Revolutions and uprisings in Naples (1820), in Piedmont (1821), and in other parts of Italy were aided by the Carbonari. But these disorders were quickly suppressed by Austrian troops.

*Liberalism in
Portugal*

*Liberalism in
Italy*

this eloquent prophet made the cause of a liberal and a united Italy into a popular, well-organized movement, both at home and abroad. The Young Italy Society, with its direct appeal to the young people and to idealists, soon supplanted the Carbonari as the most significant revolutionary agency.

Another leader, Charles Albert of Sardinia, also came from the north. Succeeding to the throne of Sardinia in 1831, he gradually adopted the cause of moderate reform then being preached by the Italian intellectual, Gioberti. There was already a large following of these who were patriotic, rather than revolutionary. They desired educational and economic improvements, but nursed the hope of a federal union, under the presidency of the pope. This proposal at first gained support from the third great leader of this period, Pope Pius IX (1846-1878).

This liberal pope gave impetus to reform in Italy. Upon his elevation Pius IX freed political prisoners, released Jews from the Ghetto at Rome, opened certain posts in the papal states to laymen, admitted political newspapers, and advocated economic improvements. This outburst of papal liberalism astounded the reactionaries throughout Europe. Denouncing Pius for his liberalism, Metternich decided to overawe the pontiff by ordering his troops to occupy Ferrara. A wave of indignation and Austrophobe sentiment swept Italy which enabled Charles Albert to emerge by 1848 as the liberal leader of the nationalist movement in Italy.

By 1848 Metternich faced revolutionary opposition in Central Europe as well as in Italy. Between 1815 and 1848 political decentralization and Austrian domination prevailed in the Germanies even more than in Italy. As stated before, thirty-nine states were bound together in a loose Germanic Confederation. The same inequality among the various states persisted as in the days of the Holy Roman Empire. Austria, the president of the confederation, and Prussia, the vice-president, were powers of international rank. Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Baden and others were middle-sized states, which, jealous

*Lack of unity in
Central Europe*

of one another, wielded comparatively little influence. A number of states were attached to foreign powers—Hanover, being an appendage of the English crown until 1837, Holstein belonging to the king of Denmark, and Luxembourg being ruled by the king of the Netherlands. Other tiny states, relics of feudalism, were insignificant.

There was no central government capable of overcoming these divisions and of establishing national unity. The confederation, as set up at Vienna, restricted the sovereignty of the members to only a slight degree. In the event of war against the confederation, each state bound itself not to make an alliance with the enemy. It possessed neither executive organization, nor federal armaments. There was the Diet of Frankfurt, which represented the governments of the various states, but it had no power to enforce its decisions, requiring a two-thirds majority in important matters and a unanimous vote

in questions involving fundamental laws, organic institutions, individual rights, and religious affairs

This lack of unity in the Germanies enabled Austria under the guidance of Metternich to dominate the confederation. Determined to preserve the federal principles in Central Europe and the monarchical ideal in each state, he strenuously opposed the introduction of liberal ideas. The willingness of Frederick William of Prussia and lesser princes to grant political concessions — even constitutions to their subjects — encountered the Austrian chancellor's opposition. Taking advantage of a student demonstration at the Wartburg in Weimar (1817), on the anniversary of the beginning of the German Protestant Revolt and of the Battle of Leipzig, and of the assassination of a conservative agent of Russia, Kotzebue, in 1819, Metternich was able to force acceptance throughout Germany of the repressive Carlsbad Decrees. Under the political reaction which ensued liberalism was able to make but little headway in the Germanies. A few minor disturbances — a burlesque revolution in Baden, small uprisings in Hesse, Hanover, Brunswick, and Saxony, and some student demonstrations in Hanover — slightly ruffled the apparent calm which lasted in Germany until 1848.¹

Beneath the surface, however, the desire for unity expressed itself in a German nationalism which gained support from all classes. Intellectuals, philosophers, scientists, composers, artists, students, and traders in the various German states, inspired by patriotic fervor, revealed their zeal by writing stimulating books, by making significant discoveries, and by composing distinguished music. In their writings Kant (1762-1814), and Herder glorified the German people, and Heine (1797-1856) urged the establishment of democracy and unity. In their music Beethoven (1770-1827) and Richard Wagner (1813-1883) reflected the aspirations of individuals and the collective want of the community. Actually, this German Renaissance, sung by poets and musicians, advocated by teachers, and propagated by student societies, was highly tinged with romanticism. It looked back with longing to the great traditions of medieval Germany, and with angry passion, mingled with pride, to the War of Liberation in 1813. "What is the German Fatherland?" cried Arndt, a famous German intellectual. "Where every Frenchman is called an enemy and every German is called a friend."²

In the early nineteenth century, German nationalism, filled with romantic mysticism and anti-French passion, was vague and confused as to any practical program of German unity. A rather active group of patriots tended to favor the idea of a Great Germany which should include Austria; another advocated a Little Germany which would exclude the Habsburg Empire

¹ See pp. 904; 917-922

² See Romanticism in literature and music pp. 1021-1024; 1031-1034

and accept the leadership of Prussia. A number of German states, including Bavaria, urged a scheme for uniting Germany under three heads, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria. The Austrian Empire was a real obstacle, for, if it were included, with its large groups of non-German subjects, then the Fatherland would be too diluted, if it were excluded, then the Germans of Upper Austria and the Tyrol would be lost to their nation. It was this same difficulty which prevented Austria from taking the leading rôle in the nationalist movement. Aware of this situation and determined to maintain Habsburg rule over German and non-German peoples, Metternich tried to nullify all plans for German unity.

Austria's opposition to nationalism enabled her great rival, Prussia, to become the logical leader in the move to create a German state. During the Napoleonic wars her armies, thanks to the regeneration of Prussia conducted after Jena by Stein, Scharnhorst, and other leaders, played an important rôle in destroying the French empire. Her military success also enabled her diplomats at Vienna to secure for Prussia valuable territorial and other profits, rewards which helped her to lay the foundation of a strong modern state.

During the generation of peace which followed, Prussia strengthened her position in Central Europe by creating the *Zollverein*, an economic customs agreement which tended to promote union in north Germany. Prior to 1818 most German states had tariff frontiers which greatly hindered their economic development. Wishing to promote prosperity, Prussia negotiated, between 1819 and 1842, tariff agreements with her neighboring states. These agreements by abolishing numerous customs duties not only reduced the price of manufactured goods to consumers, but also stimulated the expansion of commerce and industry, thus contributing to the prosperity of the business classes. Impressed by the success of this policy other states entered into the *Zollverein*, until 1848 it included practically all of them, except Austria. By keeping her rival out of this economic league, Prussia played the leading part in the economic unification of Germany, and, by so doing, established herself as the logical leader in the movement for political unity.

While the Germans were trying to attain national solidarity, the French were attempting to achieve political stability. Louis XVIII (1814-1824) handed down to his subjects a charter which vaguely recognized social equality, but preserved most of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic reforms. He also accepted a Parliament consisting of a Chamber of Peers and an elective Chamber of Deputies. Limited suffrage and a ministry not responsible to the assembly enabled the King and the propertied classes to control the state. This attempt to establish a government which was essentially an absolutism, with a mere gesture toward the sovereign nation, proved unsatisfactory to a great majority of the French people. Reactionaries demanded the complete restoration of the

*Prussia and
German
nationalism*

*Louis XVIII
of France*

Old Régime, while liberals urged concessions in the direction of constitutional democracy

Louis XVIII, old, indolent, and unimaginative, wanted to maintain the *status quo*. He found it difficult, however, to control the liberal impulses which appeared among the people and in the Chamber of Deputies, and impossible to tame the nobles, the émigrés, the clergy, and even his own ministers, who, devoted to absolutism and feudalism, were staunch ultra-royalists. Aroused by reactionary enthusiasm, these die-hards launched a White Terror in southern France, assailing and frequently murdering republicans and Bonapartists. In the Chamber of Deputies, an ultra-royalist majority, elected in 1815, passed laws in violation of the charter and demanded the punishment of Napoleon's generals. Despite this reactionary outburst, the king, in his attempt to maintain a moderate policy, reduced the size of the army, abolished conscription, and adhered to the charter. The assassination of the Duc de Berri, heir to the throne, in 1820, however, put the ultra-royalists in power. Laws were now passed which interfered with individual liberty, repealed the divorce act, and conferred a double vote upon the wealthy classes. Taking advantage of this reactionary wave, the clerical party increased its hold over national education and asserted its claims for the restoration of ecclesiastical lands.

This attempt to re-establish the Old Régime aroused the bitter opposition of the masses. Peasants and bourgeoisie began to fear the loss of the lands secured during the Revolution. Businessmen predicted economic catastrophe as a result of the heavy taxes, governmental corruption, and the restoration of feudal regulations and restrictions. Secret societies, agitating for revolution, appeared in various parts of France. An increasingly large group of men were convinced that a constitutional monarchy alone could preserve the nation from disaster.

Ignoring this revival of liberalism, Charles X, who succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII, in 1824, dedicated his life to the restoration of "the good old days." Idol of the ultra-royalists, this old man, who boasted that he and Lafayette had not changed since 1789, prepared to advance the cause of his nobles and clerics. Bishops were given greater powers and an attempt was made to bind more closely the throne and the altar. "There is no such thing as political experience," wrote Wellington. "With the warning of James II before him, Charles X is setting up government by priests, through priests, and for priests." Sacrilege again became a crime punishable by death; censorship of the press was instituted, the reestablishment of primogeniture was proposed; and a huge financial indemnity was granted to the émigrés for the losses which they had suffered during the Revolution.

In 1830 a revolution in Paris swept Charles X from the throne. In his attempt to suppress the opposition, the king had appointed as his chief minister in 1829, Prince de Polignac, an ultra-clerical and royalist reactionary.

Public opinion, already critical of Charles's ultra-royalism, was antagonized by his choice of minister. Everywhere the monarch was being criticised. Exasperated, he retaliated against his detractors by issuing the four famous ordinances of July 25, 1830 *Revolution of 1830*

These, suspending the liberty of press, dissolving the chamber, altering the franchise, and summoning a new parliament, provoked a revolution. Demanding at first the establishment of a republic, but later, as a result of Lafayette's influence, a limited bourgeois monarchy, the masses of Paris attacked the royal troops and built barricades in the streets of the city. Continuously weeping, the last Bourbon king of France wisely decided to abdicate, going as an exile to London, where he is said to have registered in a hotel as Mr Smith. A provisional government was now set up, and Louis Philippe, of the House of Orleans, related to the royal family, was asked by a French banker to ascend the throne. Accepting this invitation with a show of reluctance, Louis Philippe now became the first "Citizen-King of the French."

The Revolution of 1830 thus brought to an end in France the divine-right monarchy. Henceforth the people, especially the wealthy businessmen, were to have a voice in the government. This bourgeois government was expected to maintain law and order at a minimum cost, to recognize social equality, and to guarantee to all Frenchmen equality of opportunity.

After 1815 the Old Régime declined in Great Britain as well as in France. The land-owning aristocrats, dominated the government through the Tory party. But the Technological and Industrial Revolutions, as we have seen,¹ brought into existence a powerful group of middle-class men — the manufacturers. They soon opposed the Tory government, which they believed catered only to the interests of the landowners. Determined to end this rule of the aristocrats, these self-made men joined the small farmers, businessmen, and the wage-earners in a concerted move to dethrone the landed gentry. To reach this objective they determined to destroy the political monopoly enjoyed by conservative members of the Church of England. In 1828 the disabilities from which Protestant Dissenters suffered were removed by the abolition of the requirement that all office-holders should take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England and should make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the following year Parliament, after a long and bitter controversy, passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which permitted Catholics to henceforth sit in either house of Parliament and to hold, with few exceptions, municipal and national offices. Having granted political rights to these religious groups who, for the most part, opposed the landowners, the liberals, led by Lord John Russell, proceeded to introduce a Reform Bill in the House of Commons. It aimed to bring about a redistribu-

¹ See pp. 905-906

tion of seats on a more equitable plan, and a withdrawal of the rights of representation from depopulated boroughs in favor of the large towns and cities

The passage of this Reform Bill, as we shall see,¹ marked the decline, in 1832, of aristocratic rule, but it did not signify the establishment of a democracy. Small farmers, petty business-men, and wage-earners who had favored the passage of the bill were still denied the ballot. Like their brothers in France they merely had exchanged one set of masters, the landowning aristocrats, for another, the wealthy bourgeoisie. Democracy was still around the corner in England as it was in most parts of the continent.

¹ See pp. 980-981.

CHAPTER LXI

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

A large part of Europe at the opening of 1848 was in a restless, disturbed, and expectant state. Men were wearied of the old order and were demanding democratic reforms, social equality, a more popular system of education, separation of church and state, and national inde- *Europe in 1848* pendence. As in England and America, and in France before 1789, the Old Régime was gradually disintegrating, and the revolutions of 1848 served to hasten this process.

With the beginning of that year, uprisings broke out in Italy as well as in others parts of Europe. On January 12, the Sicilians instituted a revolution at Palermo, demanding autonomy from the Bourbon king in *Italian revolts* Naples and the Constitution of 1812. King Ferdinand II accepted their requests, and, to prevent a revolution on the mainland, granted a constitution to it as well as to his island kingdom. Thereupon other uprisings immediately took place in Italy. As a result, the rulers of Piedmont, Tuscany, and the papal states had to grant constitutions, permitting parliamentary government within their respective dominions. Thus, by March, 1848, constitutional governments had been established in all the leading Italian states, save those under Austrian control.

Then came the news that a revolution in Vienna had forced Metternich to flee. Immediately a strong anti-Austrian feeling swept Italy which led to a series of revolts against Austrian control. In Milan the citizens succeeded in driving out the imperial troops. Venice did likewise and proclaimed a republic. The Austrian rulers of Modena and Parma fled, and Habsburg authority seemed to have collapsed. There was a widespread demand for a war of liberation to expel the Austrians and to unite Italy under any Italian prince deemed worthy to assume the sacred task. Some favored a federation under the presidency of Pope Pius IX, but the establishment of Italian unity under the rule of the Nationalist king, Charles Albert of Sardinia, appeared more feasible. Insisting that there could be but one leader in this emergency, the young Count Cavour, editor of the *Risorgimento*, a liberal newspaper, recommended Charles Albert. "The supreme hour of the Sardinian monarchy has sounded. There is only one path open to the government, the nation, the King, — immediate war."

On March 23, Charles Albert proclaimed war on Austria. Leopold of Tuscany joined him; and the pope and Ferdinand of Naples promised to

send troops Before the struggle got under way, however, the national movement was undermined through the withdrawal of papal and Bourbon support as a result of Austrian protests Sole remaining hope of the nationalists, Charles Albert was a patriotic prince, but a poor statesman and an incompetent soldier Disregarding certain defections within the ranks, and stimulated by the enthusiasm of his immediate followers, the foolish king rushed headlong against the Austrians In July, he was defeated at the battle of Custoza Thereupon he was forced to sign a capitulation, leaving Lombardy to the Austrians

Sardinia's defeat did not bring the war of liberation to an end, but, on the other hand it precipitated the popular phase of the struggle "The War of the Princes is finished," said the Mazzinian and republican element, "that of the peoples is begun" Meanwhile a republic was proclaimed in Venice, the temporal power of the papacy was overthrown, and republics were set up in Rome and Tuscany

Pius IX repented his alliance with liberalism Suspecting Charles Albert of secretly planning the establishment of a centralized monarchy instead of a confederation, the pope dissociated himself from the cause and commanded his subjects to detach themselves from an ideal which no longer enjoyed the esteem of God Then he turned against the liberal movement, claiming that it was hostile to the moral, spiritual, as well as the temporal prerogatives of the church

Disregarding the opposition of the pope, Charles Albert and other Italian rulers denounced the Austro-Sardinian armistice and renewed the war Again the Italians were defeated, this time at Novara (1849), and the Sardinian ruler, rather than submit to a humiliating peace, abdicated Victor Emmanuel II, his son, now had to arrange a settlement with Austria

Charles's abdication marked the failure, at least for the time being, of the democratic and nationalist movement throughout Italy Reactionary Bourbon rule was reestablished in southern Italy and Sicily, and Rome, after a brilliant defense conducted by Garibaldi, was taken over by French troops sent by Louis Napoleon as a gesture to the Catholic church in France and in order to uphold French prestige in Italy In August, 1849, Venice was conquered by Austrian soldiers Thus the forces of reaction triumphed, as one by one all the little Italian republics were extinguished In most of Italy darkness seemed again to have fallen upon the cause of liberals and nationalists Only in Sardinia, where Victor Emmanuel II refused to abandon the constitution which his father had created, did the light of liberalism still gleam.

The revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe resembled those of Italy in traversing a cycle of promising success, war, defeat, and extinction. At first these uprisings in Austria, Schleswig-Holstein, Prussia, Hanover, Württem-

Prus and the unity movement

Novara

Suppression of liberalism in Italy

berg, Bavaria, Baden, and in the smaller states, were generally successful. Constitutions were established, liberal ministries were created, and freedom of speech and press was promised. "Kings shook hands with the leaders of revolutions, their soldiers fraternized everywhere with the mob, professors appeared as prime ministers, and students, artisans, and shopkeepers sat as deputies in newly summoned popular legislatures."¹ Plans to emancipate the serfs (already freed in Prussia in 1807), to extend toleration to the Jews, and to create equality of opportunity, presaged the establishment in Central Europe of bourgeois-capitalist régimes.

Temporarily, Prussia took the lead in this liberal movement. Its king, Frederick William IV, who ascended the throne in 1840, was regarded by many as a national leader. He seemed to justify this reputation when, in 1847, he called for the first time a United Prussian Diet and declared his intention of settling the German question. Informed of these unseemly gestures, Metternich and Tsar Nicholas I were shocked, believing that their good neighbor had deserted the cause of law and order—the Old Régime. But they soon discovered that Frederick William had no intention of granting his subjects real political power, for he dismissed the diet before any constitutional changes could be enacted. Nevertheless, the mere convocation of that body had greatly encouraged the liberals, who now proceeded to agitate throughout Germany for reform.

In 1848, therefore, the revolution broke upon a German people seething with excitement and unrest. In Prussia, Frederick William IV, yielding to the liberal and nationalist demands, summoned the diet to discuss the constitution, and assumed the rôle of leader in Germany of the national movement. Wearing a black, red, and gold sash, the colors of the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick William headed a procession through the streets of Berlin. "I have today," he declared, "assumed the German colors, and have placed my people under the revered banner of the German Empire. Prussia's interests shall henceforth be those of Germany."

While the Prussian king was planning the unification of Germany, an important attempt to rebuild a united Germany was being made in the federal capital. Meeting in Frankfurt (May, 1848), a national parliament, consisting of leading liberal thinkers and reformers of the Germanies, proceeded to discuss the creation of a new constitution for a united nation. Ignoring the princes, the president, at the beginning of the sessions declared, "We derive our authority for this purpose from the sovereignty of the nation. Germany desires to be a single state ruled by the will of its peoples with the co-operation of all its members." Numerous obstacles, however, confronted the delegates in their attempts to

¹ Grant and Temperley, *Europe, 1789-1914*, p. 225.

reconstruct Germany Especially difficult were such problems as the rivalry of Austria and Prussia, the antagonisms between the northern and southern states, and the choice as to a monarchy or a republic After prolonged and faintly academic discussions, a constitution, providing for a unified nation with an emperor to be selected from among the ruling princes of the Germanies, was finally completed in March, 1849 In April the assembly, deciding to exclude Austria for not being entirely Germanic, and thus to create a little Germany rather than a big Germany, offered the imperial crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia

The Prussian king by this time had lost much of his interest in the reform movement Referring to his liberal behavior of the previous March, he commented, "In those days, we all crawled upon our stomachs" Apparently he now preferred to stand upon his reactionary feet Influenced by the suppression of the revolutionary movements in the Austrian domains, he already had dismissed his liberal advisers, dissolved the Prussian Diet, and re-established royal autocracy Therefore, when the offer came from Frankfurt, Frederick William, realizing that his desertion of the reactionary cause would bring upon him the bitter opposition of his Habsburg neighbor and other lesser princes, declined the invitation because of its parliamentary and revolutionary basis

Frederick William's refusal was followed by the disintegration of the Frankfurt Assembly Plans to create a liberal and a united Germany were modified and then abandoned as the members began to return to their homes The last remnant of the meeting was dispersed by Austrian troopers Despite its failure, the assembly achieved one important objective, it had revealed the widespread desire, if not the method, of achieving national unity Bismarck, architect of the German Empire, as we shall see,¹ was partly indebted to this body for its sound conclusion that unification could not be achieved by the co-operation of Austria and Prussia, but only through the leadership of a single state In short, the very failure of the Frankfurt Assembly proved that as long as the conflicting interests of Prussia and Austria were balanced in Central Europe, a German nation could not be established

After dissolution of the assembly both Prussia and Austria tried to introduce certain federal reforms In 1848 Prussia proposed the establishment of a new league of northern German states, but this plan was rejected by Austria, who had the support of Russia in her determination to maintain the *status quo* Unwilling to risk a war with these powerful neighbors, the Prussian ruler was forced to abandon his plan, and, at the famous interview, or the so-called "humiliation" of Olmutz (1850), to recognize the continued supremacy of the Germanic Confederation In return the Austrian Emperor gave up certain proposals which would have increased his personal power in the Germanies In 1850,

¹ See pp 938-939

*Humiliation of
Olmutz*

the kingdom of Prussia was not yet prepared to wage a major war in order to dominate Central Europe

This failure to create a unified Germany did not check the rise of Prussia. It is true that the influence of Frederick William waned after he turned down the offer of the Frankfurt Assembly. Nevertheless, Prussia with her large population and large area, remained the leader of the north German states, largely because of the prosperity which had followed her establishment of the *Zollverein*. This customs union had introduced a period of great economic development in the Germanies. Profiting, therefore, by this union and also conscious of the inability of the liberals to achieve German political unity, the middle classes, as we shall see,¹ supported the autocratic solution of Bismarck for the German question.

Until the nationalist movements in Central Europe and Italy came under the direction of two able leaders, Bismarck and Cavour respectively, Austria remained the pivot upon which their fate turned. In the Austrian Empire, inhabited by twelve different nationalities, *Metternich and liberalism*¹ the force of national self-determination, instead of being constructive and unifying, as in Germany and Italy, was disruptive and centrifugal. Fully aware of this situation, the emperor and his advisers for forty years had maintained the *status quo* in order to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas and to neutralize nationalistic currents. They attempted to do so through censorship of the press and speech and by other repressive measures. The government tried to counteract patriotic movements by a policy of "divide and rule," sending Germans to Hungary, Magyars to Italy, Italians to Galicia, and Poles to Austria. By thus playing off one group against another, the government kept them all in a well-tempered state of discontent and prevented them from presenting a united opposition to the Viennese authorities.

Until 1848, Metternich was able, despite occasional difficulties, to check the spread of liberalism. But Austria, a house divided within itself, suffered from antiquated methods of agriculture, constitutional repression, and administrative stagnation. In the early thirties unrest developed in all parts of the empire. Germans, Magyars, and Slavs voiced constitutional, social, economic, and national grievances. Mounting opposition to the aging Metternich, and the accession of the eccentric Ferdinand I in 1835, hampered the government in its resolve to preserve the *status quo*. Dissatisfaction became widespread, especially among the subject peoples, the oppressed peasantry, and the bourgeoisie.

This unrest finally culminated in revolutionary outbreaks throughout the Habsburg dominions. In 1846, the Galician peasants rose in rebellion. The revolutionary infection soon spread to the *Revolt of 1848* Germans, the Czechs, the Magyars, the South Slavs and the Italians who

¹ See p. 944

lived in other parts of the empire. For several months it seemed as if the proud Habsburg state was to fall to pieces. In March, 1848, riots occurred in Vienna, Metternich fled, and the harmless Ferdinand, a few months later, left Vienna. In control of the city, groups of students and bourgeoisie forced the government to promise the people a constitution and an elective assembly. At the same time, concessions were granted to the Czechs, Magyars, the Galicians, and the Croatian autonomous movement was confirmed in the appointment of its leader Jellačić as *Ban*.

These liberal concessions were soon annulled by the reactionary government. Encouraged by successes in Italy, it decided to abandon its policy of reform and to stamp out internal discontent. Several developments aided the defenders of Habsburg imperialism in carrying out this program. In the first place, the strong loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, which existed in many parts of the empire, was strengthened by the emperor's flight. Increasing sympathy for the emperor was aroused and exploited by repeated imperial proclamations and appeals. Secondly, national jealousies between the Magyars and Slavs in Hungary, and the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia prevented united action and co-operation on the part of the various groups of revolutionaries. Slavs were of the opinion that the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary were trying to substitute themselves for the Habsburgs as the ruling element, and that the national rights of other peoples would be ignored. Poles, Czechs, Croats and other South Slavs, were determined to oppose such developments.

Taking advantage of these national rivalries the Habsburg government proceeded to play off one movement against another and to quell all of them thereby. In June, the rivalries between the Czechs and Germans in Prague enabled the Austrian general, Windischgratz, to recapture the city and to put down the Bohemian revolution. In October, he was able to recapture Vienna which was then turned over to the reactionaries. In Hungary, however, the situation was not so favorable. Having proclaimed their complete separation from Austria, the Magyars had set up an independent republic under Kossuth and Déak, and were prepared to defend it by force of arms. By 1849, the Habsburg government received military support from the Croats and other South Slavs, who opposed Magyar dominance, and from Nicholas I of Russia, who was alarmed at this revolutionary movement in the house of his Habsburg neighbor. Slav, Russian, and Austrian troops were now directed against the Magyar republic, and in a short time its short-lived independence was revoked.

Having suppressed all of the revolutionary movements the reactionary (aristocratic and clerical) elements in Austria created a dictatorship. Ferdinand I, who had promised reforms, abdicated, so as to avoid carrying them out, and an eighteen-year-old youth, Francis Joseph (1848-1916), succeeded

*Suppression of
revolutions*

him on the throne. Under the new emperor, a strong government headed by Prince Schwartzburg, proceeded to annul the liberal concessions and to re-establish the *status quo*. One measure, the abolition of feudal services and the emancipation of the serfs, remained as the chief visible achievement of the uprisings. The Habsburg dynasty continued to rule by the will of God, and not by the consent of the miscellaneous peoples who constituted this polyglot state.

The triumph of reactionary forces in Central Europe was followed by a period of internal peace. During that time domestic enterprise, especially in the *Zollverein*, and even in Austria, was directed toward economic development. Commerce expanded, prices of agricultural products increased, and money began to flow into the Germanies. All classes participated in this advancement, but of these it was the bourgeoisie who experienced the fullest measure of growth. They had already played an important rôle in the political and economic regeneration of Central Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1850 they had sufficient technical knowledge and cultural experience to make Germany one of the most advanced areas in Europe.

It was at this time that the foundations of a capitalistic régime were well established in Germany. Credit banks were founded, joint stock companies enabled people to purchase shares in business concerns, and, between 1853–1857, railways, connecting the leading cities and the outlying districts, were built, mining and weaving became thriving industries, dyes were perfected, machinery improved, and scientific processes of agricultural cultivation were adopted. Thus, before the German Empire was created by Bismarck, the middle classes were laying the economic foundations of that great state.

By 1850 the cause of bourgeois liberalism had achieved marked victories in both Europe and the New World. In the Old World nearly every country, save Russia, was affected by the revolutionary tendencies of the 1840's. The king of Denmark, in 1849, set up a moderate constitution which created an assembly based on propertied suffrage. In the Netherlands the liberal movement forced King William II to grant his people a constitution which extended the suffrage for the lower house of the States General. In Belgium the electorate was also increased. In the Balkans and in Hispanic America similar revolutionary movements enabled the people to secure varying degrees of political rights.

Between 1830 and 1848, the greatest advance in bourgeois liberalism took place in France. Practically commanded by the rich bankers to become their king, Louis Philippe, in 1830, adopted the title of King of the French—not King of France—a clever distinction by which he implied that the people had conferred sovereignty upon him.

During the reign of this bourgeois monarch, France experienced the growing pains of the Industrial Revolution. Factories were built, machinery was

*Economic
development in
Germanies*

*Spread of
Bourgeois
liberalism*

Louis Philippe

introduced, and railway construction was promoted. Accompanying this economic development was a partial concentration of population in the cities.

Industrial Revolution in France During the first half of the nineteenth century, the number of inhabitants of Paris nearly doubled, that of Lyons more than doubled, and that of Marseilles increased over seventy-

five per cent. With this concentration accelerated by a mounting birthrate, living conditions among the wage-earners deteriorated rapidly. The slow mechanization of industry, however, increased the demand for unskilled labor. Consequently, in the textile industry, for example, there were jobs for men, women, and children, provided that they were willing to work long hours for low pay. Eventually the increase of machinery and of labor supply resulted in the development of unemployment and increased crime. "There are," wrote the French Socialist, Louis Blanc, "even according to official statistics, more than one million persons in France who literally have not enough to eat, and one person in nine belongs to the 'suffering' classes. In Paris, 63,000 persons are living a life of crime or of dire poverty." Between 1823 and 1847, labor tried to better its conditions through the formation of unions which were illegal, by means of the strike, and by the enactment of legislation beneficial to the workers.

The plight of the farmer was little better than that of the wage-earner. Only a part of the land confiscated by the government during the Revolution had been transferred to the peasant. Most of it went into the hands of wealthy bourgeoisie. Consequently, the small farmer, — the peasant — remained poor and backward.

Opposition to Louis Philippe Despite these bad social conditions the July Monarchy (named for the month of its inception) lasted for eighteen years. That it endured for so long was due not to lack of hostility but to the fact that the opposition was so disunited that the government alone could secure a parliamentary majority, though an uncertain one.

At no time did the king have the solid support of any important group, save the capitalistic elements. Staunch Catholics and Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon claims) hated this ruler who based his reign on the Revolutionary changes which had destroyed the sacred union of throne, altar, and feudal society. They favored the strict repression by the government of all democratic and liberal tendencies and the resumption of close diplomatic relations with the reactionary powers. On the other hand, the republicans and other extreme liberals opposed the conservatism of the monarchy. They demanded the establishment of universal manhood suffrage and favored a foreign policy designed to encourage liberal and nationalistic movements abroad. Inasmuch as their opposition in Parliament proved ineffectual, they waged a press war against the government and its policies.

A third group — the Bonapartists — was hostile to the existing régime, as well as to the republicans and ultra-reactionary monarchists. Influenced

by the legend which had grown up around the dead emperor's memory and stimulated into fervor by the return of his remains to Paris in 1840, they maintained that a military dictatorship alone could save France from internal disorders and foreign humiliation

The rise of a radical movement — Socialism — as we shall see, did much to strengthen the Bonapartist cause. Socialism in France represented the demands of the working classes who felt that they had not received adequate benefits from the French and the Industrial Revolution. In their opinion, the peasants had obtained lands, the bourgeoisie, through their control of the state, were enjoying commercial and manufacturing advantages which were the government's chief title to success, but the wage-earners possessed neither political power nor profit. Looking upon the bourgeoisie as well as the nobility as their enemy, these new radicals expressed their discontent in strikes and in occasional affiliations with the republicans. *Socialism in France*

Gradually these industrial workers formulated their own philosophy and program. Influenced by the writings of the Utopians, Saint-Simon and Fourier, the Socialist, Louis Blanc, and the Anarchist, Proudhon, they were ambitious to reshape the political and social order in such a way as to bring about a redistribution of the obligations and benefits of society on a more equitable basis. In 1839 the aims of this program were outlined by the great French socialist leader, Louis Blanc, in his famous essay *The Organization of Labor*. In this manifesto he stated that every man should have the right to work, and that it was the duty of the state to furnish employment for all. The state, representing society, was expected to provide, at public expense, workshops under the direction of the workers themselves, who were to share in the profits. The socialist party in 1848 definitely accepted Louis Blanc's idea that there should be no more "exploitation of man by man." *Louis Blanc*

Certain intellectuals, especially sentimental and emotional romanticists, like the socialists, disliked Louis Philippe. These nationalists were especially critical of the monarch's foreign policy. Successive failures in his attempts to extend French influence in Belgium (1831) and in Egypt (1840) were regarded by patriots as national humiliations. At the same time they resented his internal policy, which consisted chiefly in catering to the capitalistic elements and their interests. They claimed that his program contributed solely to the enrichment of a minority — the wealthy bourgeoisie. Louis Philippe's government, they maintained, was run for the benefit of a small group of business men who were utterly devoid of social or political idealism. *Romanticists and Louis Philippe*

Despite these criticisms Louis Philippe simulated the rôle of a democratic king. He sent his boys to the public schools, shaved himself, walked unaccompanied on the streets, wore civilian clothes, and shook hands with his

fellow citizens. These gestures pleased some of the petty bourgeoisie, while his program of peace and industrial prosperity satisfied the wealthy classes. But Louis Philippe himself did not intend to remain a democratic ruler. Firm advocate of autocracy, embellished by an aristocracy of wealth, rather than of birth, he resolved to re-establish the power of the crown and to revive a personal despotism.

Numerous disturbances during the first ten years of Louis Philippe's reign probably forced the king to create a strong government. Republican plots, especially in Paris in 1832 and 1834, industrial strikes in Lyons, in Grenoble, Marseilles, and in other southern towns, a royalist rebellion in 1832, Bonapartist conspiracies, and numerous attempts on the king's life, certainly did not encourage Louis Philippe to democratize the monarchy. Determined to maintain law and order he resorted to a policy of open repression. In 1840 the ministry of Thiers was dismissed and a strong government under the guidance of Guizot (1787-1874), a staunch defender of Big Business, was created.

By 1847 all factions, Legitimists, Bonapartists, republicans, and socialists — were demanding political reforms. Reform banquets were held in many towns to arouse public opinion. In order to check these sub-

*Overthrow of
Louis Philippe*

versive eating jousts the government, on February 22, 1848, prohibited a great banquet which was to be held in Paris.

This action precipitated a crisis. A mob, thoroughly aroused, insisted upon the resignation of Louis Philippe's apostle of individualism, Guizot. On the following day the minister was dismissed. Thereupon the republicans and socialists demanded the abdication of Louis Philippe and the establishment of a republic. Troops, summoned by the government to quell this uprising, refused to attack the mob. Realizing that the game was up, Louis Philippe abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris. But the republicans and socialists, although differing as to ultimate aims, by now were determined to set up a republic. Ignoring the claims of Louis Philippe's heir, they created a provisional government which proclaimed a republic and proceeded to arrange for the calling of a National Convention. As a rhyme in *Punch* (March 18, 1848) put it:

"Louis Philippe
Has lost his sheep
And never again will find them
The people of France
Have made an advance
And left their king behind them"

Having agreed only upon the establishment of a republic, the republicans and socialists in the provisional régime immediately quarreled over economic policies. The republicans from the beginning opposed the socialist plan to

introduce Louis Blanc's scheme of national workshops. But the increase of unemployment and of unrest among the masses forced them to accept some sort of compromise. Elections of the promised National Convention were postponed in order to give the socialists time to educate the people, while the red flag of the Ministry of Progress, with Blanc as its chairman, was permitted to fly over the Luxembourg. In their attempt to placate the proletariat the republicans also opened the ranks of the National Guard to all classes and set up a few workshops. By May, 1848, over 100,000 unemployed men (in Paris alone), under the direction of bosses who were opposed to socialism, were earning a couple of francs a day by performing useless labors.

While the workshops were being organized, the socialists and republicans engaged in a bitter political campaign to gain control of the convention. Contrary to the fears of the republicans, the election resulted in a return of a majority for them. Assured of the support of the National Guard, and realizing that the workers constituted potential revolutionary storm-troops, the republicans in the assembly passed a resolution, in June, closing the national workshops and ordering the workmen to leave Paris. This order precipitated a revolution. Troops were called to put down this uprising and to destroy the socialist movement, barricades were erected by the radicals in the narrow streets, and bloody encounters took place in various parts of the city. But in this struggle the socialist cause was doomed. Not only their enemies, the bourgeoisie of Paris, but also their antagonists in the country — the peasants and wealthy landowners — flocked to the capital, determined to stamp out socialism. Intrusting full authority to General Cavaignac, a republican, the army suppressed the revolt. On June 26, the Convention was again in control of Paris and the "Red Terror" disappeared, not to raise its head until the disorders of 1870-1871.

Having crushed the socialist revolution, the Convention proceeded to draw up a constitution which provided for the establishment of a republican government with an elective president and legislature, each to be chosen for four years. In December, 1848, occurred a spectacular presidential campaign. In this election there were four candidates: Lamartine, the Catholic representative, Ledru-Rollin, the socialist, General Cavaignac, the republican, and Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the great emperor.

For years ambitious Napoleon had dedicated his life to the task of re-establishing the Bonaparte dynasty in France. Prior to 1848 several futile attempts to do so had resulted in arrests, imprisonment, and continued exile. But the revolution of that year afforded him a real opportunity. Returning to France in September he had been elected delegate to the Convention. Preaching the gospel of equality, prosperity, and nationalism, and promising peace, order, security, and glory, he popularized his candidacy for the presidency. In December the elections were held and Louis Napoleon

was elected president, receiving over three times as many votes as the next candidate, General Cavaignac. Thousands of sentimental Frenchmen, hearkening to the siren call of nationalism and captivated by the romantic association with the great Napoleon, voted for the "dark horse." He alone, they believed, would give everyone a square deal.

CHAPTER LXII

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY

Despite the treaties of Vienna, a Bonaparte had managed to become head of France, and one, too, who seemed disposed to continue the Napoleonic tradition. As president of the second French Republic, he had sworn to remain faithful to the democratic ideal. "My ^{Rise of} duty is clear," he said, "I will fulfil it as a man of honor. I ^{Louis Napoleon} shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavor to change by illegal means that which France has established." Three years later, after a *coup d'état*, resembling in many ways that of 1799 which made his uncle First Consul, Louis Napoleon assumed the office of Prince-President for ten years. In the following year (1852) he re-established the empire. Suddenly the powers of Europe awoke to the fact that a Bonaparte had become dictator, that the man whose name they had hitherto associated with comic-opera conspiracies and futile exploits, had occupied the throne of Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon frequently justified his dictatorship by claiming that it rested on the sovereignty of the people. No Legislative Assembly, he said, had the right to limit his actions, the people, alone, by a plebiscite, could reject or approve his policies. Thus, as emperor, he still regarded himself as the delegated agent of the people, a sort of democratic Caesar, in whom was vested a mandate to govern by the sovereign nation.

This belief in popular sovereignty, revealed from time to time in plebiscites and elections, enabled Louis Napoleon to create and to maintain his autocratic government. Unable, as president, to win the support of the Legitimists and the Orleanists who despised all Bonapartes, and the wealthy bourgeois republicans who distrusted him, Louis Napoleon turned, in 1851, to the masses for support. Many workers still remembered that long before the election of 1848, Louis Napoleon had written an essay, *The Extinction of Pauperism*, in which he had drawn a sympathetic picture of the oppressed working classes and had outlined a solution for the problem of unemployment. Therefore, they regarded him as their friend and willingly backed him. After the successful *coup d'état* of December, 1851, he accused the Legislative Assembly of trying to deprive the people of the ballot, and held a plebiscite requesting their approval of his action. In this election the masses, favoring universal male suffrage, voted as he wished, lengthening Louis Napoleon's term as

president from four to ten years, and giving him authority to remodel the constitution

As Prince-President, Louis Napoleon determined to transform the republic into an empire. He now turned to the middle classes for support. An ardent defender of law and order, private property, and the sanctity of the home, he urged all law-abiding citizens in Great Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, as well as in France, to follow his lead in a crusade against socialism in order to protect these things. Thoroughly aroused by this propaganda, a great part of the propertied classes in France lost faith in the republic and accepted Louis Napoleon's contention that an empire meant peace, law, order, prosperity, and glory. On November 21-22, 1852, another plebiscite gave the French people an opportunity to vote on the question of re-establishing the empire, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon its emperor under the title of Napoleon III. In the election 7,824,129 Frenchmen voted "yes," 253,149 voted "no." On December 2, 1852, upon a proposal of the Senate, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and the Second Empire was established.

For the next eighteen years France was governed by a man who was to attract widespread attention during this period and to provoke very conflicting judgments. Professing at all times a firm belief in the sovereign will of the people, he, as their leader, proceeded to concentrate both legislative and executive powers in his hands, to manipulate elections in such a way as to favor imperial interests, to regulate and limit freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and to place education strictly under the supervision of the government and of the church.

*Dictatorship of
Louis Napoleon*

Despite these reactionary measures Napoleon III insisted that he was a modern leader. It was his task as a dictator, he felt, to raise the power and wealth of the state by adhering to a capitalist-nationalist program. France, he said, by leading in the nationalistic movements, would continue the work of Napoleon I and emancipate the oppressed peoples of Europe. It was also his duty, as a servant of the people, to promote the material prosperity of all classes in France by personal actions, promises, and beneficial achievements. Constantly courting the support of the masses, he promised to reduce the cost of living, furnish employment for all, and to enact insurance laws for the benefit of the wage-earners. He permitted the workers to form co-operative societies for collective buying and selling, to organize unions, and to strike. Business enterprise was freed from governmental regulations. Ardent exponent of the *laissez-faire* doctrine, he nevertheless promised to encourage the organization of commercial companies, to subsidize a merchant marine, and to promote general prosperity by a system of public works. Trade was to be stimulated by imperialist expansion. Through the extension of French control in Algeria, the annexation of Cochinchina and Annam in 1858, the erection of a protectorate in Cambodia, and the acquisition of special

privileges in Syria, Louis Napoleon planned to give businessmen an opportunity to increase their profits and missionaries a chance to make converts.

Napoleon III believed that the French people would gladly sacrifice political liberty for an autocratic government which would guarantee to them order, security, and prosperity. Therefore he sought, with marked success, to promote the economic development of the country. "We have immense districts of virgin soil to clear, roads to open, harbors to dig, rivers to render navigable, canals to finish, our network of railways to complete." Also he proceeded to encourage the expansion of agriculture, commerce, and industry, the construction of canals, railways, roads, and houses, and the promotion of social welfare by giving the masses increased legal, medical, financial, and educational opportunities. Attempting to abolish unemployment, the emperor introduced a system of public works designed to make France comfortable and beautiful, and at the same time to furnish jobs for those who could not be absorbed by private industry. As a result of this public-works policy, Paris was rebuilt into a modern city, with wide streets, beautiful public buildings such as the opera house, and with remarkable educational and artistic facilities.

Louis Napoleon's attempts to promote the general welfare only increased, perversely enough, the opposition to his régime. The large business interests disliked his free trade policy, his public-works program which resulted in high taxes, and his laws favoring the wage-earners. Small businessmen and wage-earners resented both his autocratic methods and his economic policies. They, the bulk of whom were exponents of republicanism, demanded the restoration of political liberty, the lowering of taxes, and the reduction of the cost of living. The mass of the peasants alone supported him throughout most of his reign.

Louis Napoleon's foreign policy also was of so diverse a character that there were always some Frenchmen who considered themselves injured by it. In spite of the fact that he claimed that the empire meant peace, Napoleon III involved his country in a series of futile wars. In 1854, as the defender of Christianity, he joined with Great Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey in the Crimean War against Russia. The Slavic empire was defeated, but it cost France the lives of 75,000 soldiers and some \$400,000,000. About the only reward Napoleon III obtained for his country was the honor of having the peace conference held in Paris.

*Foreign policy of
Louis Napoleon*

In 1859 the Emperor very foolishly entered into a war with Austria on behalf of the Italians, and yet more foolishly withdrew prematurely, thus incurring the enmity of his ally. Several years later he engaged in his most ridiculous adventure—the conquest of Mexico.

This invasion was an attempt to establish in Mexico a French-sponsored empire which should keep in check the United States, uphold the monarchical principle, and at the same time secure economic advantages for France.

Believing that the United States, engaged in the Civil War, could offer little opposition, Louis Napoleon determined to stop the march of the Yankees by sending, in 1862, a large French army to Mexico. The prospective throne of this protégé empire was offered to and accepted by the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph. Inasmuch as the whole enterprise was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States, on the conclusion of the American Civil War, ordered Napoleon to withdraw his forces, on pain of war. He complied with this request, but Maximilian, who insisted on continuing the futile enterprise, was captured and shot by Mexican rebels in 1867.

This Mexican fiasco greatly weakened the position of Louis Napoleon. French capitalists were angered at the useless expense of this undertaking, Catholics were disappointed at its failure, and workingmen were incensed at the loss of life and high taxes. The enterprise left friends and foes alike filled with profound suspicion as to his motives. "For he would destroy the effects of a genuine altruism either by sudden abandonment of a half-hearted pursuit of the goal, or still more by a tendency to 'present a little bill,' to demand a little reward, a *pourboire* for France." Although he was a professed exponent of nationalism, on several vital occasions he opposed it in Germany and in Italy.

It is true that during the first part of his reign the Emperor's numerous activities, his grand promises, and his illustrious name enhanced his international reputation. His prestige was so high that Bismarck, about 1860, observed ironically "The world places to his account everything that happens, and if it rains in Central Asia at an unseasonable moment, chooses to attribute it to the malevolent machinations of the Emperor." But the 'sixties were marked by the steady decline of Napoleon's reputation. His failures to intervene in the Polish revolution of 1863, in the Danish-Germanic war over the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein, and in the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia (1866) had belied his pretensions to being the arbiter of Europe. This abstinence undermined his international prestige. The Mexican disaster of 1867 seemed to be the final blow.

Aroused by the bitter criticism of his policies, Napoleon III tried to win the support of the masses by liberalizing the empire. In the 'sixties he increased the power of the legislative body, in 1861 the budget was voted and discussed in sections in the assembly; and in 1867 the imperial address was abandoned and deputies were given the right to question ministers who might be delegated by the emperor to take part in the discussions of the Assembly. Lastly, in 1869 the legislature was given the power to initiate laws, ministers were made responsible to the chamber; and a parliamentary monarchy of the British type was established. Upon the acceptance by the people of this new constitutional reform in another plebiscite, the Emperor declared: "More than ever, we may face

*The liberal
empire*

the future without fear" The people, however, confronted by high taxes, and conscious of an inglorious foreign policy, were not so optimistic Despite Napoleon's liberal reforms, they continued to denounce his régime Whereas the greatest writers of the time, Thiers, Louis Blanc, George Sand, and Victor Hugo had been criticizing the emperor from their various places of exile, now the press took advantage of the abolition of restrictions to carry on the attacks at home

The final blunder, which resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon III, rose out of his German policy Apparently blind to Prussia's military power and to Bismarck's plan to unify Germany, the French emperor adopted a policy of neutrality during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866¹ Much to his surprise, Prussia, by winning a short but decisive victory over Austria, was able to create a North German Confederation with her Hohenzollern ruler as its head The emperor now realized that France faced a powerful rival across the Rhine Anticipating a war with this aggressive neighbor, Louis Napoleon ordered the reorganization of the French army and searched for allies in the coming struggle But Russia, resentful of the hostility of France in the Crimean war, Austria, of Napoleon's aid to Sardinia in 1859, Italy, of his desertion of 1859, Great Britain, of the Emperor's desire to absorb Belgium, and the United States, of his violation of the Monroe Doctrine — all refused to support him Unable to obtain allies, Napoleon III attempted at this time to forestall a crisis until conditions should be favorable to him Developments apparently beyond his control finally led to a war between France and Prussia²

*Overthrow of
Louis Napoleon*

Lacking capable leaders and an efficient army, the French were quickly and easily defeated On September 2, 1870, Napoleon III surrendered himself and 80,000 men at Sedan The Second Empire, hitherto upheld by military force, now crumbled to the ground

Despite his weaknesses and numerous mistakes, Napoleon III, during his twenty odd years of rule, did display a certain kind of ability Possessing an unusual imagination, he saw the possibilities of the Suez and Panama canals, and favored their construction at a time when other men were pronouncing them dreams As a result of his support the Suez Canal was actually opened formally by his wife, the Empress Eugénie, in 1869 Its chief promoter was Ferdinand de Lesseps. Napoleon III also had real respect for the principle of nationality, and a sense of international responsibility which unfortunately was marred by a flair for meddling in other people's affairs Believing, sincerely, that he represented the will of the people as expressed in numerous plebiscites, the emperor came out in favor of congresses to settle international disputes. Unfortunately his confusion of principle and practice, his mixture of idealism and profit-seeking brought neither the success of realistic diplomacy,

¹ See pp 940-941

² See pp. 942-944

nor the compensation of political altruism. In the end, his policies led to isolation and to defeat.

Strangely enough, the overthrow of Napoleon III, the professed champion of suppressed nationalities, coincided with the triumph of nationalism in Italy and in Germany. Largely responsible for the unification of Italy was Count Cavour (1810-1861), a realistic exponent of bourgeois capitalism and Italian nationalism. Born in Piedmont, Cavour imbibed the liberal ideas of his age, and became a staunch advocate of constitutional form of government, and a bitter foe of absolutism, clericalism, and socialism. The British monarchy was his ideal — a king with his powers limited by a constitution, and a legislature representing the people and their economic interests. In his newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*, he urged the modernization of Piedmont through the establishment of agricultural organizations, mechanics' institutes, industrial societies, and banks, as aids to capitalists and laborers.

Becoming prime minister of Sardinia in 1851, Cavour proceeded to prepare the way for the unification of Italy. With remarkable foresight he saw the problems that had to be solved in order to unify that country. To do this he decided to modernize Piedmont, to obtain the co-operation of all Italian states, and to expel Austria from Italy by means of foreign aid. "Piedmont," he remarked, "gathering to itself all the living forces of Italy, will soon be in a position to lead our mother country to the higher destinies to which she is called." But he admitted that Italy was incapable of freeing herself of foreign domination, she must obtain outside help in her crusade to gain national unity.

With the aid of the bourgeoisie and the liberal king, Victor Emmanuel, he set out to modernize Piedmont. A parliamentary government was established, monasteries were dissolved, a modern financial system was installed, currency, agriculture, and industry were encouraged, and the army, arsenals, and fortresses were improved. Without these efficient reforms which fitted Piedmont for effective leadership, the union of Italy probably would have been deferred indefinitely.

Having prepared Piedmont for her important rôle, Cavour set out to win the support of all Italian states and leaders. Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other patriots were won to the cause of unity and constitutional government. Businessmen, intellectuals, and anti-clericals everywhere promised their aid. Miscellaneous secret organizations, particularly the Young Italy Society, helped to enlist popular support for Cavour's program in the various town and country districts.

Cavour possessed not only a keen appreciation of the obstacles in the way of Italian unity but also a knowledge of the practical means by which they might be overcome. Realizing, for example, that Italy alone could not drive out the Austrians, he resolved, therefore, to obtain the help of a foreign state by making the grievances

of Italy an international question. For that reason he sponsored an active propaganda of the Italian cause throughout western Europe. He also brought about the participation of Sardinia in the Crimean War on the Anglo-French side. Over 15,000 troops were sent to fight with the allied forces in this struggle to check the advance of the Russians in the Near East. At the peace congress which followed the allied victory, Cavour, despite Austrian opposition, received a place in the session and obtained thereby the opportunity of attracting European attention to the Italian cause. As a result of Cavour's clever presentation of the Italian case, Lord Clarendon, the British representative, was frankly sympathetic, Napoleon III was impressed. The Italian question had become a matter of international concern.

Napoleon III, as stated before, possessed sincere sympathies for repressed nations. Like his famous uncle he favored the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy and the establishment of an independent, but weak Italian confederation in the north. At first, however, he seemed unwilling to assume an active rôle in the move to unite Italy. He knew that such an action would bring upon him the hostility of the Catholics who feared the abolition of the temporal powers of the pope as a result of Italian unity.

Despite this opposition Napoleon III in 1858 finally decided to help the Italians expel the Austrians. This decision was partly the result of an unsuccessful attempt on his life by a Mazzinian fanatic, named Orsini. Displaying remarkable magnanimity, Louis Napoleon *Louis Napoleon and Cavour* derived from the incident its true lesson. He decided that Orsini stated the truth when from his prison he begged the emperor to take up the Italian cause. "So long as Italy is not independent, the tranquility of Europe, no less than of your Majesty, is a mere chimera. Deliver my country and the blessings of twenty-five million citizens will follow you in posterity."

Finally deciding to respond to the appeal, the emperor arranged a secret conference with Cavour at Plombières, a spa in the Vosges. At this meeting, in July, 1858, the two leaders arrived at an agreement. Louis Napoleon was to help drive the Austrians out of Italy, but with the understanding that a centralized Italian state should not be created. The north was to be combined into a single kingdom, that of Sardinia under Victor Emmanuel II, but the rest of the peninsula — consisting of the central duchies, the papal states, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies — were to be united in a confederation under the pope. Thus the Italians were to be freed of Austrian dominance, but divisionalism was to be perpetuated. In return for her aid, France, according to the agreement, was to receive Nice and Savoy. Further, it was arranged that a member of the Napoleonic family was to marry Victor Emmanuel's daughter. As a final condition Louis Napoleon stipulated that Austria must be made to appear the aggressor in the anticipated war.

On January 1, 1859 the French Emperor informed the Austrian ambassador

that he deplored the unfriendly relations between France and Austria. A few days later Victor Emmanuel in an address before the Sardinian Parliament proclaimed "We are not insensible to the cry of pain which arises to us from many parts of Italy." Following this speech the government printer of France published a pamphlet setting forth the doctrine of nationality and pointedly suggesting its application to Germany as well as to Italy.

Despite this propaganda no suitable pretext for war could be found. The French people showed little enthusiasm for another military adventure, and two important powers, Great Britain and Russia, recommended that the Italian problem be referred to a congress. Inasmuch as Louis Napoleon had frequently urged the submission of international problems to an international meeting, he was forced to accept the proposal. This development greatly discouraged the Italian patriots. Unable to precipitate a clash, Victor Emmanuel threatened to abdicate, while Cavour announced his intention of putting a bullet through his head.

Then, suddenly the situation changed. Austria, who had hitherto ignored every provocation, sent an ultimatum to Sardinia, ordering that nation to disarm within three days. Cavour quickly rejected this demand, whereupon Austrian troops, in April, 1859, invaded Piedmont, and, on the following day, France declared war on Austria. "The die is cast," cried Cavour, "and we have made history." "The next Parliament," he told the people of Piedmont, "will be that of the kingdom of Italy."

In about two months the French and Sardinian forces expelled the Austrians from Lombardy, and seemed on the point of driving them out of Italy.

Encouraged by this successful advance, the Italians in Tuscany, Parma, and Modena dethroned their rulers and declared for union with Piedmont. Victor Emmanuel seemed destined to become the head of a united Italy. At this juncture, however, Napoleon III decided to withdraw from the war. He had engaged in the struggle to win the Austrian provinces for Piedmont and to set up an Italian Confederation under his patronage, but he had no intention of erecting on the flank of France a vigorous and powerful Italian state. Another reason for this unusual move was the possibility that Prussia might enter the war on the side of Austria and attack from across the Rhine. Therefore, hastily and without the knowledge of Cavour, the emperor arranged the armistice of Villafranca with Austria on July 8th. By the terms of this settlement, which were later embodied in the Peace of Zurich, Nice and Savoy were assigned to France; Lombardy was to be ceded to Victor Emmanuel, and Venetia was to be retained by Austria. The rulers of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany were to be restored to their respective countries, and the pope was to be urged to adopt certain reforms. This settlement, falling far short of complete unity, aroused deep resentment in Italy. Cavour, in a fit of passion, begged Victor

Emmanuel to reject the peace, and when the latter refused, resigned "Nothing can come out of this peace," he mourned, "I will turn conspirator and revolutionary, but this treaty shall not be carried out"

Cavour soon discovered that his plans for Italian unity had not been entirely ruined In central Italy the people refused to restore their rulers, and voted for annexation with Sardinia Encouraged by this action, Cavour returned to office (1860) and succeeded in negotiating an arrangement with Louis Napoleon whereby the people in the small states in central Italy signified their desire of joining Piedmont, and the inhabitants of Savoy and Nice cast ballots (with commendable but slightly suspicious unanimity) for annexation to France By April, 1860, Victor Emmanuel was king of all northern and central Italy save Venetia and the papal states

The next advance in the direction of Italian unity was led by one of Italy's greatest patriots — Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) For many years this ardent revolutionist had tried to help the Italians and the Hispanic-Americans to gain their independence In 1859, he *Garibaldi and Italian unity* had engaged in the struggle against Austria and witnessed with great indignation the cession of Nice to France Blaming Cavour for permitting it, he complained, "This man, you know, has sold my fatherland Poor Nice, well, all the same I deal with him as a good friend and ask him to give me a thousand firearms, so that we can go and get ourselves cut to pieces in Italy It seems to me not to be asking much, eh?"

In 1860, Garibaldi saw another opportunity to promote Italian union under the House of Savoy Opposed to the cruel and inefficient rule of their Bourbon king, the people of Sicily begged Garibaldi to lead them in an uprising Cavour also was asked to back the movement, but, realizing that his encouragement of a revolution in a neighboring state might be interpreted by the great powers as a breach of international law, he adopted a policy of strict neutrality Nevertheless, he allowed Garibaldi to raise and equip in Genoa an expeditionary force of two thousand Red Shirts and ordered the Sardinian fleet to keep between Garibaldi's ships and its potential foe, the Neapolitan fleet

On May 10, Garibaldi and his followers, wearing their famous red woolen shirts which he had given them, landed at Marsala, Sicily Within a fortnight they had defeated a Neapolitan army and had established their leader as dictator of Sicily Encouraged by this success, Garibaldi now decided to cross to the mainland and help the people of Naples get rid of the Bourbon king Both Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III, fearing international complications, opposed this project The Italian ruler ordered Garibaldi not to pass the Straits of Messina, and Napoleon III proposed that the Straits should be occupied by an Anglo-French squadron so as to confine Garibaldi to Sicily England, however, definitely friendly to the Italian cause, refused to concur in the French plan Despite the diplomatic commotion he was

arousing, Garibaldi invaded southern Italy, overthrew the Bourbon régime, and proclaimed himself dictator of that region.

Garibaldi's amazing victories were received with mingled feelings by the patriots of northern Italy. Although he welcomed the overthrow of the Bourbon kingdom, Cavour feared that the extension of Garibaldi's sphere of activity to Rome might precipitate the intervention of Austria and France. Then the entire cause of Italian unity would be endangered. Further, Cavour suspected Garibaldi of republican leanings and therefore distrusted the patriot's profession of loyalty to Victor Emmanuel. Claiming that "Italy must be saved from foreigners, evil principles, and madmen," the Italian statesman finally decided to act. To forestall Garibaldi's conquest of Rome, Victor Emmanuel ordered his troops to invade the papal states. Having done this, Victor Emmanuel, at the head of his troops, advanced towards Naples. Garibaldi met the king and, instead of opposing the royal will, ordered his troops to join the king's army, thus enabling the Sardinian ruler to complete the conquest of the Bourbon kingdom. On November 9, Victor Emmanuel's sovereignty was formally extended over Naples and Sicily. In the following February, a national parliament, representing over 22,000,000 people, met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy "by grace of God and the will of the people." Four months later (June 6, 1861), Cavour, having lived long enough to witness the completion of the major part of his program for Italian unity, died of exhaustion.

Five years after the death of this able statesman, another step in the unification of Italy was taken. Joining forces with Prussia in a war upon Austria, the Italians, though defeated in their own theatre of hostilities, were able to profit as a result of the great Prussian victory at Sadowa. According to the peace terms exacted from Austria by Prussia's great statesman, Bismarck, the people of Venetia were allowed to hold a popular election to determine whether or not they wanted to join Italy. This plebiscite resulted in a tremendous vote in favor of union with Italy, and thereupon the province was added to the territory ruled by Victor Emmanuel.

The last step in the unification of Italy—prior to the outbreak of the World War—was taken in 1870. At this time a conflict between France and the German states resulted in the withdrawal by Louis Napoleon of the troops which he had stationed in Rome in order to protect the sovereignty of the pope. Immediately the soldiers of Victor Emmanuel occupied the Eternal City and the Roman citizens voted for union with the Italian monarchy. Despite threats of excommunication against the invaders and fervent appeals for help from true Catholics, the pope was deprived of the temporal power which he had exercised for over a thousand years. Victor Emmanuel and his parliament now moved to Rome, which henceforth became the capital of the

*Establishment of
unified Italy*

In an attempt to mollify the pope, the Italian Parliament passed a number of laws guaranteeing to His Holiness the honors and immunities of a secular ruler, the possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, a large income, and authority and freedom in the government of the church. But Pius IX, bitterly opposed to the anti-clerical policy of the Italian government, refused to accept this settlement. Predicting the downfall of the Italian kingdom he withdrew to the Vatican in a voluntary imprisonment from which neither he nor his successors emerged for nearly sixty years.

While Pope Pius was prophesying the inevitable doom of Italian unity, Otto von Bismarck was opening a new era in the history of both Prussia and the Germanies. This reactionary Junker, who had distinguished himself as a bitter anti-democrat at the Frankfurt Diet between 1851 and 1858, and who had gained valuable experience as a diplomat at the Russian and French courts, received his great opportunity to serve his beloved Prussia in 1862. At that time King William I (1861-1888) of Prussia was engaged in a bitter struggle with his Landtag. Desirous of advancing the influence of Prussia in German affairs, he had urged the reorganization and strengthening of the Prussian army. A powerful liberal and anti-military group in the Landtag, however, refused to grant the increase of expenditure necessary to carry out the military program, instead, these politicians, more interested in liberal reforms, asked the king to reduce military service, to establish trial by jury, to reconstruct the upper house, to promote secular education, and to establish ministerial responsibility. These requests were rejected by the angry king. Dominating the situation, he quickly dissolved parliament, forced his ministers to resign, and raised new regiments without parliamentary sanction.

*William I and
the Landtag*

Confronted by an angry parliament, the desperate king in 1862 adopted the suggestion of his Minister of War, General von Roon, that he make Bismarck his Minister President and give the latter full power to represent the royal cause. Accepting the appointment, Bismarck said, "I will perish with the king rather than forsake Your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government."

Bismarck

Bismarck soon proved that he was the ideal man for the job. Thoroughly Prussian, he was devoted to the cause of divine-right absolutism which he considered not only just but indispensable for Prussia. As a result of ten years of diplomatic experience he also had decided that Austria was the chief obstacle to German union and that only by excluding her could a united state be established. Therefore, in accepting his new appointment he set out not only to combat parliamentary government, but also to make Prussia the leader in a move to unify Germany. "Germany," he said, "is not looking to Prussia's liberalism but to her power. Prussia must keep its forces together, its boundaries are not those of a sound state. The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and majority

resolutions (that was the blunder of 1848 and 1849) but by blood and iron."

In the bitter constitutional struggle which ensued, the Prussian liberals fought with greater ardor than ever before. But they were engaged in a futile battle. Disregarding their opposition, Bismarck proceeded to raise taxes without a budget and to muzzle the press. He was absolutely confident that constructive achievements in the future would justify his autocratic policies. "We give Herr Bismarck one year," said a member of the opposition in 1863. Actually, the Prussian statesman retained his post for nearly three decades.

While Bismarck was re-establishing royal supremacy in Prussia, he was also developing his scheme to bring about German union under Prussian leadership. In 1863 he induced the reluctant King William I of Prussia to refuse an invitation of the Austrian emperor to attend a Congress of German princes to discuss a proposal for German reconstruction. Thus Bismarck kept Prussia out of a possible entanglement which might have placed that state in a political strait-jacket. To placate Russia, he refused to back the Poles in their revolt against the overlordship of the tsar. Despite bitter liberal opposition he signed a military convention with the St. Petersburg government, in which he promised to prevent Polish insurrectionary activities in Prussia. By supporting Russia in the Polish affair, Bismarck obtained the friendship of that country—a friendship which enabled him to count on the neutrality of the tsar when he engaged in wars later on with Austria and France.

*Bismarck and
German unity*

Assured of Russian benevolence and in possession of the best trained army in the world, Bismarck, by 1864, was ready to take the first step in his plan to attain German unity. It so happened that a series of events gave him his much coveted opportunity. In 1863, Christian IX, King of Denmark, influenced by ardent nationalists, proclaimed a constitution which provided for the annexation of Schleswig, a province adjacent to Denmark which was inhabited by Germans as well as by Danes. Prior to this action Schleswig and another province, Holstein (a region in which the German element predominated), had been imperfectly attached to the Danish crown. In the late 'forties the reigning king of Denmark, Frederick VII, had issued a constitution for all his dominions, including the two duchies. Immediately the German elements in these regions engaged in a revolt, claiming that the king was trying to "Danise" them. This crisis was settled by the Great Powers in a congress at London (1852). Opposed to Prussian attempts to obtain independence for the duchies, the other European states succeeded in reaching a settlement whereby the *status quo* was to be preserved.

*Schleswig
Holstein affair*

In March, 1863, Frederick VII, however, disrupted this agreement when he announced the incorporation of the duchies with the Danish kingdom. Christian IX, who succeeded him, confirmed the actions of his predecessor, and

another crisis arose Frederick, Duke of Augustenberg, an unsuccessful rival to the Danish throne, now placed himself at the head of an anti-Danish group in the duchies The Germanic Diet also intervened in behalf of the provinces Encouraged by this support, Schleswig-Holstein thereupon declared their independence under Frederick of Augustenberg

At this point Bismarck decided to intervene in the situation He opposed both the incorporation of the two provinces by Denmark and their admission as independent states into the German Confederation Contemplating their annexation by Prussia he persuaded Austria to champion the cause of the duchies and to agree to a joint intervention and settlement of the problem Austria decided to join Prussia, and an ultimatum was sent to Copenhagen demanding that Denmark renounce the incorporation of Schleswig without delay Christian IX refused to yield, and the German forces in 1864 invaded Holstein After a three months' campaign in which Denmark was overrun, peace was signed According to the terms of this settlement Denmark surrendered the provinces to Prussia and Austria, and promised to recognize any disposition that they might make of them

Trouble now arose over the division of the spoils At first it was agreed that Austria administer Holstein, and Prussia control Schleswig But Bismarck was unwilling to maintain this arrangement Accusing Austria of favoring the formation of a single state out of the two duchies, he rushed an army into Holstein, thus violating the agreement which gave the region to Austria Meanwhile the Diet of the German Confederation voted to uphold Austria's claims to Holstein Thereupon Prussia promptly withdrew from the confederation and Austria immediately demanded the mobilization of the Confederation's military forces On June 18, 1866, Prussia found herself at war with Austria and other German states

Bismarck was prepared for this contest He had arranged an alliance with Italy whereby Venetia was to be handed over to her in the event of the defeat of Austria Louis Napoleon at a meeting with Bismarck at Biarritz (1865) had intimated that in the event of a war between Austria and Prussia, France would remain neutral Finally, Russia could be counted upon to be friendly to her conservative neighbor, Prussia On the other hand, Austria, reaping the bitter fruit of incompetent diplomacy, found herself with no allies, save some of the lesser German states

The Seven Weeks' War resulted in a quick, inexpensive, and complete triumph for Prussia Superior training, modern equipment such as the needle gun (a new type of breech-loading rifle), the telegraph, and the railroad, together with the able generalship of von Moltke, *The Seven Weeks' War* enabled the Prussian army to crush the Austrian forces in the battle of Sadowa (July 3, 1866). This battle, despite Italian defeats, decided the war Fearing possible foreign intervention and also the danger of a growing cholera epidemic, Bismarck insisted on peace Despite the opposition of

the Prussian king and his generals, he also demanded a lenient settlement—one which would not mortally wound Austria and would, on the other hand, pave the way for a reconciliation later on

By the Treaty of Prague (August 23, 1866), Austria paid a very small indemnity, ceded her rights in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, acquiesced in the dissolution of the German Confederation, withdrew from German affairs, and agreed to permit Prussia to organize another confederation north of the river Main. In addition to these concessions, Austria, by the Treaty of Vienna (October 3, 1866) permitted Venetia to join Italy.¹ These settlements constituted one of the master strokes in Bismarckian diplomacy. The commanding position, which Austria had held under Metternich in Central Europe, now passed to Prussia.

After Sadowa, Austria, despite deep humiliation and ardent determination to regain her position of supremacy in the Germanies, was forced to postpone foreign designs and to concentrate upon internal affairs. With the suppression of the revolutionary movements of 1848 the Habsburg government had endeavored to maintain the *status quo* by a dictatorship. But this policy proved a failure, and after the disastrous wars of 1859 and 1866, was abandoned. Thenceforth, the government tried to introduce liberal reforms and to conciliate the numerous discontented groups. It soon discovered, however, that it could not satisfy the various elements. There were the German-speaking liberals who advocated a single parliamentary constitution for the whole empire, there was a federalist group which favored a federation and autonomy—that is, autonomy for all the nationalities of the empire, combined with a central government, and finally, there was the dualist group which desired complete equality between Austria and Hungary without consideration of the rights of other nationalists. The leader of this faction in Hungary was Francis Déak who now opposed the plan of Kossuth, the ex-president of the Magyar republic, to achieve complete independence for Hungary.

Despite these differences, the Habsburg government desired to strengthen its position at home by revising the constitution of the Austrian dominions.

Realizing that the Magyars were too powerful to be ignored, a reorganization of the empire was arranged by Count Beust of Austria, and Déak. According to the terms of the *Ausgleich* or "compromise" which they arranged, Austria and Hungary were to have their own rulers, their own governments and administrations. They were to be united dynastically—the Habsburg emperor of Austria was to be *ipso facto* king of Hungary; and three common ministries (for foreign affairs, finances, and the army) were to unite the two states. Further, the budget of the joint ministries and matters in dispute were to be agreed upon by two delegations selected by the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments.

¹ See p. 937.

This Austro-Hungarian alliance led to an important change in the foreign policy of the Habsburgs. Expelled from Germany, the Austrian dynasty turned eventually to the Balkans for compensation. An expansion of interests there, especially the assumption of military control over Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, largely inhabited by Slavs, only served to increase the unrest among the various Slavic groups in the Dual Monarchy. "Take care of your barbarians, and we will take care of ours," said the Austrian minister, Beust, to the Magyar leader, Count Andr ssy. But the "barbarians" (the Slavs) could not be suppressed so easily. Encouraged by their brother Slavs in the Balkans and in Russia, they persisted in their agitations for autonomy and independence until the end of the World War.

While the Austrians and Magyars were trying to maintain their ascendancy in the Dual Monarchy, the Prussians were endeavoring to dominate the newly formed North German Confederation. Established in 1867 by Bismarck, this German *Bund* possessed a federal government in which no attempt was made to introduce constitutional equality among the twenty-two member states. The king of Prussia was made hereditary president with power to select the federal chancellor. A legislature comprised two houses: the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*), representing the sovereign princes of the various states and dominated by the large Prussian delegation and thus by the Prussian king, and the *Reichstag*, little more than a debating society, elected by universal manhood suffrage. Actually, this new constitution extended the Prussian system of government over most of North Germany. Four years later its acceptance by the southern German states resulted in the establishment by Bismarck of the German Empire.

Bismarck realized in 1867 that until he incorporated the southern states — Bavaria, W rttemberg, Baden, and the two Hesse Duchies — in his union, German unity would remain incomplete. At the request of Napoleon III he had acquiesced in their independence, but at the same time he had concluded military and economic conventions with them whereby they agreed to give Prussia military support in the event of war, and to enter the Zollverein. The inclusion of these states in the German union, however, was Bismarck's chief aim.

A Franco-German crisis in 1870 provided the solution. German unity was to be completed as a result of a war between the German states and their bitter enemy, France. But it was difficult for either side to stir up hostility. When war appeared imminent, Bismarck succeeded in arousing unfriendly sentiment throughout Germany, especially in the southern states, by publishing proposals of Napoleon III to acquire Luxemburg, Belgium, and Rhineland territory. Determined to oppose the expansion of the North German Confederation, Louis Napoleon helped to accentuate anti-German feeling in France. Newspaper editors, poli-



ticians, and educators on both sides succeeded in greatly stimulating militant patriotism among the people. Meanwhile, France searched vainly for allies, and Prussia, confident that the leading nations would be neutral, welcomed a crisis which would lead to war.

A slight improvement in relations between France and Prussia came to an end in 1870 when the question of a candidate for the Spanish throne became serious. After various refusals by minor European princes, the position, vacated by Queen Isabella, was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family. France, when she heard of this offer, became angry, regarding it as an attempt to disturb the balance of power. Thereupon, the king of Prussia, rather than have war, influenced, indirectly, young Leopold to reject the Spanish throne. But this refusal did not satisfy the Spanish-born Empress Eugénie, and the French war party. They insisted that William I should agree not to permit a Hohenzollern to occupy the throne of Spain. In July, 1870, Benedetti, the French ambassador, presented this unreasonable demand to William I, who replied frankly that he could not bind his successors by such a promise. From Ems the Prussian ruler then sent Bismarck a calm report of the incident. Intent upon a war, the German chancellor revised and shortened the telegram in such a way as to make it appear to the Germans that Benedetti had insulted William I, and to the French, that the Prussian monarch had insulted the representative of France. He then released the distorted Ems dispatch to the press. Its publication produced the desired war-fever — everybody was insulted. "To Berlin! To Berlin!" cried the French mobs in Paris. "To Paris! To Paris!" shouted the Germans in Berlin. Mobilization started in both countries. In Prussia, military leaders assured the king that their forces were prepared. In France, the French Minister of War told the emperor that the army was ready "down to the last button on the last garter of the last soldier."

The war soon demonstrated the efficiency of the German military forces. Quickly invading France, they defeated the imperial troops at Metz and elsewhere, and at Sedan captured Napoleon III and a French army. The French soldiers, badly organized, poorly led, and inadequately prepared, were forced to surrender or to retreat.

The Franco-German War

Patriotic levies, raised by republican leaders, carried on the struggle, but they were incapable of turning the tide of war. Paris, after a brave defense, was captured, and, on January 28, 1871, an armistice was signed. In the Treaty of Frankfurt, which was concluded by the Provisional Assembly of France on May 10, 1871, Germany exacted from her enemy a war indemnity of over \$1,000,000,000. Northern France was to be occupied by German troops until the indemnity was paid. Furthermore, Alsace and part of Lorraine were to be ceded by France to Germany. At first Bismarck opposed the annexation of Lorraine, saying, "I do not like the idea of having so many French-

men in our house against their will", but the military authorities, for strategic reasons, insisted upon the acquisition of this region. Bismarck, against his better judgment, capitulated. Thus, although Germany won military glory, unity (for the southern German states had by this time joined the North German Confederation), money, and territory, she incurred the undying hatred of a humiliated and resourceful people.

Disregarding this animosity, the Germans had deeply offended French susceptibilities by proclaiming the establishment of the German Empire in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on January 18, 1871. There, *Establishment of German Empire* William I of Prussia, in the presence of kings, princes, and generals, was offered the imperial crown by Bismarck. For miles around, Frenchmen heard the booming of guns and the cheers of the German soldiers announcing the birth of the new state. Deeply moved by this "insult"—the proclamation of a German Empire in the home of their great King Louis XIV—a number of young French patriots—including Clemenceau and Poincaré of World-War fame—vowed that they would never rest until the provinces had been regained and the downfall of the German Empire achieved. In 1919, as we shall see,¹ another historic event took place in this same Hall of Mirrors. This time, however, the Frenchmen, especially Clemenceau and Poincaré, celebrated the close of a war which marked the collapse of the German Empire, the return of Alsace-Lorraine, and the imposition of a huge indemnity upon the defeated power.

It was a far cry from 1871 to 1919, and in the interim (at least until shortly before the World War) Germany enjoyed a period of undisputed hegemony in Europe. This supremacy was not merely the result of brilliant diplomacy, superior military power, and efficient government, it was also the product of significant economic development. In short, while Bismarck was creating the German Empire "by blood and iron," business-men were financing the construction of railroads which connected the various cities and the outlying districts, mining and weaving were becoming thriving industries, and agriculture, as a result of the introduction of scientific processes, was rapidly expanding. Consequently, after the Franco-German war, Bismarck, chancellor of the newly created German Empire, was able to build a powerful and a prosperous nation upon these economic foundations.

¹ See p 1103

CHAPTER LXIII

RUSSIA AND THE NEAR-EASTERN QUESTION

The Near-Eastern Question was in essence the problem arising out of the political and territorial decline of the Ottoman Empire. It *The Near-* was a serious matter in the eighteenth century and was a *Eastern Question* source of irritation and international trouble right down to the outbreak of the World War.

In the early nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire comprised people who spoke various languages, who practiced diverse religions, and who possessed miscellaneous national ideals and customs. Asiatic Turkey was inhabited chiefly by Moslems (Turks, Arabs, *Turkey* and Kurds), by Christians, and by Jews. In European Turkey, however, the majority of the people were Slavic in language and Christian by faith. These Slavs, split into various national groups, were under the control of a Turkish minority.

The sultan was in theory if not in practice the absolute head of the Ottoman Empire. He was also the religious leader of the Moslems. His simple but effective government consisted of a grand vizier (prime minister), a religious adviser, and provincial governors appointed by the central government, and other minor officials. A uniform and systematized administration, however, was lacking in the Ottoman Empire. Local affairs among the non-Moslems were administered by the religious heads of each unit. Government positions, save the most exalted, were open to all, regardless of class or of nationality.

Unfortunately the Turks were not interested in the art of government. In their opinion it existed merely to collect taxes and to enforce obedience of all subjects. Not being especially concerned with these duties, they permitted inefficient sultans, disloyal administrative officials, and corrupt tax collectors, mostly Greeks, to run the government. Ruling as privileged conquerors, collecting taxes, and refusing to assimilate the peoples, this Turkish administration, from the sultan to the lowest official, resembled a cancer, which, by the opening of the nineteenth century, the Balkan nationalities were determined to eradicate.

In 1821 the Greeks rebelled, and after many years of bitter war gained their independence (1829). The Serbians also engaged in a revolution. Recalling their glorious past, they rose in 1804, and, under the enthusiastic leadership of Kara George, a swineherd, expelled the Turks. This revolt

subsided in 1813, but two years later the Serbs, led by Miloš Obrenovic, who had assassinated Kara George, engaged in another uprising. Aided by the Russians, the Serbs finally achieved their chief ambition in 1830—autonomy and a national church. Thus after many years of war and intrigue, Serbia became a principality, tributary to the sultan but nevertheless self-governing, with a princely house ruling by right of heredity—the house of Obrenovic.

*Resolutions in
the Balkans*

Nationalist unrest also affected the Rumanians and the Bulgarians. Fired by French ideals and their Latin heritage, and helped by Napoleon III, the Rumanians in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were able to unite these Danubian Principalities under a young patriot, Cuza, who in 1861 became Alexander, Prince of the united Principalities. The Bulgarians, too, influenced by these developments among their neighbors, finally resolved to be free. Inasmuch as Bulgaria was close to Constantinople, it was more difficult for the people of that region to obtain independence. In 1856 the Bulgarians were permitted the official use of their language, and in 1870 they secured for themselves a national church with freedom from the Patriarch who lived in Constantinople. In the uprising which occurred later, however, the sultan treated them so ruthlessly that Russia intervened. The war which ensued between Turkey and Russia, as will be shown, made Bulgarian independence a matter of international concern.

Revolts against the sultan's authority were not limited to the Balkan nationalities. Uprisings of ambitious vassals, notably that of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, threatened the very existence of the Turkish government. Mehemet Ali, an Albanian tobacco dealer who could neither read nor write, had made himself practically an independent ruler in Egypt. He was a very ambitious man who wanted to westernize and to enlarge his holdings. Given the island of Crete as a reward for his support of the sultan in the Greek insurrection, he demanded control of Syria. Upon the sultan's refusal the pasha sent troops into this region (1832). Immediately the sultan appealed to the foreign powers for aid, but Russia alone seemed willing to support his cause.

Me hemet Ali

New Russian intervention in this insurrection alarmed other European powers—especially Great Britain and France. Primarily interested in the Belgian question at that time they wanted to avoid complications in the Near East. Therefore they decided to put pressure upon Turkey to cede Syria to Mehemet Ali. In 1833 the sultan agreed to hand over this region and Adana to his Egyptian vassal. He also signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with Russia. According to the terms of this agreement Russia secured privileges which placed Turkey under a kind of Russian military protectorate. Russian warships were granted free passage through the Straits and the sultan promised to close this important water highway to foreign ships at Russian dictation. This Turko-Russian agreement greatly disturbed the

European powers, for it signified Russian hegemony in the Near East

Six years later (1839) the sultan and Mehemet Ali again engaged in a war. Backed by Louis Philippe of France who had ambitions in the Near East, the pasha resisted the attempt of the Turkish ruler to regain Syria. Again Turkey faced the possibility of a disastrous war and further cession of territory to Mehemet Ali. At this critical moment, England's foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, decided to champion the sultan's cause. Determined to check the advance of Egyptian, French, and Russian interests in the Near East, he sent a British fleet to Alexandria as a warning to Mehemet Ali, and meanwhile got Austria, Prussia, and Russia to agree to the Convention of London, whereby Mehemet Ali was to be recognized as the hereditary pasha of Egypt with the right to retain the Pashalik of Acre and control of southern Syria for life. Should he fail to relinquish his other conquests within ten days his authority was to be restricted to Egypt alone. Mehemet Ali and the French government were both infuriated by Palmerston's high-handed methods, and Paris threatened war. This menace did not perturb the British, for they knew that the July Monarchy, beset by internal troubles, could not afford to risk a military struggle. Therefore, Great Britain, in collaboration with the other important powers, resorted to military and naval measures to coerce Mehemet Ali into accepting the proposed terms. After suffering several defeats, the pasha gave way in 1841 and agreed to an arrangement which left Egypt autonomous but still under Turkish suzerainty. Meanwhile, Turkey was also saved from dismemberment by Russia, for the latter power consented to the annulment of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which was replaced by the Straits Convention (1841), which closed the Straits to the warships of all countries. Thus Turkey, escaping from the Egyptians and the Russians, passed under the collective tutelage of the great powers.

Upon this settlement of the Egyptian question, Tsar Nicholas I proposed that Great Britain and Russia partition the Ottoman Empire. "Turkey is in a critical state," he said, "the country seems to be falling to pieces. We have on our hands a sick man — a very sick man. It will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune, one of these days, should he slip away from us before all necessary arrangements have been made." Although she was inclined to favor the idea of partition, England, regarding Russian aggression as more menacing to India than the Turkish disintegration, turned down the tsar's proposals. Moreover, England still professed to believe what Palmerston had emphatically expressed in 1837: "All we hear about the decay of the Turkish Empire, and its being a dead body and a sapless trunk and so forth, is pure and unadulterated nonsense. If we can procure ten years of peace under joint protection of the five Powers, and if those years are profitably employed in reorganizing the internal system of the Empire, there is no reason, whatever why Turkey should not become a respectable power again."

England was unable to procure ten years of peace or to rehabilitate Turkey. In 1853 a petty quarrel between Russia, France, and Turkey over the question of guarding some religious sanctuaries in Palestine was settled after much bickering. But in March, 1853, the whole question was raised to a more serious plane by Russia's demand that the sultan acknowledge the tsar's claim, based on the treaties of Kujuk-Kainardji and Adrianople, to protectorship over the Greek Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

Great Britain opposed Russia's plan to protect the Greek Christians, fearing that it would give that country a definite foothold in the Ottoman Empire. Her ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a Turkophile like Palmerston, persuaded the sultan to grant certain concessions to Russia in the matter of holy places, but to reject the proposal to establish a protectorate. Thereupon Russian forces occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, not as an act of war, but as a material guarantee for the concession of Russia's just demands. The Great Powers now were forced either to intervene or to acquiesce in the situation. England, France, Prussia, and Austria held a conference at Vienna, and sent a note to Russia and Turkey, suggesting the adherence by both powers to the letter and spirit of the treaties of Kujuk-Kainardji and Adrianople, with respect to the protection of the Christians. Both sides rejected the note. Then the sultan, encouraged by the British ambassador, asked Russia to renounce her right to establish a protectorate. Russia refused to do so. In October, 1853, Turkey declared war, and her troops advanced against the Russians on the Danube.

Turkey's not altogether disinterested friends now rushed to her aid. In Great Britain, Lord Aberdeen, the prime minister, heeded the demands of the imperialists, who feared for the safety of India, and the liberals who, sympathizing with the oppressed Poles, regarded Russia as an outworn autocracy which was trying to hold the continent in subjection. England declared war on Russia. Although he did not want war, Napoleon III also entered the conflict in 1854 on the side of the Turks. He did so with the hope of winning prestige for himself and France, by avenging the defeat of his illustrious uncle in 1812, and by appearing as the protector of Christians and as the champion of the people in their struggle against autocracy. A year later, Cavour, wanting an opportunity to put the Italian problem before the powers of Europe, enrolled Sardinia on the side of the Turks. Austria and Prussia remained neutral. Prussia was rather friendly to Russia, but Austria, in spite of Russia's aid in 1849, saw an opportunity of extracting concessions from both sides as the price of her neutrality, or if the situation warranted, intervention. She delayed too long, however, and the war ended before she could enter the struggle.

The Crimean War — one of the most useless of conflicts — passed through two stages. In the first, the allies drove the Russians out of the principalities and took the offensive in the Crimea. The second stage of the war was

dominated by the allied siege of Sebastopol and the Russian efforts made to relieve it. For a year the fort held out, but in September, 1855, it was compelled to surrender.

Financially exhausted and burdened by the sheer technical difficulties of transport through a country which as yet had no railways, Russia finally consented to negotiate a settlement. In March, 1856, peace was secured at Paris.

By the Treaty of Paris, Russia was forced to give up that part of Bessarabia that she had obtained in 1812, thus moving her frontier away from the mouth of the Danube. She also was required to relinquish her protectorate over the Danubian provinces and to recognize the sovereignty of Turkey over these regions. The Black Sea was to be neutralized, it was to be open to the merchant ships of all nations, but closed to all ships of war, and no naval or military establishments were to be allowed upon its shores. Finally, the Ottoman Empire was placed under a collective guarantee of the great powers, and the Sublime Porte was accepted for the first time in the European comity of nations. In return for this recognition the sultan vaguely announced generous intentions towards his subjects regardless of religion or race. Unable to profit by the aid that he had been granted, the sultan failed to carry out his promises.

*The Treaty of
Paris*

Within Russia, the Crimean War opened up a new era of reform and reorganization. Prior to this struggle her rulers had virtually ignored such modern changes as the abolition of serfdom, constitutionalism, and the mechanization of agriculture, commerce, industry, and transportation. Alexander I (1801-1825), who at first exhibited liberal tendencies, later became a reactionary ruler. His successor, Nicholas I (1825-1855), throughout his reign was devoted to the principles of extreme conservatism. As an ardent Slavophile he had encouraged nationalism in culture and other forms. He also had had the laws codified, had introduced currency and financial reforms, and had even contemplated the emancipation of the serfs. Nevertheless, he had always opposed any attempt to weaken his authority, refusing to permit any movement towards constitutionalism, Polish independence, and freedom of press. But the Crimean War, during which Nicholas I had died, discredited his policy and demonstrated that even as a military autocracy the tsardom could not justify itself. This dismal failure had exposed the entire administrative system to criticism.

*Nicholas I of
Russia*

Influenced by this situation the new tsar, Alexander II (1855-1881), determined to modernize Russia. Nicholas's restrictions on the press, the universities, and on European travel were removed. Political concessions then were granted the Poles, exiles were welcomed home; and measures designed to stimulate industry, commerce, transportation, and the development of natural resources were

*Reforms of
Alexander II*

introduced. Finally he tackled the problem of serfdom, which seemed to be the fundamental evil obstructing progress in every field of Russian endeavor.

For centuries the mass of the Russian peasants had been serfs, either on the royal estates or on the land of private landowners or institutions. Most of those who worked for the crown were subjected to forced labor, heavy taxes, and various restrictions, but they did possess limited political rights. Living in *mir*s, or village communities, they enjoyed a certain amount of self-government by virtue of elected councils and village elders. Those who belonged to private owners, however, possessed no political privileges. They also lived in *mir*s but, denied the autonomy of those serfs on the crown lands, they were completely under the control of the landlords who could demand any service from them, sell them, transport them, hand them over to the army, or put them into factories.

Prior to the Crimean War the peasants had engaged in numerous revolts to throw off their shackles and gain freedom, but these uprisings were crushed. The loss of the war, however, was a severe shock to the prestige of the established order. Revealing serfdom as an institution which, through its social degradation and economic stagnation threatened the ruination of Russia, the Crimean debacle convinced many Russians, conservatives as well as liberals, that a country with so antiquated an economy could not cope with modern powers. Therefore they tended to favor the emancipation of the serfs.

Although Alexander II was not an enthusiastic reformer, he perceived the inefficiency of the tsardom in the Crimean War, and realized that important

Emancipation of serfs changes were indispensable. Rather than risk a revolution which might force him to submit to unwelcome reforms

demanded by his subjects, he decided to sponsor some changes himself. The abolition of serfdom began in 1859, but in 1861, backed somewhat, reluctantly by his nobles, he published the Edict of Emancipation, which freed about twenty-three million serfs. Most of the domestic servants, having received their freedom, went to the cities and obtained jobs in the rapidly expanding industries. But the majority of the peasants were farmers, and, unless given land, would remain a propertyless, homeless class. To avoid this situation, the government gave the peasants allotments of land (varying in size and quality with the district) for which they were to pay the state in annual installments spread over a period of forty-nine years. The state, in turn, reimbursed the lords for the loss of the property, generally by means of government bonds. Unfortunately, the free peasant did not become a private landowner; instead, he was forced by the government to hand over his property to the community, or *mir*. The village was responsible for the taxes, the annual redemption payments to the government, certain administrative and police duties, and the allotment of land among the peasants. Thus the peasant merely exchanged the landlordism of the nobility for that of the state.

Without question the Edict of Emancipation was a great legislative act. Millions of men and women were thereby transformed from serfs into citizens. Subsequent acts carried the liberation program still further, until by 1866, serfdom had been completely eradicated. This solution of a vast economic and social problem was, however, open to criticism. Most aristocrats, deprived of serfs and of much land, lacking initiative, special training, and capital, failed to adjust themselves to new conditions. Many became bankrupt, while others, unable to live on their lands, were forced to sell their remaining property to the peasants.

The results of the emancipation were disastrous to the peasants as well as to the nobles. Land assigned to the *moujik* was generally the poorest property and too small to provide for the normal growth of families, hence there developed congestion and increasing poverty. Redemption payments and other taxes were also unusually high. The peasants suffered, moreover, from the communal system of cultivation and administration. Since the *mir* was responsible for the payment of all taxes, it restricted the movements of its peasants, refusing to allow them to leave without a guarantee that they would bear their share. At intervals, the land in the *mir* was redistributed to each peasant head of a household in the villages. This meant that, as population increased, the units of the land given to each peasant decreased in size. Thus their farms became progressively smaller and it became increasingly difficult for the peasant to make a living.

Production also was cut down by the lack of private ownership. The wasteful medieval strip system still prevailed in Russia, harvests were poor; famines occurred frequently, and taxes ate up the surplus of produce. Further, as the price of wheat fell in the world markets, profits decreased correspondingly, and the paradoxical situation developed of a starving country with growing grain exports. At the same time, there arose in Russia a group of peasants who acquired lands of their own outside of the *mir*. These wealthy peasants, called *kulaks*, contributed to the general unrest by constituting a superior class within the peasants. Thus, the Russian government, in emancipating the serfs, helped to bring about a vast economic revolution, the effects and defects of which were bound to influence the whole subsequent history of that country.

The emancipation of the serfs led to important political as well as social changes. With the abolition of serfdom, the judicial authority exercised locally by the nobility over their serfs disappeared. By the *Zemstvo* Decree of 1864, European Russia was divided into 360 districts grouped in provinces. Delegates elected by the landowners, the peasant communities, and certain elements of the urban population constituted a district *Zemstvo* assembly. They in turn chose a permanent governing body and sent representatives to the provincial *Zemstvo*, which elected its own governing board. Both assemblies had charge

*Other reforms of
Alexander*

of such ordinary duties of local government as sanitation, primary education, poor relief, prevention of famine, maintenance of roads and bridges, and the collection of taxes for local needs. In 1870 a certain amount of self-government was granted by the tsar to towns. Municipal councils, elected by tax payers, were created, but these bodies were under the close supervision of the central authorities.

Judicial reforms were made necessary as a result of the administrative reorganization. In 1864 an edict proclaimed the separation of judicial and administrative functions, the abolition of secret hearings, and the end of class privileges. It announced the establishment of laws equally just to all, of irremovable judges, of trial by jury, and of equality before the law. Public prosecutors and justices of the peace for local affairs were appointed. Thus Russia was given a judicial system which compared favorably with those of other European countries.

The army as well as the judiciary was reorganized by the government. In 1874 universal military service was established by the Army Reform Bill of that year. A quota of youths for military service was drawn by lot, and the terms of service were to be six years with the active army, nine with the reserve, and five with the militia.

Prior to the introduction of this military bill, certain events had caused Alexander II to abandon some of his reforms and to develop reactionary tendencies. The Polish insurrection in 1863, for example, *Polish Revolution* influenced him to give up his plan to satisfy the Poles by granting them autonomy within the Russian Empire. The difficulties and dissatisfaction which followed his social reforms disillusioned the liberal tsar. But it was the development of Marxist and anarchistic activities that caused him to abandon his reform program and adopt reactionary policies.

Alexander II and his successors, Alexander III (1881-1894) and Nicholas II (1894-1917) were unable to extinguish the revolutionary movement. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, radicals, called *Nihilism* Nihilists, denounced the whole reform program as inadequate and ineffectual. Destructive, individualistic, and materialistic, they urged the complete overturn of the Old Régime — tsardom, church, social and economic order, and the family life. In place of this conglomerate society, with its diverse traditions, they favored the establishment of a new utopia, fashioned in accordance with the laws of science. Inspired by these eighteenth-century ideas, many Nihilists, as teachers, doctors, nurses, workers, and agitators, visited the peasants and tried to teach them the doctrine of revolution. Unable to understand the significance of this instruction most of the peasants were not won over by this propaganda.

In the late seventies numerous Nihilists, influenced by the anarchistic teachings of the exiled nobleman, Bakunin, resorted to a policy of terrorism. They decided not only to abolish the Old Régime by force, but also to prevent

the establishment of a bourgeois capitalism and to proceed directly into communism. Thus Russian radicalism in its early phase, based on the commune, the *mir*, rather than on the factory, was revolutionary rather than evolutionary.

During the closing years of his reign Alexander II made a determined attempt to suppress terrorists. Censorship of speech, the press, and universities was tightened, reforms were abandoned or mutilated by decrees, and agitators were exiled to Siberia. Aroused by these reactionary measures the revolutionaries resorted to increasing terrorism. This situation became so critical that the tsar in 1880 decided to adopt a policy of conciliation, and planned the introduction of a limited representative government. Unfortunately, on the very day the tsar decided to accept this political reform (March 13, 1881), he became himself the victim of the terrorists.

The assassination of Alexander II discredited liberalism and greatly strengthened the Slavophil movement with its emphasis upon loyalty to the tsar, the Russian church, and native culture. Pobiedonostsev, a close friend of Alexander III and a brilliant defender of reaction, as Procurator of the Holy Synod (1880-1905), became the dominating influence in the government. A bitter opponent of freedom of thought and of popular government, he urged every Russian patriot to defend Holy Russia from the defiling and corroding influence of Western culture. Repression, purification, and Russification, therefore, became the order of the day. The authority of the *Zemstva* was reduced, freedom of the press and universities was abolished, Nihilists and other radicals were exiled, and martial law was established. To insure purity of thought and action all non-Russian groups were to be Russified and most non-orthodox religious organizations were to be exterminated. Jews were to be the special object of supervision. They were to be restricted to certain towns, were to be forbidden to engage in agriculture or to hold property outside of a definite area, were to be partly debarred from education, and were to be liable to salutary punishments (called Pogroms) if they were disobedient. As a result of this oppression thousands of Jews emigrated to America between 1880 and 1900, those who remained lived like cattle, herded in the congested ghettos of Russian cities.

Despite its reactionary policies, the government was forced to introduce measures designed to improve social conditions. It tried to help the peasants by diminishing their redemption payments, by abolishing the poll tax imposed on them, and by establishing land banks to facilitate their purchases of lands. It co-operated with private individuals attempting to provide relief during the great famine of 1891-1892. ^{*Social and economic reforms*} It also attempted to improve conditions in the factories. During the eighties, thousands of peasants, unable to make a living on farms, obtained jobs in factories, where they were subjected to merciless exploita-

tion Aroused by this terrible situation the government introduced rather feeble laws designed to reduce hours of labor, to improve working conditions, and to regulate the work of women and children On the other hand, it outraged the workers by refusing to allow them to form unions and to strike in order to better their lot

Besides helping the wage-earners, the government tried to aid the bourgeoisie To stimulate industrial developments, the able statesman, Count Witte, created a stringent protective tariff This, combined with currency reforms, the establishment of a gold standard, and other measures for the protection of capital, enabled him to lure foreign investors into the country With the capital which they provided, railroads were built, industry was expanded, machinery was purchased, and new factories were established As a result of these economic measures, foreign trade increased, transportation expanded, national credit improved, and the coal and iron industries experienced a period of remarkable growth Superficially, Russia seemed on the verge of a spectacular industrial revolution

Internal inefficiency and the unrest of the people, however, retarded this economic transformation Following the death of Alexander III in 1894, his successor, Nicholas II, determined to extinguish all opposition to his rule, announcing that he intended to preserve the principles of authority "as firmly and unwaveringly as my late father of imperishable memory" War was declared on all groups which in any way questioned his supremacy Radicalism was to be stamped out by a White Terror

By this time Russian bourgeois liberals and proletarian radicals possessed definite political and social objectives and were being formed into rather efficient organizations Political groups, such as the Cadets were determined to bring about constitutional reforms, while, at the same time, a growing number of wage-earners and intellectuals urged the complete overthrow of the Old Régime, the elimination of capitalistic society, and the establishment of a new order — the socialist state Largely responsible for the rapid growth of this radical movement was the tsar's stubborn opposition to political reforms In most European countries the governments had permitted the middle classes to attain some political power, in order to gain their support in the creation of prosperous states In Russia, however, no extensive constitutional reforms were promulgated Guided by Pobiedonostsev, the tsar was intent upon maintaining his absolute rule,

Strong hostility to this reactionary policy developed in the *Zemstva* Designed to deal with local problems, these bodies, representing the views of bourgeois intellectuals of various professions, developed, nevertheless, a profound interest in national affairs. Resenting the illogicality of an active and successful self-rule existing side by side with a decadent, autocratic,

central government, they vigorously urged the creation of a constitution and the establishment of a ministerial parliamentary system. Thereupon the reactionary elements in the government tried to weaken the *Zemstva* by depriving them of considerable local power. The *Zemstva*, disregarding these measures, became even more critical of the government. In 1903, bourgeois liberals backed by representatives of all classes formed the "Union of Liberation" which later served as a nucleus of the Constitutional Democratic Party (popularly known as the "Cadets").

Movements for economic and agrarian reforms accompanied these constitutional agitations. Wage-earners, influenced by the socialist ideas of Karl Marx and by the revolutionary methods of the terrorists, began to organize. More violent and more uncompromising *Socialism in Russia* than were their brother radicals in western Europe, these Russian proletarians established the Social Democratic Workmen's Party in 1884. They advocated not only the overthrow of the Old Régime, but also the reorganization of society on the basis of the dominance of the workers.

Although these radicals agreed upon these objectives, they soon disagreed as to the way by which the new socialist state was to be attained. A moderate group, called the Mensheviks (minority men) favored peaceful methods and co-operation for the time being with the capitalistic opponents of tsardom. The extremist group, the Bolsheviks (majority men), urged the immediate overthrow of the government and opposed co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Advocating violent measures, the peasants also formed an organization called Social Revolutionists. With its slogan, "all land to the peasant," it found enthusiastic support among the land-hungry farmers who hoped to acquire additional holdings. Knowing very little about socialism, these peasants favored the overthrow of the Old Régime and the establishment of a great national commonwealth of self-governing communes. They seemed hostile to both the bourgeoisie and the socialist type of state.

In 1904-5 internal unrest culminated in a revolution. This uprising was precipitated by the Russo-Japanese War which had discredited the tsarist government by revealing its corruption and incompetence. Representative leaders of the *Zemstva* and bourgeois groups *Russo Japanese War* urged the calling of a national assembly and the enactment of political and social concessions. A band of dissatisfied workers marched to the Winter Palace of the tsar to ask for reforms. Instead, they were fired upon by government troops, ~~earning for that day~~ *Revolution of 1905* January 22, 1905, the name *Bloody Sunday*. Following this massacre, uprisings, industrial and agrarian in character, broke out in certain districts in Russia. Intense violence characterized these outbreaks. Nobles' houses were destroyed; government officials were killed, and an attempt was made on the life of the tsar. Throughout the year an incipient revolution threatened to destroy the government. By the Octobrist Manifesto the tsar assured his

people of the establishment of a more liberal régime. The return of the troops from the Russo-Japanese War, and a timely loan from France, however, enabled him to restore his authority.

Panicky as a result of the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement, Nicholas II finally decided to introduce certain reforms, including a National Assembly or Duma. This concession did not satisfy the revolutionists. Informed by the tsar's "Fundamental Law" that supreme power was still vested in his hands and that he was only prepared to share part of his authority with the Duma, the liberal elements continued to agitate for a responsible ministry, for universal suffrage, and for freedom of speech, of conscience, of public meeting, and of the press. They also urged the establishment of compulsory free education, the introduction of financial reforms, and the redistribution of landed property.

Instead of accepting these proposed changes, the tsar proceeded to limit the power of the Duma and to suppress his critics. At the same time, his government, maintaining that it favored the introduction of social reforms, passed a number of measures to benefit the peasants. Redemption payments were cancelled, and steps were taken to abolish the *mir* system. Thus the government planned to destroy the whole collectivist system of land holding and to create private ownership of property. In order to help the peasants obtain land, financial advances were made to them by the state. Moreover, a system of public works was established to facilitate the development of agriculture. Some enclosure of land, limited intensive cultivation, introduction of machinery—all of these developments presaged the beginnings of an agricultural revolution in Russia.

But the government refused to grant important political reforms. In 1906 reactionary ministers persuaded the weak Nicholas II to dissolve the first Duma. Nearly half of the delegates, thereupon, met at Viborg in Finland and issued a manifesto requesting the people not to pay taxes until another Duma was called. Facing a revolution, the tsar appointed a very able bureaucrat, Stolypin, as premier. This practical leader advised the tsar to call a second Duma, which would be chosen in such a way as to represent the conservative landed gentry. Unable to control the elections, however, which resulted in a too liberal assembly, Stolypin got Nicholas to dissolve it and to revise the electoral law so as to insure the selection of reactionaries. In 1907 the third Duma was summoned. Controlled by the government, it passed a number of administrative reforms, but made little attempt to curb the autocratic authority of the tsar. In 1912 a fourth Duma assembled. Although it, too, represented the conservative classes, this body was sometimes very critical of the government. Additional reforms, demanded by representatives of the peasants and the proletariat, however, were ignored both by the tsar and by the Duma.

*Establishment
of Duma*

*Pre-War
unrest*

Becoming disgusted with the government the socialists promoted strikes in St Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, and Baku. In the summer of 1914, as the strikes were threatening to become more numerous, the outbreak of the World War interrupted both radical and reactionary agitation. All groups — reactionaries, Cadets, Social Revolutionists, and Mensheviks — rushed to the defense of Russia and of their brother Slavs in Serbia. Out of this struggle, many hoped, would rise a democratic empire, one which would liberate all Slavs, dominate the Straits, and expel the Turks from Europe.

Russia was drawn into the war largely as a result of its Near-Eastern ambitions. After the Crimean War she had paid little attention to the Ottoman problem, concentrating on expansion in Central Asia and in the Far East.¹ Great Britain and France, therefore, dominated Near-Eastern affairs. In the 'seventies, however, a revolt against Turkish oppression by certain Christian peoples in the Balkans led to the renewal of Russian activities there.

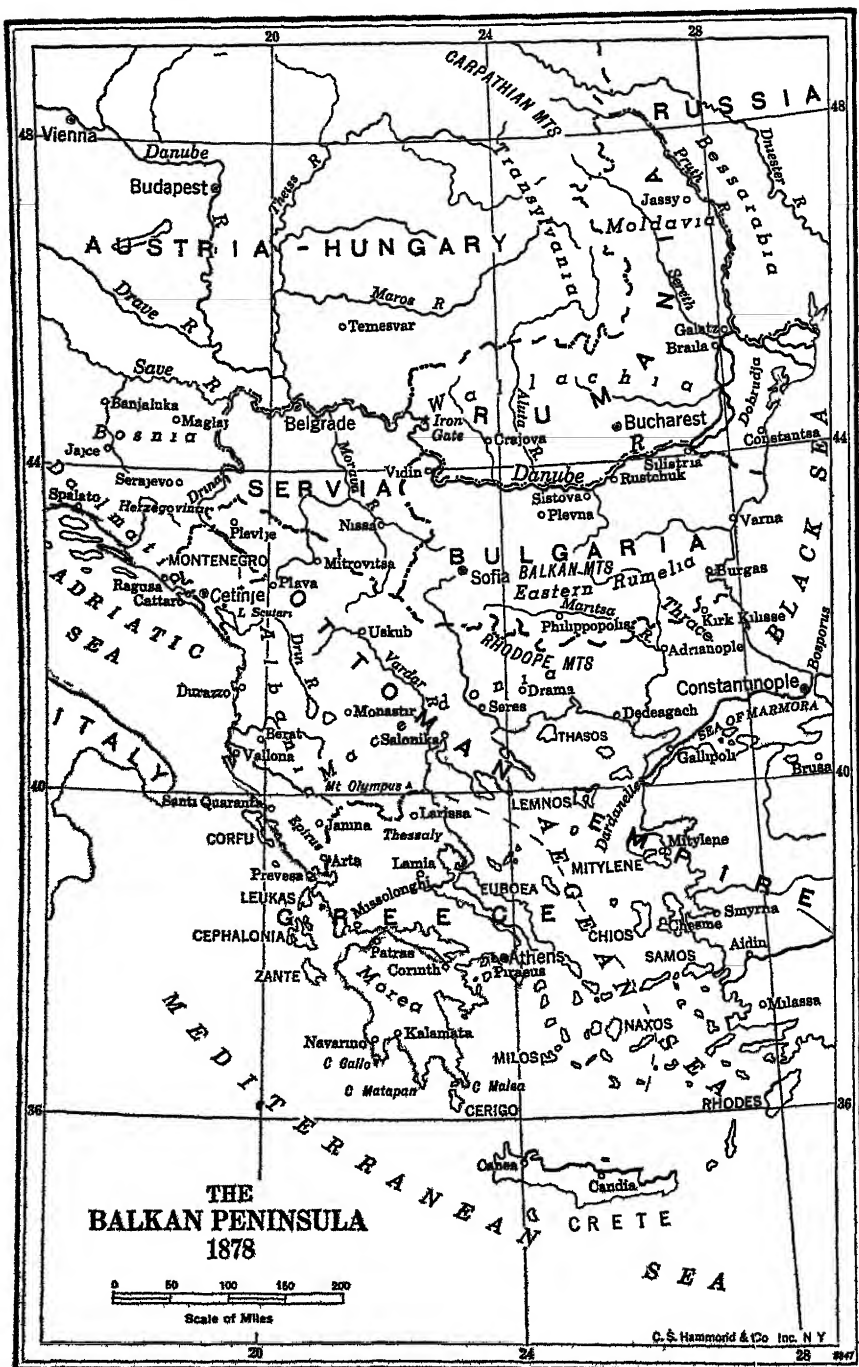
This uprising was the result of Turkey's failure to carry out her earlier promises of reform. After the Crimean War, corruption, extravagance and cruel oppression continued to characterize Ottoman rule, especially in the Balkans. Aroused by these conditions, encouraged by Pan-Slav propaganda, and suffering from famine as a result of crop failure, the people of Herzegovina, a province bordering Montenegro, revolted (July, 1875). Immediately the revolution spread to the neighboring province of Bosnia, where a Turkish army was defeated.

The great powers of Europe now realized that these uprisings, together with Turkey's default on her foreign loans, and the persistence of palace intrigues, might lead to the complete collapse of the Ottoman Empire and to the predominance of Russia in the Near East. To avoid the latter contingency they urged the sultan to carry out certain reforms. But the Slav rebels refused this time to accept the Turkish promises, unless supported by guarantees from the European states. Attempting to eradicate Ottoman rule, the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins now joined in a war against the Porte (1876).

In the struggle which followed, atrocities were committed by both sides. Over a hundred Turkish officials were murdered by Bulgarians, and the Turkish troops killed thousands of Christians in the rebellious provinces. Deeply moved by the wholesale slaughter of Bulgars, Gladstone of England, urged that the Turks be thrown out of Europe "bag and baggage." Disraeli, his political opponent, opposed this solution of the Balkan problem. He feared Russian expansion in the Near East, realizing that this country, Britain's most dangerous rival, once in control of Constantinople, would be in a position to challenge British interests in the Orient.² As Prime Minister

¹ See pp. 1047, 1050, 1056.

² See p. 985.



he assumed the rôle of apologist for the Turks and succeeded in keeping England from intervening against them in the Balkan crisis

Russia refused to adopt a "hands off" policy. She knew that the Slavs in the Ottoman Empire expected her support and determined not to disappoint them. On April 14, 1877, the tsar declared war upon Turkey and sent troops into the Balkans. In about six months the Russian soldiers were threatening to capture Constantinople, Turkey was entirely at the mercy of her foes. To avoid the loss of his capital, Sultan Abdul Hamid II in March, 1878, reluctantly agreed to a settlement with Russia — the Treaty of San Stefano. By this peace Montenegro and Serbia were enlarged and their independence recognized, Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the joint guarantee of Russia and Austria, reforms were granted the Armenians, Russia was given Batum and Ardahan in Asia and part of the Dobrudja (which she proposed to trade to Rumania for southern Bessarabia), Rumania's independence was recognized, and a very large Bulgaria under Russian auspices was created — an autonomous tributary principality, with a Christian government and a national militia.

Russia's triumph in the Near East caused general dissatisfaction elsewhere. Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania opposed the enlargement of Bulgaria. Rumania claimed that Russia had not rewarded her satisfactorily for her aid, Austria-Hungary said that Russia had violated the terms on which the Dual Monarchy had promised neutrality. Disraeli maintained that Russia ultimately intended to destroy the Ottoman Empire, to dominate the Balkans, and to overturn the balance of power in the Near East. Austria and Great Britain insisted that the treaty be submitted to a European congress for revision inasmuch as it changed the *status quo* in the Near East without the consent of those powers signatory to the treaty of Paris in 1856. Russia, of course, protested, but when Bismarck, in order to obtain an alliance with the Dual Monarchy, decided to back that country in its determination to hold a conference, Russia was forced to consent to this meeting.

At the Congress of Berlin (1878), largely dominated by Disraeli of England, Andrassy of Austria, and Bismarck of Germany, the Treaty of San Stefano was revised and Russia was robbed of many of the fruits of her victory. According to the terms of the new settle- *Congress of
Berlin*ment, Russia received southern Bessarabia from Rumania, and the Asiatic Provinces which she recognized, and she got part of the Dobrudja in exchange for Bessarabia. Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria for political occupation. She was also given the *Sanjak* of Novi Bazar between Serbia and Montenegro for military purposes only. Bulgaria was reduced to about one-third the area established by the Treaty of San Stefano, moreover, she remained under the suzerainty of Turkey. Of the rest, Eastern Rumelia was restored to Turkey, but was given autonomy, Macedonia, with its two-and-a-half millions of mixed population, was re-

turned to Turkey Montenegro and Serbia were recognized as independent states, but the territories they had been granted by the other treaty were reduced. Greece demanded possession of Crete, Thessaly, Epirus, and part of Macedonia, but failed to get them. England was confirmed in her possession of the island of Cyprus, which she had already acquired from Turkey.

Having re-established the balance of power in the Balkans, the great states, save Russia, were satisfied, "There is again a Turkey in Europe," said Disraeli. But these arrangements could not check the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Patriotic movements in Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, Serbia, and Macedonia, threatened to precipitate new wars which might result in the complete expulsion of the Turks from Europe.

The Congress of Berlin merely served to sharpen the rivalries over the Near East. By separating Eastern Rumelia from the independent Bulgarian state, the congress intensified the unrest in that part of the Balkans. In 1885 the people of Rumelia finally declared for union with Bulgaria. Certain European states thereupon protested this violation of the settlement, but Anglo-Austrian hostility to Russian policy prevented drastic interference by any of the powers. Eventually, Bulgaria's strong man, Stambulov, however, managed to free his country of Russian dominance.

Revolutionary agitation occurred in the Asiatic as well as in the European parts of Turkey. In 1894-5 an Armenian revolt was harshly suppressed by the sultan's troops. Following this massacre, over 6,000 Armenians who attacked a Turkish bank in Constantinople were murdered in a single day. Great Britain, alone, protested this treatment of subject peoples. Gladstone denounced Sultan Abdul Hamid II as "the Great Assassin immortally beyond all mortals damned." The other leading European states — France, Russia, Austria, and Germany — however, ignored the massacres.

After the Armenian affair, the center of trouble shifted to Greece. That country was finding it difficult to establish an orderly government. For twenty-nine years the people had submitted to the inefficient rule of King Otto of Bavaria. In 1863, having driven this useless ruler from the throne, they offered it to a Danish prince, who became King George of the Hellenes, ruling until 1913. Meanwhile the Greeks demanded the inclusion of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, the Ionian Islands, and Crete in their dominions. Although Greece lacked the support of the European Powers, except England, she was able to acquire a small section of Epirus and the major part of Thessaly, thanks to British aid in 1881.

Greece was especially interested in the fortunes of the people of Crete. From 1830 the Cretans had tried numerous times to throw off Turkish control and unite with Greece. Finally, in 1897, this island-state, led by Venezelos, proclaimed its union with Greece and obtained the support of that country.

But the Turkish armies, reorganized by the Germans, overwhelmingly defeated the Greeks, and after a few weeks of fighting, the conflict ended. Greece was forced to pay a heavy war indemnity and to return a part of Thessaly to Turkey.

While the sultan was facing continual trouble and disturbances in various parts of his empire, a close friendship was formed with Germany. For nearly a century Great Britain had acted the rôle of a big brother towards the Turks, but after the Congress of Berlin Anglo-Turkish relations had become strained. Bismarck, who wished to maintain peace in the Balkans, favored a *rapprochement* between Germany and Turkey. It was not until after his fall in 1890, however, that a warm and personal relationship was established. By that time William II of Germany decided to advance German economic interests in the Near East and at the same time to support the Balkan ambitions of his ally, Austria-Hungary. Accordingly, he embarked on a Turkophile policy, visiting Abdul Hamid II in 1889 and in 1898, and making, on his second sojourn, a formal pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he announced that the sultan and the three hundred million Mohammedans who revered him as caliph might rest assured that the German emperor was their friend.

After this trip a German-controlled company was organized to build a railway from Berlin to Bagdad. Prior to this grant, German officers were reorganizing the Turkish armies, and German bankers and traders were extending their economic influence to all parts of the empire. The Bagdad Railway was a logical outgrowth of these activities and paved the way for further German penetration of the Turkish Empire. This, and other lines controlled by Germany, it was felt, would place at the feet of the kaiser's subjects, wealth, trade, and power. Moreover, when the time came for a final liquidation of Turkey, Germany would be in a position to receive the major share of the booty.

Although Germany's Near-Eastern program brought tremendous profits, it created numerous problems. Imperialistic interests in Great Britain, France, and in other European powers, considered themselves threatened by this German thrust. Moreover, the Teutonic advance encouraged Austro-Hungarian ambitions in the Balkans. The people there—especially the Serbs—in turn feared the aspirations of their Habsburg neighbor. Russia also disapproved of this Austro-German thrust to the East. She disliked the railway from Berlin to the Orient because it threatened her grain trade with serious competition and promised a regeneration of the Ottoman Empire which she did not favor. Moreover, Russia still hoped to obtain control of the Mediterranean so that she could have an outlet for the exportation of the great grain crops which were raised in the Dnieper and Volga river valleys. Accordingly, to block the extension of the railway, Russia, in 1900, arranged an agreement with Turkey, which practically made Armenia a Russian

sphere of influence. This interfered with the projected Berlin-to-Bagdad line since it was to take a northerly and less difficult route across Armenia. By 1907, Russia had again shifted the emphasis of her policy of expansion in Asia — this time from the Far East back to the Near East. Her defeat in the war against Japan, the growing fear that the Teutonic states were going to emerge the victors in the international competition for control of the Near East, and the *rapprochement* with England, all contributed to this reorientation. Henceforth, until the outbreak of the World War in 1914, the St. Petersburg government focussed its attention on this region.

CHAPTER LXIV

FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE LESSER POWERS, 1870-1914

(The victory of the German states over France in 1871 marked the beginning of a new era. It moved the political and diplomatic center of gravity of Europe from Paris to Berlin.) The period which had derived its inspiration from France gave way to one which looked to Germany for leadership in military, economic, political, and social matters. This change was epitomized by Lord Morley when he said "Europe has lost a mistress but gained a master."

In France the immediate result of the German invasion and triumph was a revolt. Even before the peace terms had been signed the people in the Commune of Paris engaged in an uprising which lasted about two months. Various dissatisfied groups participated in this rebellion. Stung by the humiliating peace terms—the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and the heavy indemnity—and afraid of a monarchical government, Jacobin republicans advocated a dictatorship of the people as a prelude to the expulsion of the Germans and the restoration of the republic. These radicals were backed by socialists who planned the establishment of a socialist state and by anarchists who demanded the overthrow of the central government and the erection of communes throughout France. In short, the uprising was a demonstration of opposition to Germanism, royalism, and capitalism.

*The Commune
of Paris*

The request of the government that the guns be removed from Paris precipitated the struggle. Seizing them, the revolutionaries ran up the Red Flag of 1848 and urged their comrades in all the cities of France to do likewise. Determined to eliminate the conservative peasants from political control, these city radicals planned the establishment of a federation of republics for France resembling in certain particulars the present political set-up of Soviet Russia. Unlike the Russian Bolsheviks, they failed to win over the military forces. Troops of the Provisional Government, on the other hand, besieged Paris while the Germans watched. For two months the insurgents held out, but after the food supply was exhausted they were forced to surrender. Frightful revenge was now taken by the bourgeois-peasant forces of law and order. Over 15,000 men were butchered by soldiers, and over 15,000 were arrested and either sentenced to death or exiled to a living hell in the French colonies (in the great French Revolution, "between April

6, 1793, and July 27, 1794, the period of the Jacobin Terror, only 2,596 heads fell in Paris.") Such was the vengeance of the possessing classes upon the dispossessed, of the old revolution upon the new, of the provinces upon Paris.

After the restoration of law and order, Thiers, chief of the executive (later President of the Republic), tackled the problem of national recovery. Backed by the patriotic and thrifty French people he raised, by internal loans, sufficient money to pay the huge indemnity demanded by Germany within two and one-half years. As a result of this feat, German troops were withdrawn from France. Thus France was relieved of the burden which Bismarck hoped would prevent her recovery for at least a generation.

Encouraged by this achievement the government proceeded to reorganize the army. Compulsory military service was introduced, fortresses were built, railways, roads, and bridges were constructed, and industrial, commercial, and agricultural prosperity were revived. By 1875 this unusual power of recuperation — largely the result of a satisfactory balance between agriculture and industry, as well as financial stability — enabled France to resume her position as one of the great powers.

The establishment of the Third French Republic was another important step in the program of recovery. Despite the fact that France was ostensibly a republic from the autumn of 1870 on, the National Assembly was overwhelmingly monarchical in sentiment. The monarchists, however, were divided among themselves into three factions. One group, the Orleanists, favored the claim of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, another, the Legitimists, backed the Bourbon candidate, Henry V (more commonly called the Count of Chambord), an ardent advocate of clerical, royalist, and feudal traditions, the third, the Bonapartists, agitated for the return of a member of that dynasty. Since the three factions could not agree on a common candidate, they had put Thiers into the president's chair as a stop-gap. He, however, showed signs of becoming a republican. "There is only one throne," he cried, "and three people can not sit upon it at the same time." Thereupon the monarchists forced him out of his post and elected in his place the well-known royalist, Marshal MacMahon, President of the Provisional Assembly. Ardent conservatives now tried to arrange a settlement between the monarchist factions, whereby the Count of Chambord was to ascend the throne with the Count of Paris as heir-apparent. But the unwillingness of the Count of Chambord to accept the tri-color flag, after all other issues had been decided, destroyed the compromise and prevented the re-establishment of the monarchy.

made to draw up another declaration of the "Rights of Man." These original laws and four important amendments simply created the framework of the republican government. Its central structure consisted of a President, elected for seven years by the two houses. Possessing little power, he presided but did not govern. The real executive branch consisted of a Premier and Cabinet dependent upon a dominant party, or *bloc* of parties, in the Chamber of Deputies. There was a Legislature of two houses: a Senate, with three hundred members elected by an indirect method, for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies, comprising nearly six hundred deputies elected for terms of four years on the basis of popular suffrage. The consent of the Senate was necessary for the dissolution of the Legislature by the President. That body also served as a check upon the Chamber of Deputies.

A centralized administration fostered continuity of national policy, despite the instability of the executive officer, the premier. Local government was subordinated to the authority of the central government. France consisted of *départements*, ruled by prefects appointed by and representing the central officers.

This highly centralized republican government endured in the face of monarchical opposition, domestic scandals, and radical challenges, largely because it catered to the interests of the two great property-owning classes — the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Not only did it encourage industrial and commercial expansion by improved communications, imperialistic development, protection, and low taxes, but it also helped the peasants by encouraging the growing of silk, flax, hemp, and other commodities, and by establishing loan banks, insurance companies, and agricultural schools. It enabled sons and daughters of the common people to develop their abilities through the establishment of a ~~public-school system~~ *Achievements of Third Republic* (1881-1886). Control of education was taken from the church and placed in the hands of political authorities. In this manner the educational system became a center of bourgeois idealism and of patriotism to the existing régime. As a result of these enlightened policies France, by 1914, was one of the most prosperous nations in Europe. Her wealth, including stocks and securities of foreign governments and industries, was more equally distributed than that of any other great power. Her property-owning classes, the backbone of the country, enjoying apparent security, save for the constant fear of a war with Germany, had become, for the most part, loyal to the republic.

Although successful in bringing about rapid recovery and marked prosperity in France, the republic encountered bitter hostility. In the late 'seventies the royalists engaged in an unsuccessful revolt which was followed by the resignation of Marshal MacMahon. In the 'eighties, an adventurer, General Boulanger, backed by monarchists, clericals, and other chauvinists, severely criticized and frequently

Opposition to Third Republic

embarrassed the republic and advocated the establishment of a dictatorial government. He failed to strike when the iron was hot, was forced to flee, committed suicide, and his movement collapsed.

Scandals, involving governmental officials, temporarily discredited the republic. Politics appeared to be self-seeking, rather than an arena in which the statesmen could present and champion their ideas. President Grévy, in 1887, was forced to resign because of a scandal that did not involve him personally, but did besmirch a relative. The notorious Dreyfus case, however, eclipsed all other scandals and created a real crisis for the republic.

In 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew attached to the Ministry of War, was arrested, convicted on a charge of treason, and sentenced for life to Devil's Island. Several years later investigations of a *Dreyfus case*

Colonel Picquart, chief of the Military Intelligence Staff, tended to substantiate the unfortunate officer's protestations of innocence and a retrial was demanded. High military officers tried to hush up the case believing that the honor of the army would be blackened if the verdict of the court-martial was proven unjust. They therefore removed Colonel Picquart from his position and appointed a less inquisitive man in his place.

In January, 1898, Emile Zola, the famous novelist, reopened the case when he published a letter in which he frankly stated that the judges of the court-martial were unjust and dishonest. Monarchists and clericals bitterly resisted the reopening of the case. They denounced Jews, republicans, and socialists as criminals, claiming that those who believed in the innocence of Dreyfus were enemies of law and order, property, church, and country. They accused them of being allies of such forces of evil as a syndicate of Jews, Freemasons, Protestants, England and the Triple Alliance, socialists, anarchists, enemies of the Faith, enemies of the flag, and enemies of society. In the midst of party passions, aroused as they had not been in France since the Commune, Dreyfus was given a retrial before a group of high army officers, who had been his accusers five years before. Attempting not to allow a thorough probe of the affair, the judges deliberately barred certain vital testimony and finally by a vote of five to two, declared him guilty with extenuating circumstances. The court then sentenced Dreyfus to ten years' imprisonment, and thus the honor of the army had been maintained. President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released, broken in health. In 1906 friends of the unfortunate man finally succeeded in having the verdict of the court-martial quashed by the Court of *Cassation*. Dreyfus was declared vindicated, restored to his rank in the army, and the case was closed.

This affair, however, revived the quarrel between church and state. Influenced by the clerical opposition to Dreyfus, the bourgeois republicans and the socialist groups demanded the abrogation of the Concordat of 1801 and the separation of church and state. As a result of their agitations the Association Law of 1901 was passed which dis-

solved unauthorized religious orders, barred them from teaching, and confiscated their property. In 1904 another law forbade teaching by religious groups. Diplomatic relations between France and the papacy were suspended, and in 1905 the French Republic annulled the Concordat and disestablished the Roman Catholic Church in France. By this separation law, members of all creeds were placed on an equal footing and were authorized to form associations of laymen for public worship. The state was released of payment of salaries to the clergy (with a few exceptions) and churches were handed over to lay associations to be used during the life of those organizations.

The pope and many influential Catholics opposed this act, especially that part which allowed laymen to participate (by means of the associations) in the control of church affairs. Hence many ecclesiastics refused to have anything to do with these associations. Then the pope appointed French clergy without consultation with the government, and the French church, renouncing its Gallican, or nationalist leanings, became anti-republican and ultramontane.

After a two-year controversy a compromise was arranged by the tactful statesmen, Briand. By a new law the clergy were given the right to manage their own affairs and were to make arrangements with the local mayors for the use of the churches in worship. These laws were significant because they separated church and state and insured governmental control in secular matters. Henceforth the church was a private institution, confining its attention officially to the spiritual realm.

Social as well as religious difficulties faced the Third French Republic. As in other industrial states, the government had to deal with the problem of increasing unrest among the wage-earners. To meet this situation, trade unions were legalized in 1884. In addition, in 1892 a law was enacted regulating the employment of women and children, providing for a maximum ten-hour working day, and establishing provision for the health and safety of persons in the factories. In addition, a workmen's compensation act (requiring employers to compensate workers for injuries received during service) was passed in 1898, and in 1911 a plan of old age insurance was adopted.

This social legislation failed to check the advance of radicalism. Opposed for the most part to Louis Blanc's program of control of the republic by workers, the establishment of national workshops, and the creation thereby of a socialist state, many French radicals of the early twentieth century turned to syndicalism, a form of trade unionism applied to revolutionary purposes. Aiming at the overthrow of private enterprises by the strike and the control thereby of production by syndicates (organized groups of workers), these radical proletarians accepted the socialist objectives, but adopted the violent methods — direct economic action and industrial wrecking — outlined by Proudhon and Blanqui. Dur-

*Social
Legislation*

*Unions and
strikes*

ing the years 1906-1910 this radical movement, spreading rapidly in French industrial centers, caused a number of serious proletarian uprisings. In 1910, the movement culminated in a great railway strike—a strike which many believed was but the beginning of a revolution. This “revolt,” however, was suppressed by the Radical Socialist Premier, Briand, who disapproved of violence. Calling up military reserves he forced the workers as soldiers to run the trains, and by so doing he broke the strike. After this labor crisis, property owners in France realized that the syndicalist movement threatened the very existence of bourgeois society. In 1914 labor unrest was the outstanding internal problem confronting France.

While the French people were establishing a bourgeois republic, Bismarck was building an efficient and powerful empire in Germany. As Chancellor, Bismarck strove to create a prosperous, powerful, and efficient state. To achieve these aims he had preserved autocracy in Prussia and extended it to the whole *Reich*. Retaining the constitution of the North German Confederation, he had created a federal organization based upon the hegemony of Prussia among the states and the dominance of monarchical principles. The hereditary Prussian king was *ipso facto* Kaiser or German Emperor, but sovereignty was vested in the *Bundesrat*. This body represented the various German states by quota, Prussia possessing 17 of the 61 votes. It had not only considerable executive and judicial power, but it also possessed a dominant voice in legislative affairs. Inasmuch as the Prussian delegation was the largest group in the *Bundesrat*, the kaiser as Prussian king was able to control that body. Thus, the Federal Council (the *Bundesrat*) was a sort of constitutional camouflage for Prussia's government of the empire. Theoretically, the *Bundesrat* was entirely in the hands of the reigning princes, practically, it was under the control of the Hohenzollerns.

In the administration of the internal affairs of the empire the kaiser was not dominant. His executive power was slight, as there were only a few federal officials to appoint, and he lacked veto power over bills passed by Parliament. Possessing greater authority in foreign affairs, he could declare war and peace, arrange alliances and treaties, and appoint and receive ambassadors. He was also commander-in-chief of the army and navy and selected the chancellor, who in turn chose the other members of the cabinet. This imperial chancellor presided in the *Bundesrat*, but voted and spoke only as a Prussian representative. Except in foreign, military, and naval affairs, the empire depended on the administrative officers of the separate states.

The empire retained the bicameral system of the North German Confederation. In addition to the *Bundesrat* there was a *Reichstag* or National House, whose members were elected for terms of five years by the population of the whole empire by manhood suffrage. This body possessed only a limited veto power and was relatively insignificant. In 1877 a supreme Federal Judicial

Court was created, possessing original jurisdiction in instances of treason and appellate jurisdiction in other cases

Bismarck was the first chancellor of this newly created federal state. For the next twenty years, until his fall in 1890, he devoted himself to the establishment of a powerful, prosperous, and unified German Empire. He bitterly opposed, ultramontanism, provincialism, *Bismarck's policies* democracy, and socialism, considering them enemies of progress. Sincere exponent of benevolent despotism, he planned the strengthening of imperial unity not only by force but also by the excellence of his administrative organization and by the economic and intellectual advantages he offered the German people. Thus, by making the empire prosperous and efficient he hoped to win over all elements, including even the three and a half million Poles of the north and east, the 150,000 Danes of North Schleswig, and the nearly two million French subjects in Alsace-Lorraine.

In his opposition to certain organizations which, in his opinion, threatened German unity, Bismarck at first resorted to force. Shortly after the Franco-German war, for example, he became involved in a bitter quarrel with the Roman Catholic Church. Regarding that *Kulturkampf* institution as a state within a state, he determined to bring it under the control of the government. In May, 1872, he had an imperial law enacted expelling the Jesuits from Germany and prohibiting priests from expressing political ideas in their pulpits. Several years later (1873) the Prussian Diet passed the so-called May Laws, requiring compulsory civil marriage, ordering all candidates for the priesthood to be Germans (educated in a German university), forbidding ecclesiastical punishments, suppressing the Catholic Bureau in the Department of Education, and withdrawing the inspection of schools from the clergy.

In 1875 a crisis arose when Bismarck ordered all religious orders abolished. Backed by liberals, atheists, scientists, and a group of "old Catholics" (opponents of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility of 1870), Bismarck declared that he would "never go to Canossa." The church naturally opposed the chancellor's anti-Catholic legislation. For five years this battle (*Kulturkampf*) between the church and state continued. During this period the Catholic or "Center" party in the Reichstag was in open revolt, constantly embarrassing the chancellor by refusing to support his program.

Finally Bismarck decided to arrange a settlement. Realizing that he might have to resort to force in the struggle, and facing a radical internal movement, he entered into negotiations with the pope. Leo XIII hastened to accept Bismarck's overtures of peace. During the next nine years nearly all anti-Catholic laws were annulled, and a series of arrangements established cooperation between the pope and the kaiser, especially in the matter of Church appointments. In return, Bismarck secured the support of the Catholic Center party, a real force in German politics.

Backed by his new ally Bismarck now declared war on the socialists. At first he adopted a policy of repression. A series of acts prohibited all associations, meetings, and publications which aimed at the destruction of the existing order of society and government. To deal with any emergencies which might arise the police were granted extensive powers. By these measures socialist gatherings were made illegal and their funds confiscated. This attempt to eradicate the "Red International" failed, socialist unrest only increased and became more radical because it was driven underground. Numerous secret organizations, some with headquarters in Switzerland, now replaced the outlawed trade unions. Bismarck finally decided that socialism could not be extinguished by force. Displaying an extraordinary grasp of the situation he concluded that the

Opposition to socialism

Economic nationalism

growth of unrest was the result of economic conditions which must be changed. Social discontent, he decided, was connected with an agricultural and industrial depression which in the 'seventies succeeded a short era of speculation (facilitated by the indemnity received from France). Believing that this recession was also the result of German free-trade policy, he decided to adopt the doctrine of economic nationalism, as outlined by such able economists as Schmoller (1838-1917), List (1789-1846), and Wagner (1835-1917). In 1879 he therefore established a high tariff on agricultural and industrial products.

To create a prosperous Germany, Bismarck also favored the development of professional and technical education. The graduate school which had appeared first in Germany in the early nineteenth century, was expanded, especially in the field of technical training. In the German gymnasiums a program was developed corresponding to that of the American high school and college. Natural science, history, sociology and other "modern" subjects were taught. In short, while English colleges were suspicious of so-called practical trends in education, German schools were taking the lead in the development of the modern system of higher education with its emphasis upon vocational and professional training.¹

At the same time Bismarck adopted the ideas of the nationalist economists that the state served as the equalizer of conflicts and that a powerful, unified, and prosperous country could best be attained by the establishment of friendly relationships among the different social classes, the reduction of injustice, an approach to a more equitable distribution of wealth, and social legislation, promoting progress and the moral elevation of the lower and middle classes. Having helped the bourgeoisie and the farmers by a protective tariff, Bismarck decided to aid the wage-earners by means of social legislation. Therefore he embarked on a program of state socialism by having laws enacted in 1883, 1884, and 1887, designed to insure workmen against sickness, accidents, and old age. In 1911 these laws were

Social legislation

¹ See pp. 1004-1005

unified into a comprehensive scheme of social legislation which, before the World War, became a model for similar reforms in Great Britain, France, and other European countries

Despite his remarkable success in the unification and development of the German Empire, the chancellor in 1890 was practically forced out of office. In 1888 Bismarck's friend and master, the old Emperor William I, died, and the long partnership between ruler and minister came to an end. Kaiser William was succeeded by his son, Emperor Frederick, a liberal, who reigned for ninety-nine days. Although he was unsympathetic towards the chancellor's policies, he retained him in power in view of the imminence of his own death. But when his son, William II (1888-1918) became kaiser, Germany entered upon a new era. For two years Bismarck managed to remain in office, but in 1890 he was dropped, and a young, inexperienced man took over the ship of state.

When he became kaiser, William II was twenty-eight years of age, ambitious, aggressive, and alive to modern tendencies. He possessed an active and vivid imagination, but was reckless, restless, neurotic and immature, having little political acumen or appreciation of *William II* the importance of public opinion. Militaristic, meddlesome, and domineering, but well intentioned, he believed that he had one great purpose on earth — to carry out the divine mission of the Hohenzollerns. Imbued with this idea, he found it difficult to tolerate the authority of the old chancellor.

Whereas Bismarck ruled in silence, William II laid German aspirations before the world in pompous and boastful speeches. These utterances, revealing a lack of emotional poise and dignity, alarmed Europe and irritated many Germans. Disregarding growing criticism, William proclaimed "system, efficiency, and discipline" as his chief watchwords, and sponsored a sort of moral crusade to spread *Deutsche Kultur* throughout the world.

William II's crusading propensities were chiefly inspired by Germany's remarkable economic expansion. During his reign the empire enjoyed a phenomenal commercial, industrial, and agricultural revolution. An excellent geographical position and the possession of essential resources had greatly facilitated this development. *German economic expansion*

In the center of Europe, Germany was a natural distributor of foreign goods on the continent. Thanks to the coal in the Ruhr and Saar Basin and the iron in Lorraine and Silesia, she, by 1914, had surpassed Great Britain in the manufacture of iron and steel, and had taken third place, excelled only by the United States and England, in the production of coal. In shipping she was second only to her British rival, whereas in the manufacture of electrical and chemical industries, Germany took the lead. In textile manufactures, however, she lagged behind Great Britain. Scientific methods were not limited to industry. In agriculture, farmers were able to increase production through the use of fertilizers and farm machinery. The enlarged output of sugar-beets and potatoes was especially noteworthy.

Like Bismarck, William II worked hand-in-glove with merchants, industrialists, and landowners in their attempts to extend their markets abroad and to monopolize those at home. Bismarck at first tended to oppose the acquisition of colonies, regarding them as extravagances. Before his fall he did consent to imperial expansion. But he insisted that German colonization must have the sanction of Great Britain, mistress of the seas. William II, however, adopted a more aggressive policy. Won over to the cause of colonial expansion by the great banking and industrial interests of Germany, he proceeded to arouse jealousy and fear on all sides by his boastful remarks. Disregarding British opposition, he became an ardent advocate of a powerful German navy. "I will never rest," said the Kaiser in 1897, "until I have raised my navy to the same standard as that of the army." "The times are past," said one of his ministers, "when the German left the earth to one of his neighbors, the sea to another, and reserved the sky for himself." German penetration in the Near East, her naval ambitions, and her so-called *Weltpolitik* policy, as we shall see, finally forced competitors to settle their colonial rivalries and to unite in opposition to this seeming menace.

During the reign of William II there was social progress as well as economic and naval expansion. Bismarck's social legislation was extended, efficient city-governments were established, and local improvements, such as sanitation, water facilities, parks, schools, and hospitals, and municipal ownership of public utilities were fostered. These advances, tempered with obedience, efficiency, and discipline, undoubtedly contributed to German success in improving the standards of living, in virtually eliminating slums in cities, and in achieving national power and prosperity.

Encouraged by these triumphs, champions of autocracy appeared in the realm of literature as well as in politics. Treitschke (1834-1896), the German historian, asserted that "the state towered above the individuals who composed it and realized ideals far beyond individual happiness"; Delbrück (1848-1929), in his works earnestly defended the despotism of William II. "The vacillations of democracy," he said, "weaken any government", and Bulow, the imperial chancellor from 1900 to 1909, in his *Imperial Germany*, also defended autocracy by claiming that "the lack of frontiers and the presence of enemies on three sides made a centralized government necessary." Autocracy's greatest champion, however, was that strange apostle of the idea of a superman and a superstate, Nietzsche (1844-1900). Emphasizing in his works, *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and *Beyond Good and Evil*, the "will to power," he denounced democracy and socialism as the "cult of numbers" and the "religion of equality," and glorified the ruling classes, "whose very power was indicative of their superiority and of their right to rule."

Prior to 1914 an increasing number of non-Germans, bourgeois liberals, and socialists, opposed this philosophy of despotism. The French inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, the Poles in eastern Germany, and the Danes in Schleswig — all resisted the governmental policy of Germanization, which aimed to eradicate the customs, institutions, and languages of these minorities. The Center Party chiefly Bavarian and Catholic, favored moderate social reforms but opposed extreme political centralization as well as socialism. To the left of the Centrists, the National Liberals, representing big business, favored imperialism, opposed socialism, and urged liberal political and social reforms. Further to the Left, the Progressives, representing the lesser bourgeoisie, advocated a ministerial-parliamentary system, personal liberty, and a shift of the tax burden to the wealthy through heavy taxes on incomes and inheritances. On the extreme Left were the Social Democrats, the party of the wage-earners. Although socialism was their goal, they opposed violence and were willing to co-operate with the bourgeoisie in order to obtain immediate reforms.

*Opposition to
autocracy*

During the reign of William II the voting strength of the Social Democratic party increased from one and a half to four and a half million votes. At the outbreak of the World War, it had one hundred and ten seats in the *Reichstag* with one third of the voting population of Germany enrolled in its ranks. Save for petty persecutions the organization of this party was allowed to develop without interference by the state authorities. After the repeal of Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, Social Democratic associations and newspapers were established in all parts of Germany.

Prior to the outbreak of the World War, the radical movement was spreading rapidly in Italy as well as in Germany. This development was largely the result of disorganization, intrigue, poverty, and discontent which prevailed in that country. Attempts had been made to obliterate these evils, but the inability of the government to solve certain basic problems which confronted Italy after her unification helps to explain its unsatisfactory political and social condition in 1914.

Following its unification, Italy became a constitutional monarchy with an elected chamber of deputies, an appointed senate, and a premier. At first the franchise was extremely limited, but it was broadened especially in the decade prior to the outbreak of the World War when liberal elements came into power.

*Italian
government*

One of the most difficult problems facing Italy after 1870 was that of the papacy. After the loss of Rome to Italy, Pope Pius IX refused to accept the financial settlement and freedom, offered by the Italian government in the Law of Papal Guarantee, and the loss of his temporal power. From his self-imposed imprisonment he hurled furious criticisms against the government and asked the faithful not to vote in the elections to Parliament. Disregarding his ire the government

*The Papal
Question*

passed anti-clerical legislation, confiscating church property, suppressing theological faculties in the universities and spiritual directors in the schools, making compulsory civil marriages, and dispensing with required religious oaths and instruction in the elementary schools. These measures aroused bitter hatred and led to violent demonstrations. But with the rise of socialism, the crown and altar began to drift together. In 1905, Pope Pius X allowed Catholics to participate in the elections in order to check the advance of socialism. Nevertheless, as we shall see, it was not until 1929 that a reconciliation between the Italian government and the pope occurred.¹ --

More disturbing and more difficult to solve were the various regional, political, and economic problems. There was hostility between the constitutional and economically progressive north on the one hand and the autocratic, backward south on the other. Moreover, the various provinces of Italy found it difficult to give up the local independence they had enjoyed in return for national security. In addition to these rivalries the government was weakened by the presence of numerous organizations of bandits and secret societies, the Mafia and Comorra in southern Italy, and by struggles between monarchists, republicans, and socialists. These political differences made it very hard for the government to create an efficient administration and to introduce the necessary economic and social reforms.

Despite these difficulties the monarchy tried to solve all significant economic, social, and financial problems. It endeavored to establish industries in a country that lacked coal and iron, it encouraged agrarian development in a state where considerable land was not fertile and where most of the good soil was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy families, and it worked earnestly to stamp out illiteracy and to create a strong army and navy. All of these governmental activities required the expenditure of large sums of money which the monarchy tried to obtain by means of taxes—frequently so high that the propertied classes faced extinction.

Although it was handicapped by the inheritance of a big debt and lack of money, the Italian government improved conditions considerably. A national financial system was set up, large armaments on land and sea were created, railways were constructed, harbors were built, a merchant marine was established, and industry and agriculture were promoted. Special efforts were made to increase the acreage of vineyards, but governmental efforts to stimulate agricultural production were relatively ineffectual. In industry, the government tried to increase production by establishing in 1878 a moderate tariff, and in 1887 a full protective system. In 1877 compulsory education was introduced and slight progress was made in the establishment of public schools. Social legislation in behalf of

¹ See p 1130

the working classes was passed. Benefit societies, peoples banks, and other aids to the masses were created.

In the field of politics the liberal monarchists, opposing successfully the attempts of the republicans to establish a decentralized government, faced mounting radical opposition. Before the opening of the twentieth century, a vigorous socialist-sindicalist movement *Radicalism in Italy* began to develop in Italy, as in other countries. In 1898, numerous labor uprisings took place, especially in southern Italy, and from time to time certain Italian radicals, influenced by Russian anarchism and terrorism, indulged in bomb-throwing tactics.

This revolutionary movement finally culminated in the assassination of King Humbert (1900). This assassination, the work of an anarchist, was a symptom of the general unrest in Italy. Heavy taxation, the danger of national bankruptcy, corruption, and political intrigue, local and regional disputes, and general poverty, especially in southern Italy, all created a feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country which resulted not only in the rapid increase of radicalism, but also in a rising tide of emigration. From 1876 to 1905 the number of emigrants rose tremendously, reaching a maximum in 1905 of 726,000.

Upon the accession to the throne of Victor Emmanuel III slight economic and political improvement occurred. Foreign trade increased, agriculture seemed to be on the upgrade, foreign capital was made available for internal improvements, and poverty was reduced by *Italy before the war* money sent home by emigrants. Leading political groups, including the Catholics, now seemed reconciled to the maintenance of a liberal monarchy. Universal manhood suffrage was established, legislative and administrative reforms were introduced, and education was improved. In 1897, defenders of the government were greatly encouraged when the state's revenues exceeded expenditures and for the first time showed a surplus.

In foreign affairs, Italy, prior to 1914, seemed to have achieved great-power status. Checked in her attempt to conquer Abyssinia (1896), she nevertheless retained footholds in Africa, namely Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland acquired in the "eighties," and Tripoli secured in 1911 as a result of a war with Turkey. Improved relations with the papacy, participation in the Triple Alliance, and a secret agreement with France, as will be shown,¹ all marked the rise of Italian influence in the field of diplomacy. Demands for the acquisition of parts of "unredeemed" Italy still in the possession of Austria also indicated a growing national sentiment,—a sentiment which was to play an important part in Italian diplomacy before the war.

Despite the moderate success of the monarchy in internal and foreign affairs, it still faced in 1914 a number of serious problems. Socialism continued to grow and strikes, often resulting in acts of sabotage, were frequent.

¹ See pp. 1044, 1062, 1067, 1071

in various industrial centers, such as Milan, Rome, Naples, Venice, Genoa, and Florence. In 1914, the various labor troubles culminated in an attempt to hold a general strike which collapsed forty-eight hours after it started. Natural phenomena, such as the eruption of Mount Vesuvius and other volcanoes, and terrible earthquakes, also contributed to the feeling of insecurity in Italy. Prior to 1914 many people felt that the liberal monarchy, with its numerous political parties and its weak premiers — ineffective because of their dependence on groups of political factions — was incapable of solving Italy's significant problems.

Bourgeois liberalism made slight headway in two other Mediterranean countries — Spain and Portugal. During the nineteenth century, democratic movements in those countries generally degenerated into factional struggles. In 1873, Spain did have a republic which lasted nearly two years. But the Bourbon monarchy was restored in the person of Alphonso XII. Facing general unrest, his successor, Alphonso XIII, managed to retain his power by means of a clever political tool, called *rotativism*. According to this scheme, the two leading political parties — liberal and conservative — rotated in office by managing elections.

Despite this unusual political device, Spain at the turn of the century was headed toward revolution. Defeated in the Spanish-American war of 1898, she was deprived of most of the remnants of her once great empire. Now the government, defender of the privileged and selfish aristocrats and clerics, faced a rising republican and socialist opposition. Pressed by these radicals, it was forced to sanction some educational and economic reforms. Social legislation was also introduced, and the church was stripped of a small part of its wealth and its temporal power.

Similar changes occurred in Portugal. As a result of dynastic and factional strife which shattered the institution of monarchy morally and physically, Portugal eventually became a republic (1910). In spite of this change, she was often ruled by unintelligent dictators. A radical movement, however, forced the government to introduce certain reforms. The church was deprived of many privileges, and educational facilities were extended. Although numerous Portuguese liberals opposed militarism and favored further social transformation, they were unable to bring about drastic political and social changes.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the small nations of Europe, such as Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian states, and Switzerland, generally followed along the same patterns of progress as the Great Powers. Most of them discarded the restraints and restrictions of the Old Régime and adopted capitalistic practices. Of these countries, Belgium experienced a pronounced political development and economic expansion. After the revolution of 1830, in which the Belgians obtained their independence, they established a moderately

*Restoration of
Spanish
monarchy*

*Reforms in
Spain*

*Establishment of
Portuguese
republic*

*Belgium
before 1914*

liberal constitutional monarchy, leaving political power in the hands of the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie¹

Belgium then experienced an era of real prosperity. Free from the restraining influence of the Dutch traders, that country became one of the great industrial nations of Europe. Its favorable location and its natural resources were the means to this end. Situated on the North Sea, Belgium was able, by the construction of canals and railways, to connect the entire region with the great sea port of Antwerp and to exploit her extensive coal beds. As a result Belgium was the one country in Europe which kept pace industrially with Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. Her tremendous production is best illustrated by the fact that during this period she supplied machinery and other manufactured goods to Holland, Russia, and the whole territory of the German *Zollverein*. By the close of the nineteenth century agricultural as well as industrial advances made Belgium one of the most densely settled and most prosperous areas in Europe.

During this period Catholics, liberals, and socialists struggled for control of the government. From 1884 to 1914 the Catholic party governed Belgium, enacting moderate political and social reforms and strengthening the influence of the church in education. Prior to 1914 the socialists had become a powerful political organization. Joining the liberals in their opposition to Catholic rule, they in 1913 resorted to a general strike. Despite this opposition the Catholic party in the election of 1914 was able to preserve a comfortable majority in the legislature.

Liberalism affected the Dutch as well as the Belgians. In 1848 King William II (1840-1849) accepted a new fundamental law, in which the king was checked by a parliament of two houses. A federal government was established in the Netherlands similar to that of the United States and Switzerland. Additional reforms, such as the extension of suffrage, came rather slowly. In fact, William III, who ruled from 1849 to 1890, was influenced only by a small bourgeois oligarchy. Suffrage was slightly extended, however, during the reign of Queen Wilhelmina (1890-), but universal suffrage, demanded by liberals and socialists, had not been granted by 1914.

*The Netherlands
before 1914*

Despite large territorial losses, the Netherlands remained in the nineteenth century a land of hardworking, thrifty people. Although a small continental state, she still retained in 1914 many important colonies, including Java, Sumatra, part of Borneo, and Celebes in Asia, and Dutch Guiana. These possessions, together with a large merchant marine and agricultural surplus, enabled the Dutch to maintain a reasonable prosperity.

Like the Dutch, the people of Switzerland established a federal government in the nineteenth century. A new constitution, promulgated in 1848, permitted the cantons to retain their local authority, but recognized the

¹ See p. 908

supremacy of the central, or federal government. National legislative and executive powers were vested in an Assembly of two houses and an Executive Committee of seven, which was elected by the Federal Assembly. One of the seven, the President of the Council, was the presiding officer. Thus, a body of people, speaking French, German, and Italian, believing in either the Protestant or the Catholic faith, submerged their linguistic and religious antagonisms, and established one of the most advanced democracies of the nineteenth century. During this period Switzerland enjoyed pronounced economic prosperity. It became a tourist playground, and it experienced industrial as well as agrarian development.

*Establishment of
Swiss republic*

Despite their political insignificance after the seventeenth century the three Scandinavian nations in northern Europe — Denmark, Sweden, and Norway — played an important rôle in the development of Western civilization. The peoples of these countries were very much alike, speaking similar languages, professing for the most part the Lutheran faith, and promoting similar economic interests, primarily agriculture, commerce, and fishing.

*The Scandi-
navian countries*

In all of these countries liberalism made headway during the nineteenth century. In Denmark, economic developments influenced the autocratic monarch, Christian IX, to grant democratic concessions. The small Danish farmers, having improved their economic positions by intensive dairy farming and by cooperative societies, finally forced the king to accept the parliamentary form of government. In Sweden, however, the conservative landowners, the junkers, backed the government in its opposition to liberalism. In 1863 the growing middle classes finally succeeded in bringing about the establishment of a modern parliament of two houses. High property qualifications enabled the land owners to dominate this government until 1909. At that time universal suffrage was established, Sweden joined the ranks of the European democracies, and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, now prepared to cooperate in promoting the prosperity of that country by the inauguration of a very interesting program of social and economic reform.¹

Norway also experienced liberal changes. Handed over to Sweden by the powers at Vienna, the Norwegians, mainly small farmers, fearless fishermen and sailors, with a few industrious merchants, bitterly opposed this union with their conservative neighbor. This opposition led first to autonomy, but finally culminated in the peaceful separation of the two Scandinavian states in 1905. In 1898 the Norwegians had satisfied their deep desire for liberty by forcing their parliament (*Storting*) to grant universal manhood suffrage. Eventually, however, sweeping reforms, such as women's suffrage, helped to make Norway one of the most democratic of modern countries.

¹ See pp. 1161-1162

CHAPTER LXV

THE VICTORIAN AGE GREAT BRITAIN BEFORE THE WAR

Like most of the continental countries, Great Britain still retained in 1815 many of the institutions of the Old Régime. It possessed an hereditary House of Lords, a highly restricted suffrage, an established church, and a social system based on caste. It was dominated by the conservative elements. The Tory landowners refused to break with the past, preferring to govern England as had their forefathers in bygone days. They were as patriotic, energetic, and kind as any other men in England. But they lacked the vision and the objectivity necessary to handle the problem of social reconstruction confronting the newly-born industrial England of the nineteenth century, they were unfitted both by economic position and by intellectual training for a duty of such magnitude.

As we have seen,¹ captains of industry by 1815 were beginning to force their way into the upper strata of society. Their rise was due to the Industrial Revolution which brought about a shift in the economic balance of power from the landowners to the bourgeoisie. The greatest happiness of the greatest number — of middle-class people — now became the accepted aim of the ambitious businessman. To attain this end the Tory government of the landowners had to be obliterated and a bourgeois régime, with its self-conscious virtues and its constructive energy, substituted. Like their Calvinist forefathers, these frugal followers of the utilitarian, Bentham, frowned upon aristocratic elegance and leisure and emphasized, instead, simplicity and hard work. It was their firm belief that the scientific principles of eighteenth-century thinkers would help the middle classes solve all earthly problems, and they had little patience with lazy aristocrats.

These points-of-view rose out of the intense economic struggle which the Industrial Revolution had created. Men who were engaged in this strife realized that the world was inhabited by millions of selfish human beings, that life was a struggle for existence, and that only the fit survived. Believing that this contest was a good thing in itself, they welcomed the works of the so-called classical economists who extolled individualism. They especially applauded the economist, Ricardo, when he criticized the landowner for receiving an unearned increment on the rent of his land and suggested that he be taxed thereupon. The

¹ See pp 914-915

business classes also gladly adopted the thesis advanced by Ricardo, Malthus, and Mill — that the accumulation of capital for the purpose of facilitating the mechanization of industry and the promotion of general prosperity was permissible and, in fact, indispensable. Many of them accepted the Malthusian theory that natural phenomena, such as war, disease, and famine, alone would solve the problem of overpopulation. Therefore, they felt that the state should persist in a *laissez-faire* attitude, leaving individuals to their economic fate. Mill avowedly opposed the exploitation of the masses, and Malthus, while he felt its inevitability, was full of pity for the working man.

Idealists, such as the utopian, Robert Owen (1771-1858), refused to accept selfish individualism, especially the idea that social reforms would encourage

*Opposition to
Economic
Nationalism*

vagrancy and discourage thrift. Even from the ranks of the bourgeoisie there was now and then heard an admission that all was not well in England, that poverty and other social ills had increased, but blame for anything wrong was placed by the bourgeoisie on the shoulders of the landowners who, by means of the Corn Laws, which excluded foodstuffs from England, ruled selfishly in their own interests. Intelligent observers, however, realized that exploitation of the workers by the industrialists also was responsible for this poverty.

Taking advantage of this discontent, and determined to destroy the political and economic power of the landowners, businessmen, reformers, and wage-earners advocated social and political changes. Newspapers, such as the *London Times*, devoted much space to the discussion of reforms; street orators did an unusual amount of talking, and everywhere people recited with delight such verses as

“Only to think to have lords over-running the nation,
As plenty as frogs in a Dutch inundation.”

Exploiting bourgeois and proletarian agitation for reform, the Whigs were able to secure the passage by Parliament of the Reform Bill of 1832.¹

*Reform
Bill of 1832*

Prior to the enactment of this legislation, the country had not been redistricted for election of members to the House of Commons since the reign of Charles II (1664). During this period the economic revolutions had brought about a shift of population from country to city. Despite this change, the depopulated rural districts continued to elect representatives to the House of Commons, while such thriving cities as Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, had no representatives in Parliament. The Reform Bill deprived the landowners of their political monopoly by completely redistricting the country. Fifty-six districts containing less than two thousand inhabitants were wiped out. Thirty-two districts with a population of less than 4,000 lost one member each in the House of Commons. More populous sections were granted seats lost by the less densely

¹ See p. 915.

inhabited regions As a result of this change, London's representation, for example, rose from six to twenty-two members

The Reform Bill also extended the suffrage to the middle-class farmers and the shopkeepers By granting the ballot to these groups, the number of voters, especially in the city districts (the boroughs) was considerably increased, but the laborers and the poorer members of the middle classes still lacked the ballot Out of six million adult males, less than one million had the right to vote By this extension of suffrage the number of voters was increased from three per cent to five per cent of the whole population There was a realignment of the party system as the Whigs, swelled by voters from the bourgeoisie, began to call themselves Liberals, and the Tories, who, fearing rapid changes, dropped some of their old traditions and designated themselves as Conservatives

Disappointed in the Reform Bill of 1832 and the Municipal Government Act of 1835, which placed city governments in the hands of the bourgeois voters, the working classes petitioned Parliament for reforms They presented to the government "The Peoples' Charter" in which they urged that body to give every adult the right to vote, to establish the secret ballot, to abolish property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons, and to pay members of that body Demanding social reforms, the Chartists declared that the nation as a whole could not remain indifferent to the intolerable misery of the wage-earners They denounced a régime in which a man possessed the right to hire women and children to work in factories at starvation wages Political control, they declared, must be taken from the wealthy middle classes and given to the masses before true social justice could be achieved

True to form, the ruling classes in 1848 rejected the demands of the Chartists and suppressed the agitators Many selfish industrialists opposed all attempts to find a solution for unemployment, poverty, the waste and decay of child labor, and the employment of women in factories As production expanded and profits increased, the poverty of the lower classes grew worse Even the propertied elements suffered as a result of financial crashes and speculative orgies Nevertheless, they insisted that the government should remain aloof from private business and concern itself only with preserving peace, everyone was to look out for his own welfare

Despite this emphasis upon a *laissez-faire* policy, Parliament was forced by liberal elements and by circumstances to pass social legislation beneficial to the lower classes In 1802 and 1819 laws were enacted which limited child labor. In 1833 an anti-slavery bill obliterated slavery throughout the empire, and in 1833 a Factory Act further limited employment of children and empowered a government commission to enter factories and to see that laws were obeyed The poor law was changed in such a way as to encourage the paupers to work and thus to

Social
legislation

decrease the public burden. Relief was not wholly abolished, but work houses were built and assistance was limited to inmates of these establishments. Meanwhile, the wage-earners, adopting a new plan of campaign, withdrew from the Chartist organization and reconciled themselves to the industrial system. Forming trade unions they attempted to better social conditions by arranging separate agreements with their employers, by appealing to Parliament for protection, and by abstaining from political entanglements. By 1850, labor, through collective bargaining rather than violence, was in a position to gain many of its demands.

In its attitude toward economic and social problems the government adhered to a *laissez-faire* policy. There were times when action was imperative, but the authorities usually preferred to temporize rather than to undertake the solution of economic problems. In a way this policy of non-interference in business on the part of the state aided the wage-earners. The middle classes, for example, in forcing the government to abolish the Corn Laws, helped the workers as well as themselves.

Since 1815 most landowners had been able to maintain their large incomes by means of this legislation which kept up the price of grains. By the 'forties, the industrialists, however, desired to abolish these laws. Ardent exponents of the free-trade movement which had begun in the eighteenth century, they claimed that the tariff on grain simply increased the profits of the landlords at the expense of the business classes and the wage-earners. Besides, they held that England must import most of her food so as to balance industrial exports. These men, with Manchester as their headquarters, were led by Robert Cobden, an idealistic cotton merchant, John Bright, a Quaker, and Sir Robert Peel, a moderate Tory. By 1845 the movement had grown so rapidly that the Corn Laws were doomed. A crop failure, particularly in Ireland, enabled Peel, Prime Minister in 1846, to repeal the Corn Laws. Free trade was established between 1852 and 1867, and Great Britain, with her great headstart in the field of industrial, commercial, and financial expansion, was in a position to become the leading industrial state. She needed permanent control of the seas to insure accessibility to markets, and a constant supply of raw materials and food from her colonies and from foreign countries. By underselling her competitors she then could make sufficient money to feed her workers, to maintain a powerful navy, and to pay huge dividends to bourgeois investors. Under the leadership of the Peelites, devoted to the Manchester School, and later under that of the Liberal, Gladstone, England became the leading industrial and commercial nation in the world.

The establishment of free trade was only one aspect of the bourgeois plan to achieve real individualism and prosperity in England by removing all kinds of restrictions. By the mid-century a series of bills had abolished various religious handicaps. In 1828 Dissenters were given the right to hold office, in

1829 Catholics were admitted to Parliament, later, minor religious discriminations against Jews and Atheists were removed, and in 1869 the Anglican church in Catholic Ireland was disestablished

Despite these social and religious reforms, physical and moral decay among the English people, as a result of the terrible social and economic conditions which accompanied industrialization, forced the working men to organize in order to obtain better social conditions and higher wages In 1834 the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was created Favoring an eight-hour day, with the use of strikes to gain its aims, this organization was important because it signalized the rise of the modern unions, which played a significant rôle in the political, social, and economic development of the bourgeois state

*Formation of
Trade Unions*

While the workers were trying to earn a living the middle classes were enjoying prosperity The Technological and Industrial Revolutions which were making Great Britain an economic beehive, enabled them to grow in numbers, in wealth, and in power No longer did the landowners and their dependents constitute the bulk of the population, in a hundred thriving cities many businessmen were of more consequence than the great landlords of the shires They accumulated large fortunes in industry, trade, and investment They influenced every cranny of British cultural and intellectual life In short, they enabled Mid-Victorian England to become the arbiter of Western civilization

*England's
"Golden Age"*

Queen Victoria (1837-1901) in the course of this time became symbolical of this hegemony Ascending the throne, in 1837, upon the death of her uncle, William IV, she actually possessed little political power By that time the ruler of England was a nominal head, real executive and legislative authority rested in the hands of the cabinet (chosen by the majority party or occasionally by a coalition of parties), and the House of Commons Legislation could only be vetoed by the second body, the House of Lords

While the wealthy middle classes were achieving political supremacy as well as financial prosperity, the masses were seeking equal rights and social reforms Between 1832 and 1867 bourgeois reformers and workingmen demanded the extension of the suffrage In 1866 the Liberal leader, Gladstone, sponsored a reform bill which was defeated because of its seeming radicalism In the following year, the Conservatives passed the Reform Bill of 1867 Actually, this act, fathered by Disraeli, was more radical than that of the Liberals It provided for a wider extension of the franchise and a partial redistribution of seats that brought greater political power in the House of Commons to the industrial and commercial centers

This, and similar legislation in 1868 for Ireland and Scotland, gave the ballot to the upper class of laborers, and all tenant farmers It virtually doubled the number of voters in England and marked an important step in the political rise of the working classes Subsequent political reforms resulted

in the complete triumph of democracy in England. In 1872 the secret ballot at Parliamentary elections was introduced, in 1884, under the liberal rule of Gladstone, farm laborers were granted the right to vote, and in 1885 a Parliamentary Reform Act increased the representatives of the large cities to the House of Commons.

As a result of this legislation the House of Commons became a representative body. Its members were elected by all classes. Voters expressed their views by means of organized parties. The Liberals favored individual liberty, free trade, separation of church and state, home rule for Ireland, and improved social conditions for workingmen. The Conservatives, differing in degree rather than in kind, erected a whole network of last ditches beyond which they would not go. At all times they emphasized the bulwarks of the existing order—the monarchy, the church, and the constitution, and stood forth as the defender of law, order, property, and the empire. Nevertheless, they were willing to sponsor a certain degree of social reform, provided it was not carried to extremes.

Outstanding advocate of liberalism was William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898). As Prime Minister in the 'sixties and 'seventies he favored the removal of all restrictions which stood in the way of the individual. In the 'sixties he passed a series of budgets by which he placed the burden of taxation upon all classes by the imposition of income, inheritance, and liquor taxes. He also swept away the import duties on many articles. Interested in Ireland, he tried to better conditions there by introducing bills designed to help the peasants gain security of tenure and ownership of the land. In 1870, Parliament passed the first Irish Land Act. This bill provided, in case of the tenant's eviction, compensation for him for any permanent improvement to the land which he may have made. It also set up a fund to enable the tenant to buy property. In 1879, Parnell, Irish leader in Parliament, formed the Irish Land League which demanded extensive reforms. Gladstone, in 1881, passed a law through Parliament which provided for the establishment by a special court of fair rent, for fixity of tenure, and for free sale of lease rights by the tenant. Although the Land Act was an important reform it did not provide a final settlement, inasmuch as the landlords still owned their property. Despite the opposition of English aristocrats who had large estates in Ireland, Gladstone, also planned to grant Home Rule to the Irish. Joined by a group of Liberals who opposed this bill, the Conservatives, however, as we shall see,¹ managed to defeat Gladstone on this issue in 1886, 1893, and 1895.

Opposition to Gladstone's Irish policies, together with an economic depression which began in the 'seventies, contributed to the fall of this Liberal leader and the rise of his able Conservative opponent, Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881). By 1873 the export of steel rails and other goods to Europe had experienced a drastic decline. As a result,

*Disraeli and
depression*

¹ See pp. 987–988

prices fell, industries slowed down, and unemployment increased. At the same time a steady rise in the amount of foodstuffs imported from Russia and the Americas, and a fall in the cost of living caused a decline in British agricultural products. Farmers were unable to raise grain at a profit and either lost their lands or became truck-growers. Aroused by this situation the voters turned their backs on the Liberals and elected a Conservative government.

Believing that imperialism alone could solve England's economic problems, the new Prime Minister, Disraeli, strengthened the British Empire by acquiring for Great Britain a strong interest in the Suez Canal (1875), and by helping to check the Russian advance in the Balkans at the Congress of Berlin (1878). At the same time, he strongly favored the development of markets in India, in order to improve industrial conditions in England. To popularize this program he had Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India in 1877.

Upon his death in 1881, Disraeli left behind him a powerful Conservative party, favoring a protective tariff and a vigorous foreign and imperialist policy. In power between 1895 and 1905, the Conservatives crushed the Boer States in South Africa, and by 1902 had gained possession of valuable diamond and gold mines and agricultural lands. Enthusiastic Conservatives now visualized the end of the depression, believing that the importation of precious metals and the development of imperial markets would increase price levels, and restore prosperity in England.

Adopting a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs, the Conservatives therefore awaited the return to normalcy. The demands of the Irish for Home Rule were ignored, although the government did pass bills designed to quiet the Irish by permitting land reforms. A County Councils Act (1888), establishing popularly elected councils in the rural districts, was also enacted. But in general the government pursued a "hands off" policy, ignoring the problem of increasing unemployment and poverty. Meanwhile British industry failed to recover. The erection of protective tariffs in Germany, France, the United States, and elsewhere, excluded her goods from these markets, but her own markets, unprotected, because of the free trade doctrines, were open to the cheap products manufactured in other industrial states. Revival of shipping competition through the rise of large merchant marines in France, Germany, and Austria, contributed to a decline in shipping and shipbuilding.

Economic conditions encouraged the unionization of British workers. In 1871 and 1875, the government was forced to recognize the legality of unions, of strikes, and of collective bargaining. In 1889, unsatisfactory working conditions resulted in the outbreak of several strikes. In the midst of a general controversy over the future of labor, Keir Hardie, a Scottish miner and socialist, led the workers in 1893 in organizing the Independent Labor Party, the object of which was to obtain collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange. This party was too radical for the

rank and file of British workmen, therefore, in 1899, the Trade-Union Congress paved the way for the founding of the organization, which, in 1906, adopted the name of Labor Party. In the election of 1906 the Labor Party won twenty-nine seats in the House of Commons as compared with seven for the Independent Laborites. The new Labor Party, although not radical, looked with favor upon such socialistic policies as nationalization of mines, railways, and canals, free education, and old age pensions.

Influenced by this manifestation of proletarian unrest, the government deserted temporarily its *laissez-faire* policy. In 1902, a year after the death of Queen Victoria and the accession to the throne of Edward VII, Parliament unified the factory laws into a single code which was extended to remedy some of the worst evils of the industrial situation. Hours of labor, especially for women and children in mines, were regulated, and sanitary conditions of factories were carefully supervised. In 1905 a Liberal government took office, and in the following year a mine code was passed, definitely forbidding the employment of women and children, and regulating conditions in the mines. A workingman's compensation act was also passed, affecting industrial and agricultural laborers, clerks, servants, and sailors. Employers were compelled to compensate their workers for injuries and diseases incurred during employment. By adopting this legislation Parliament definitely abandoned the principle that the wage-earners had to take care of himself. The laborer was a part of the industrial system and, like the machinery, had to be repaired by the employer. Several years later (1908) the government continued this new social policy by passing old-age pension acts, and, in 1909, a minimum wage law was enacted which applied chiefly to the unskilled trades. In 1912 minimum wage legislation was extended to the coal industry.

Believing that capitalism was doomed unless the government did something to help the worker, David Lloyd George (1863-), a clever Welsh attorney and a member of the Liberal Cabinet, became Britain's leading exponent of social democracy. He knew that the tendency of population to increase, the substitution of machinery for man power, and the periodical depressions, were creating an increasingly dangerous problem of unemployment. Therefore he determined to avoid future trouble by enacting a National Insurance Act (1911) which would force employers, employees, and the government to create a fund which should support those temporarily out of employment and those unable to work as a result of injuries received on duty. Despite vigorous opposition on the part of the Conservatives, this significant piece of legislation was passed. Thus workers were given a feeling of security which they had long desired. To the radical workingmen and socialists, however, this bill was merely one step in the right direction. Nationalization of certain key industries, and high income taxes, as a prerequisite for a socialist state, they declared, should follow.

*Lloyd George and
social democracy*

In addition to proposing social reforms, Lloyd George favored the education of the masses. Under Gladstone the famous Forster Act (1870) introduced the first elementary schools, but they were far outnumbered by private institutions that enjoyed state aid. Between 1876 and 1899 education was made free and compulsory for children under twelve, in 1902 a bill was passed which transferred control of the state schools from local authorities to the county or borough council, private institutions were to receive government support, the two systems (private and public schools) were coordinated in relation to school population, and both were held to the same standard of work. The act aroused the disapproval of those who believed in secular education. Led by Lloyd George they introduced a bill in 1906 which recognized only state schools as a part of a national educational system, but this bill was vetoed by the House of Lords.

Chief opponents of Lloyd George's reform program were the Conservatives, representing the wealthy industrial and landowning classes. They were especially bitter in their opposition to Lloyd George's famous Budget Bill of 1909, whereby the resourceful Welshman *Budget Bill of 1909* planned to force the "haves" to pay in the form of new land and income taxes, for the cost of the new social-security legislation. Attempting to protect their interest, the wealthy classes insisted that this bill would ruin England and pave the way for socialism, and so they got the House of Lords to reject it. Lloyd George and his Liberal followers now accused the Lords of violating the constitution by usurping the House of Commons' right to enact all money legislation. Following a general election, he, backed by the Irish nationalists and the Laborites, pushed the budget through Parliament (1909). Two years later he also had the House of Commons pass a Parliament Act which definitely deprived the House of Lords of power over financial matters, gave it the right merely to delay other legislation, and reduced the maximum life of Parliament from seven to five years.

Having deprived the aristocrats of their political authority, the Liberal Government next attacked the exploitation of their tenants and laborers. In 1913-1914 agricultural legislation was passed establishing a minimum wage law for agricultural workers, creating a scheme of rural housing, granting the tenant full compensation for all improvements made by him, regulating leases of farms, and encouraging small holdings or the leasing of farms by local and county councils. A land commission also was to be established to supervise the relations of landlord and tenant and to promote the development of agriculture. Only a part of this comprehensive rural program was put into operation.

Another important problem—Home Rule for Ireland—seemed about to be solved by the Liberal government when the outbreak of the World War postponed further progress in this matter. Agitation for Home Rule—the establishment of an Irish Parliament—began almost immediately after

the passage of the Act of Union in 1800 which abolished that body and gave the Irish one hundred seats in the British House of Commons. The famous leader, O'Connell, soon after his admission to Parliament in 1829, began to agitate for the repeal of the act of 1800. By 1886, eighty-five Irish Home Rule members were sent to Parliament. Impressed by this movement Gladstone took up the Home Rule question. In 1886 the first bill was introduced and rejected. A split now occurred within the Liberal Party, the Conservative wing forming a Liberal Unionist group. Despite this opposition, Gladstone's second bill passed the Commons in 1893, but was vetoed by the House of Lords. In 1912 the third Home Rule Bill was introduced by Prime-Minister Asquith. This bill provided for the establishment of an Irish Parliament composed of a Senate appointed by the government and a lower house elected by the people. Matters of general importance, such as military and naval forces, peace and war, diplomacy and commerce, however, were to be handled by the British Parliament, in which Ireland was to have a representation of forty-two members who were to vote only on imperial questions. This bill passed the Commons, but the Lords vetoed it. Two years later the Commons passed it over the House of Lords' veto.

While Parliament was discussing the act, opposition to this solution of the Irish problem had developed among the people of North Ireland (Ulster).

The Ulsterites The Ulsterites had very little in common with the native Irish. They were Protestants and industrialists for the most part, and the other Irish were predominantly Roman Catholics and farmers. Preferring to remain subjects of the king of England, the Ulsterites were preparing to resist the application of a bill which would leave them in a union with the Irish nationalists, when the outbreak of the World War brought about a temporary lull in the Anglo-Irish dispute.

The World War also resulted in an armistice between capital and labor. Upon the eve of that struggle, the spread of labor unrest, a commercial and industrial decline, and an increasing opposition to British control in various parts of the empire seemed to presage the decay of Great Britain. Prior to 1914 the government had tried to check the outbreak of numerous destructive strikes by having the House of Lords as a supreme court declare picketing illegal and holding unions responsible for damages (the Taff Vale Decision). Influenced by the rise of the Labor Party, both Conservatives and Liberals voted to nullify the Taff Vale Decision by passing the Trades Disputes Act which legalized peaceful picketing, and made unions not responsible for alleged illegal actions of their members in trade disputes. Meanwhile, the Labor Party, led by J. Ramsey MacDonald, urged nationalization of certain key industries and the enactment of a steeply graduated income tax as the first steps in the solution of all labor troubles by the establishment of a socialist state.

Despite the attempts of the Liberals under Lloyd George to ameliorate social conditions, the strike situation between 1911 and 1914 grew steadily worse. Seamen, firemen, railway employees, and miners instituted strikes which threatened to upset the economic life of the kingdom. Even agricultural workers formed unions and demanded higher wages and better living conditions. By 1914 the tendency on the part of craft unions to combine into large industrial organizations, composed of all workers of a particular industry, threatened to create a state within a state. In fact, the National Union of Railwaymen, the Transport Workers' Federation, and the Miners' Federation formed a triple alliance which seemed powerful enough to paralyze by a strike the entire economic life of the country.

In addition to the spread of labor unrest Great Britain faced a gradual commercial and industrial decline. By 1914 Germany and the United States were powerful and successful competitors. With great coal and iron reserves, Germany was able to manufacture goods at lower costs, to undersell British products in the markets of the world, and to deprive Great Britain of the shipping monopoly she had long enjoyed.

*Great Britain
in 1914*

A decline in her coal industry added to England's economic troubles. Moreover, she possessed old machinery and therefore was unable to compete with the up-to-date American and German mechanical devices. In an attempt to restore prosperity, an aggressive group of British Conservatives, led by Joseph Chamberlain, urged ~~tariff~~ tariff protection for British goods and the creation of an economic imperial *Zollverein* (customs union comparable to that formed by Prussia among the German states) which should include all possessions within the British Empire. But this union failed to materialize, as it did not at first find favor with many conservative-minded people or in the great commonwealths of the empire. The commonwealths were afraid that it would bring about the subordination of colonial industries to those of Great Britain.

These social and economic problems were not peculiar to Great Britain. Prior to 1914 industrial progress in France, Germany, the United States, and other countries had stimulated stiff international competition for markets, raw materials, and investments. To protect domestic interests these states had passed tariffs. But there were everywhere the visits of financial crises and depressions accompanied by a fall in prices, a decline in consumption of manufactured goods, and an increase in unemployment, poverty, crime, and radicalism — all characteristics of the modern capitalistic society.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE LATE MODERN AGE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Political, economic, and social changes in the nineteenth century resulted in the establishment of the modern democratic state. Politically, this type of organization could be defined as one in which the citizens ruled indirectly through periodically elected deputies or representatives. By this popular sovereignty, the people controlled, in theory at least, all phases of public policy.

The framework of the democratic state was erected during the revolutionary era of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During that

The modern democratic state period, as we have seen,¹ the constitutional and representative systems of government similar to that of England, were established in many European states. These political innovations marked the rise of the middle classes—especially in the industrial countries. Once in control of the governments, they were able to deprive the nobles and ecclesiastics of their special political, economic, and social privileges. The lower classes—wage-earners and tenants—however, still had to endure such evils as low wages, irregularity of employment and tenantry, and bad working conditions. They therefore desired the ballot in order to end injustices and to promote their own prosperity. The result was the gradual establishment in many European states during the late nineteenth century, of universal suffrage and majority rule—political aspects of the modern democratic state.

This political development was accompanied by significant economic and social changes. During the nineteenth century, the Technological and Industrial Revolutions greatly transformed industry and agriculture. Originating in England in the eighteenth century, these economic upheavals spread to Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, and even to Russia in the following century. Wherever they went they largely eliminated the fear of famine by vastly increasing the variety and quantity of foodstuffs. They also tremendously enlarged the wealth of these countries through the augmented productive capacity of the nation and the exploitation of mineral resources such as iron, coal, and petroleum.

Industry, agriculture and transportation Parallel to this increase in productive capacity came an improvement in transportation facilities. Canals were built, and macadam roads, railways, and

¹ See Chaps. LVI-LXI.

steamboats were used to improve means of intercourse. At the same time the concentration and growth of population was notable, especially in the centers of industry, the cities. Rapid transportation broke down the isolation which characterized the older agrarian society. In short, the modern state, as a result of these changes, rested on a new mobility, and experienced an expansion of foodstuffs, goods, capital, and population.

The so-called Second Industrial Revolution was largely responsible for these changes. Whereas the first revolution was confined largely to the invention of machinery which increased the output in the textile and certain other industries, the second revolution, *The Second Industrial Revolution* which, roughly speaking, occurred after 1870, marked the creation of inventions which tremendously expanded the supply of metals, of coal, and of oil. At the same time it greatly improved transportation and communication. In 1856, the Bessemer process was discovered, whereby steel was produced from iron. By the invention of the famous Siemens process in 1861, and through the introduction of the Gilchrist-Thomas method in 1876, various impurities were removed from the iron ore, and a better steel was produced. In addition to these improvements, scientists created a number of alloys, substances which could withstand chemical action and tremendous physical shocks and strains, such as stainless steels, developed after 1912. A new product, aluminum, was made available through the discovery of a refining process by a young student at Oberlin College, Charles Martin Hall (1863-1914).

These rapid advances in the production of minerals, however, would not have been possible without an adequate supply of fuel for their smelting. Thanks to the development of coal mining this need was satisfied. The invention of the steam shovel, the application of electricity to machinery (resulting in the invention of a pick-machine driven by electricity which did the work of twelve miners), and the development of various coal cutting machines — these and other inventions assured a tremendous increase in the output of coal. Moreover, with the invention of internal combustion engines, such as those of Barsante and Matteucci, invented in 1859, and of Otto, invented in 1876, and the Diesel engine of Doctor Rudolph Diesel, in 1892, petroleum became another important fuel. Its greatest value has been to furnish power for automobiles, airplanes, railroad trains, and ships. Finally, the development of miscellaneous forms of electrical power generation, particularly hydro-electric generation after 1910, gave such states as France, the Scandinavian countries, and Italy — countries that lacked coal — an opportunity to harness their numerous waterfalls and thus obtain power through the electric energy of the motor. The Post-War period witnessed the carrying out of tremendous hydro-electric projects in Italy, Russia, the United States, and in many other countries.

Parallel with revolutionary advances in the production of metals and fuel

occurred remarkable progress in the invention of automatic machinery in the textile and knitting industries. These, in turn, tremendously increased the output of wool, cotton, linen, and silk. Furthermore, in the last part of the nineteenth century a process for the production of a fiber of a silken texture, called rayon, was discovered. In addition to the production of silk, the nineteenth century witnessed a revolution in the dye industry and the introduction of many new products of great value today, such as rubber.

As a result of these and other inventions, benefits were conferred upon people of all classes. They were better fed, housed, and clothed than they had ever been before. Materials for building were obtained from mines, forests, and quarries, labor-saving devices and improved engineering enabled men to use these materials in construction of skyscrapers, public buildings, warehouses, depots, docks, and long bridges.

The creation of an abundant water supply in towns by means of dams, water pipes and other devices, did much to promote the general health of people. Baths were no longer a luxury and many of the diseases rising out of polluted water were eradicated. Because of improved mining and transportation it was possible to develop better heating facilities. To a large extent coal stoves replaced or supplemented fireplaces, systems of heating (hot water and hot air) were introduced. As a result people were able to live in comfort in their houses during the winter and to enjoy a plentiful supply of warm water. New kinds of illumination added greatly to domestic comfort. Torches, candles, and lamps were largely replaced by gas and electric lights. In many places powerful arc lights in city streets made it possible to prolong the activities or amusements of day into the night, thus making man's life relatively longer and more productive than theretofore.

Enormous advances were made in the diffusion of news and ideas. Prior to the nineteenth century newspapers were few in number (most news from abroad was many weeks old) and limited in subject matter.

The Press

During the nineteenth century cheap paper, rapid transportation, and mechanical inventions tremendously increased the size and importance of newspapers. In 1814 the *London Times* set up a printing press run by steam, and it was soon possible to do printing at a rapid rate of speed. Books, magazines, and newspapers gradually became numerous and cheap. The invention of the telegraph and the laying of submarine cables, around the middle of the nineteenth century, enabled papers to secure and to print accounts of events that had occurred but a few minutes before publication. With the turn of the nineteenth century, other inventions, such as the wireless-telegraphy, the telephone, and the radio enabled men to keep informed of events in a way never dreamt of before.

In the spread of information photography also played an important rôle. Prior to its invention, only the wealthy could afford paintings, portraits, or pictures on their walls. Beginning with Daguerre, who invented photog-

raphy in the form of the daguerreotype in 1839, the art was perfected and cheapened until, by the twentieth century, pictures were taken and developed rapidly and at relatively slight cost

Photography

Further improvements in photography greatly enhanced its importance. Not only did it become possible to photograph colors, light, and shade, but also, thanks to the discovery of the X-ray of light, by Roentgen, a German scientist, one could penetrate through spaces in opaque objects and take pictures of the other side or the interior of the object to be taken.

About the close of the century the invention of cinematography by Edison enabled one to take pictures of an object in motion, which, when shown afterwards in rapid succession, produced the "moving picture." Cinemas or movies were soon improved and spread over the world, furnishing entertainment and information for

*The cinema
and radio*

literally millions of people. The invention of the phonograph, by which sounds could be recorded and reproduced, brought good music into many homes. When combined with the motion picture, it resulted in the modern "talkie," one of the most influential amusements and educational agencies of the twentieth century. Just as important, perhaps, is the radio. Bringing educational and musical programs to millions, it is today one of the greatest avenues of communication.

By 1900 the modern state rested on a new social as well as a new economic basis. During the nineteenth century feudal society disappeared in advanced countries. Industrial and financial chieftains, instead of nobles and ecclesiastics, practically controlled the economic life of the people. Men and machines both had become their puppets. Machinery and credit had enabled them to replace the old aristocracy as masters of the modern state.

*The new
social order*

The system which the captains of industry dominated was truly capitalist. Each industrialist tried to outsell the others by means of superior methods of production. But the more efficient an industry became through substitution of mechanical labor, the more people were thrown out of jobs and the less people seemed to be able to consume the increasing supply of goods. To sell at all under these conditions the industrialists had to lower costs of manufacturing by means of more efficient and more expensive machinery, by mass production, and by absorption of rival concerns. Hence, there was, by the close of the nineteenth century, a tendency on the part of industries to grow and merge into large unified trusts, controlled by a few industrialists and captains of finance.

Although this development appeared in most industrial countries of Europe, it was in Germany that it achieved its fullest expression. There it became a characteristic feature of the autocratic state. Bismarck hated economic individualism and soon set himself against it. Influenced perhaps by the Hohenzollern policy of

*Big Business
in Germany*

benevolent despotism, by Hegel's emphasis upon the state, and by conceptions of state socialism expressed in the works of such German economists as List, Wagner, and Schmoller, he insisted that all classes would benefit if they would co-operate in the task of building a powerful, unified, and prosperous state. To accomplish this—even before the industries and factories of Germany were earning great profits—he inaugurated social legislation, designed to give security to the wage-earners. At the same time he fattened industry, agriculture, and commerce by protection against competition, by financial subsidies, and by favorable legislation.¹

Despite her late economic development, Germany in 1914 controlled a substantial portion of world trade. Not handicapped as were the British by a conservatism which refused to discard time-worn machinery or to depart from traditional business methods, the Germans moved rapidly in both agriculture and industry from the small-scale standards of medieval society to the large-scale organization of modern times.

Accustomed to tendencies towards consolidation, the German people offered no opposition to the rise of trusts. Hence, by 1914 a large part of German economic life, especially in the chemical, coal, iron, and steel industries, was organized into consolidations, called cartels. These were powerful associations of firms in which members maintained their separate existence and individuality but agree to co-operate with one another in the control of output, prices, and markets. This form of syndicate was advantageous in that it eliminated waste, economized effort, and checked cut-throat competition. On the other hand, it resulted in the concentration of financial and economic power in the hands of a few big industrialists and bankers, who, by controlling prices, credit facilities, and production, took advantage of the helplessness of the masses of people. Nevertheless, cartels were spreading rapidly in all fields of production by 1914. The government cooperated with these associations in their attempt to extend their markets abroad and to monopolize those at home.

By 1914 German businessmen, as a result of this remarkable industrial growth, were in a position to challenge the supremacy of the landowning aristocrats, the junkers. These German manufacturers and capitalists in 1912 opposed the high tariffs on foodstuffs, which enriched the junkers and increased the cost of living. Determined to abolish high tariffs, reduce taxes, and lower the cost of living, the business groups appealed to the wage-earners for support. In the elections of 1912, the German landowners, as a consequence of the workers' acceptance of the capitalists' program, were badly defeated.

In England the first great combine, organized in the early 'nineties, was the Brunner-Monod Salt Union, which comprised about sixty-four competing firms. At the turn of the century the Coats' Sewing-Cotton organization had

¹ See pp. 970-971

been created with a capital of 10,000,000 pounds and a virtual monopoly throughout England. Imitations of the German cartels and the American trusts arose in England as the movement in favor of Big Business gained headway. Shipping rings, whereby steamship companies arranged monopolistic agreements in which they divided up the trade routes and paid rebates¹ to merchants who patronized their lines, came into existence. British industrialists were engaged in an earnest attempt to regain their former supremacy when the World War interrupted for a while the international economic competition.

In the United States the late nineteenth century marked the rise of great corporations — associations of many capitalists, large and small, for the purpose of doing business on a big scale. A corporation was usually governed by a board of directors which was chosen by the stockholders who were entitled to as many votes as they had shares of stock. With a view to the abolition of competition, many of these corporations formed combinations, called trusts. These monopolistic organizations, at first dominated by a few industrial leaders, were either vertical trusts (complete and self-contained units of all the successive stages of manufacture from the production of the raw material to the final distribution of the finished product), or horizontal trusts (combines of various firms producing similar products).

Inasmuch as these trusts tended to use their monopoly to regulate the prices of certain commodities, they encountered the opposition of the government. Aroused especially by the price-controlling methods of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the United States Congress virtually outlawed trusts in 1890 by the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

To evade this law, holding companies were formed which were corporations that owned controlling stock issues in other corporations, and were, therefore, the legal substitute for trusts. By a system of pyramiding, minority control was established on a large scale. Management was practically separated from ownership and a few absentee holders of stock controlled a great number of large combines.

In the twentieth century, investment bankers became the actual rulers of these holding companies. These men used their control not only to increase profits of the concern for greater productivity and better service, but also to earn large and immediate rewards through speculative manipulations in the stock market. During the Post-War period, especially, great banking combinations got control of manufacturing, mining, transportation, utilities, and insurance companies, not only in the United States, but also in other parts of the world.

At first banks performed a very important function in the economic life

¹ A rebate was a portion of the freight charges which the company returned to the shipper. Thus, the former, ostensibly conforming to the established rates was, in reality, cutting his fare for his client in order to retain their patronage.

of the nation. They furnished industrial concerns credit for the purchase of raw materials and the payment of wages. In their scramble for high profits, they extended their activities. Certain institutions, called investment banks, gained control of the holding companies and often proceeded to water stocks (issue more stock than the capital value of the enterprise), to force corporations into bankruptcy after looting them, and to use the resources of the companies for speculative purposes in the stock markets.

These financial manipulations did much to discredit the stock exchanges as well as the banks. Originally, the stock market had been established to facilitate the collection of a large amount of capital for profitable investments.¹ As we have seen, their very existence tended to encourage foolish speculation and wild booms such as the South Sea Bubble and the John Law venture.² In these early speculative orgies, the gambling was on the future earning power of the stocks. In the twentieth century, gambling also was based on the fluctuation of the market value of the stocks, frequently artificially raised or lowered through bidding pools and manipulation. In fact, the stock market in the United States was by 1929 largely a gambling institution, wherein thousands of people were engaged in speculative orgies. In October of that year there occurred a stock market crash, followed by a depression. After the debacle, the American government attempted to force the stock market, as well as the banks, to perform their normal functions—the purchase and sale of securities for investment and the furnishing of credit for legitimate economic expansion.

The small businessmen in capitalistic society frequently played an important rôle in the move to curb the power, not only of banks but of the trusts, by their opposition to the over-centralization of business, especially in the 'eighties and the 'nineties. To be sure, many admitted that Big Business had benefited society by introducing technical improvements, labor-saving devices, efficient management, and, often, lower prices. They could see, moreover, that mass production had frequently brought luxuries within the reach of men with moderate incomes. Nevertheless, they believed that these benefits were insignificant in comparison to the great evil which it brought in its wake—a new economic serfdom—inflicted upon society by Big Business.

This new serfdom for the little businessmen was the result of economic strangulation brought about by the mechanization of industry and the rise of Big Business. Numerous small concerns, catering to the needs of the local community, unable to compete against these large enterprises because of their limitations in capital and credit and their lack of preferential treatment by business rivals, were forced to sell out. The economic structure

¹ The first stock exchanges were established in London (1698), Paris (1724) and New York City (1817).

² See pp. 810-811.

was thrown out of gear as thousands of small shopkeepers went out of business. They were pushed into the ranks of the propertyless, the jobless, or the wage-earning classes.

Although the little businessmen organized in all of the industrial countries of Europe, they made the most constructive attempts to stave off extinction in Belgium. In the 'nineties numerous associations were created for the study and defense of their interests, and in 1899 a bureau was subsidized by the Belgian government for the express purpose of promoting economic and professional associations among small businessmen and industrialists. In the next nine years, four great congresses of these businessmen, meeting in Antwerp, Liège, Ghent, and Nemours, respectively, scrutinized the scientific and economic aspects involved in the stabilization of the bourgeois order. Royal decrees and national investigation followed, all with the object of destroying the monopoly of Big Business.

Handicapping the efforts, in general, of the middle classes to better their conditions was the fact that they were not able at first to win the support of the workers. Prior to 1914 many small businessmen opposed organized labor as well as Big Business. Facing two enemies, the middle classes were unable to concentrate upon either foe. Meanwhile, both Big Business and Labor grew at the expense of the petty bourgeoisie.

This new industrial set-up tended to make the economic life of the plutocrat and proletariat as well as the small businessman, more insecure. It is true that working conditions were gradually improved, that an undreamed leisure was bestowed upon man, and, that, thanks to the development of medical science, he could expect "to enjoy" a greater length of life. At the same time, businessmen were always conscious of the possibility that some new invention or discovery would force them to reorganize or even abandon their enterprises, and workers constantly faced the spectre of unemployment, especially during the period of depression which invariably followed an interval of prosperity under the new industrial system.

In a way the tendency toward economic consolidation was helpful to the wage-earners in meeting the problem of unemployment. It enabled them to organize by bringing them together in large concerns and making them first craft-conscious and then class-conscious. *The Labor Movement*

In practically every country where there were important industries, the workers organized unions in order to better their economic and social positions. Soon, these labor units decided to consolidate in order to control governmental policy. In France a National Federation of Syndicates, representing most of the national and regional unions of the country, was formed in 1895 for the purpose of creating a socialist state, consisting of co-ordinated industrial units. The syndicalists aimed at the destruction of capitalistic society through the use of revolutionary tactics, namely, the strike, direct action, and sabotage. In Great Britain the political trend was more

obvious. An Independent Labor Party was organized (1893) and representatives were elected to Parliament. Even in Germany, despite the opposition of the autocratic government, workingmen's unions were created which attempted to enter politics by either endorsing or supporting candidates and certain policies.

Wherever these unions existed strikes usually occurred. These industrial upheavals, like the unions, increased in numbers and in size. Unable to solve the growing problem of unemployment which seemed to be the inevitable result of the rapid mechanization of industry, practically every industrial country in Europe faced the problem of labor unrest.

Reformers had long favored changes in behalf of labor. Ardent exponents of a real democratic state, a group of reformers — called utopians — advanced plans whereby labor and capital would co-operate in an attempt to achieve a perfect economic order. Of these, the fantastic Frenchman, Saint-Simon (1760–1825) was pre-eminent. Unwilling to discard the capitalistic system, he proposed that the “great minds,” the financiers, industrial leaders, and scientists, should, by inventions, scientific discoveries, and industrial improvements, participate in a planned movement to eliminate poverty. “All social institutions,” he wrote, “should have as their aim the physical and moral improvements of the most numerous and poorest class.”

Charles Fourier (1772–1837), another Frenchman, suggested a scheme by which, instead of a central government handling the great business enterprises — a difficult task — France should be split into small groups of families, called *Phalanges*, each of which should contain eighteen hundred members, owning in common the buildings and all the implements for the production of the necessities of life. The total product of their work was to be divided so as to give capital four-twelfths, labor five-twelfths, and talent or management three-twelfths. Visualizing a confederation of *Phalanges*, with the capital at Constantinople, Fourier eventually had followers as far west as the United States.

Great Britain had a brilliant utopian in the wealthy liberal manufacturer, Robert Owen (1771–1858). Disturbed by the prevalence of poverty, he hoped to regenerate mankind by the formation of cooperative groups which should own and use for their benefit all the necessary means of production. As manager of a large cotton mill of which he later became the chief proprietor, he paid good wages, bettered working conditions, and transformed the living quarters into a model town. To the surprise of fellow-industrialists, Owen's factory, despite additional expenditures, earned dividends as large as before.

The co-operative movement which rose out of the ideas and activities of the utopian socialists, especially Owen, manifested itself during the last half of the nineteenth century in various forms. Producers' co-operatives were established, especially in agriculture. Over all Europe, co-operative buying and

selling agencies enabled the farmers to get better prices for their commodities and also to avoid unreasonable charges on the goods which they produced. In Great Britain and other countries consumers organized co-operative stores and wholesale houses. Usually the goods in these concerns were sold at the market price, and the profits of the enterprises were given back to the members — the consumers — in the form of dividends. Co-operative banks, loan associations, and similar institutions were also formed. Prior to 1914 the co-operative movement developed in practically every country. Local associations were first created, but later, national organizations were established. In 1895 an Industrial Co-operative Alliance was erected. Wherever these organizations were founded they played an important rôle in lessening the evils of capitalistic enterprise and speculation.

The co-operative movement

While the utopians and other advocates of the co-operative movement were trying to solve economic and social problems within the framework of the capitalistic state, another reformer, Karl Marx (1818–1883) urged the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist state. During his youth this apostle of socialism, saw his fellow Germans trying to unify and liberalize their country. He also witnessed the Industrial Revolution penetrating the Rhineland, and the consequent enrichment of a few and the impoverishment of the masses. Conscious of the injustices which resulted, Marx decided to devote his life to the task of revealing social inequalities and of emancipating the workingman.

As a student Marx had come under the influence of the German philosopher, Hegel. Accepting the latter's idea "that each period is characterized by the predominance of a 'world people,' who are possessed of a universal idea which must be given to mankind," Marx explained that the cause of change was to be found in material circumstances — climate, soil, inventions, the economic struggle of classes, and other forces of man and Nature. Upon the fall of the bourgeoisie, he believed the workingmen were certain to become "the world people."

Marxian Socialism

The history of all hitherto existing society, he wrote, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, in their *Communist Manifesto*, was the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

In his writings, especially *Das Capital* (completed by Engels), Marx also asserted that the capitalist class was destined to become the dominant group and that it would seize the control of the agencies of production and distribution, and finally of the government. He further declared that the concentration of wealth under capitalism would in time place all property in the hands of a very few, but ultimately the exploited class would revolt against this tyranny and would overthrow the established order. Marx denounced the capitalist as an idle drone, since he drew dividends by virtue of being a stockholder. He predicted that in time, the capitalist, as useless as a feudal lord in the eighteenth century, would be destroyed and the whole system of capitalism swept away.

Marx claimed that labor was the source of all value. Therefore, whoever contributed to the welfare of mankind should have his share in the output, be he composer, engineer, farmer, street cleaner, teacher, or artist. As long as men received dividends from investments in machines, however, the workers would not get their rightful share. Consequently, he believed that the state should own and control all the agencies of production and distribution. Private ownership would then be restricted to items such as food, clothing, furniture, pictures, and books. Everyone should have an equal opportunity to enjoy the available necessities and luxuries. Thus oppression and poverty would disappear. Instead of a small minority of the population living at the expense of the rest, all groups would be brought to a single level. All should be rewarded or should suffer alike. True equality, real democracy, and human welfare, he said, could only be attained if the workers united. Already living in poverty, they had nothing to lose but their chains. Therefore they needed to organize so that the time might come when all men would work and no one would be permitted to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbor. Marx assumed that thereafter men would be able to live in harmony and brotherly love.

In his early works Marx merely suggested widespread social reform by legislative action—not by violent revolution. But later, as a result of his study of the Paris Commune, he wrote a treatise in which he advocated that the dictatorship of the proletariat be attained, if necessary, by violent methods. Applying his economic interpretation of history, he contended that just as the great French Revolution had shattered the bulwark of feudalism and paved the way for the rise of the bourgeoisie who consolidated their gains by the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France, so the Commune of Paris (1871) marked the beginning of the proletarian revolt against the bourgeois order. Marx then set forth the belief that a minority, creating a strong government, had to rule during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Thus, a dictatorship of the proletariat was an essential prelude to the establishment of true socialism.

Undoubtedly one of the keenest critics of bourgeois society, Marx con-

tended that ideas of all kinds were determined chiefly by the economic position of the people who held them. Each class of persons whose interests were similar, he declared, constituted within itself an intellectual cosmos, with a politics, a metaphysics, and an art of its own. He believed that the romanticism, the idealism, and the revolts of the early nineteenth century were largely bourgeois movements, that is, they were manifestations of the determination of the bourgeoisie to annihilate the last vestiges of feudalism. He also claimed that capitalism was responsible for the large-scale exploitation of the working classes. Machinery and credit had enabled the bourgeoisie to supplant the feudal lords as the masters of the state. That capitalism would destroy itself was the recurrent note in his writing.

Another form of radicalism — anarchism — challenged the premises of capitalism. Like socialism, it was engendered by the Industrial Revolution and arose out of more or less systematized theories on the part of middle-class reformers as to how poverty and its attendant ills could be exterminated. But it differed from socialism in that it would abolish entirely all government and give complete freedom to the individual. *Anarchism*

Anarchism had as its nurturers two able advocates: the Frenchman, Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), and the Russian, Michael Bakunin (1814–1876). Proudhon's ideas were an outgrowth of the conditions brought about in France as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and of the hostility of the proletariat to the middle-class régime of Louis Philippe. Losing faith in all governments, Proudhon wrote *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (What is property?), answering his rhetorical question with "La propriété, c'est la vol" (Property is theft). Strangely enough, however, he did not favor public ownership of private property. Every man, he stated, should have an equal right to use property as his personal possession. Every man should enjoy the full benefit of his labor. Authority in any form was anathema. Self-determination, or self-government, was the best basis for an orderly society. Like Rousseau, Proudhon believed that if men could get rid of "man-made laws" and live together, not limited by supreme authority but only by voluntary yet legally binding force of contract, a perfect social order would be attained, for man, inherently just, would fulfill his obligations. Wrong-doing would disappear and complete individualism would make the world a veritable paradise.

Bakunin outlined a more militant form of anarchism. Living in autocratic Russia and exiled to Siberia because of his ideas, he disregarded the past and also became a staunch advocate of terrorism.

The future social order must, from top to bottom, be made only by free association and federation of workers, in association first, then in communes, in districts, in nations, and finally, in a great international and universal federation.

These were essentially the ideas of Proudhon. To them Bakunin added the

concept of revolution, or of violence, as the inevitable method by which the old order would be destroyed and the new established

Another French radical, Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), seemed to have adopted Bakunin's ideas. Like many Jacobins of the French Revolution, Blanqui urged a policy of extreme governmental centralization which was to be made possible by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only was a violent revolution necessary, but also it was to be achieved under the guidance of an intelligent faction which was proletarian at heart. Regarding the evils of bourgeois society as irrational, he decided that utopia was possible only if private property was abolished. His program, attacking religion as well as capitalism, embraced revolution, atheism, and communism.

Such radical views were but a part of the evidence testifying to the great intellectual change which occurred in the nineteenth century. This mental transformation rose partly out of the formulation of the evolutionary doctrine — the idea "that things had evolved out of other things by slow changes through long processes of time." Although this belief was expressed by certain Greek philosophers it was not placed on a scientific basis until the nineteenth century. In 1830-1833, the able scientist, Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology* definitely formulated the principle that the present appearance of the earth was the result of a steady and constant operation of geological forces. This thesis was developed by Charles Darwin in his momentous volume, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859), and his famous work, *Descent of Man* (1871). In these volumes he brought out the idea that Life is governed by unchanging law and orderly development and that Nature has selected those species for survival which are best adapted to their environment, or those which have been best able to maintain themselves in the struggle for existence.²

About fifty years later the doctrine of relativity completely altered the general ideas with respect to the universe. Prior to the advancement of this concept, time and space had been considered as the absolute standards for the judging and measuring of things. According to the theory of relativity, as enunciated by the famous scientist, Einstein, in 1905, velocities were variable with respect to the different circumstances under which they were operative. Consequently, in a universe in which standards were not set but were, on the other hand, variable, there was no Absolute Truth, but only truth relative to the matter or person concerned. This theory therefore revised the concepts of geometrical properties of space and time, and established a connection between the geometry of the world and the distribution of matter in it.

The existence of Absolute Truth, was questioned by philosophers as well

² See p 1018

as by scientists During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries intellectuals thought deeply and profoundly over the problem of truth

In the nineteenth century, students of psychology — a study *Absolute Truth* of the human mind, its qualities and functions — considered this problem As a result of their investigations many of them decided that personalities and human minds were so variable, and knowledge and opinions held by them were so different that it was futile to set up beliefs which would be absolutely true for them all

Religious scholars bitterly opposed this attack upon Absolute Truth, maintaining that their faith was based upon revealed truths which had been delivered by Christ to the Apostles At first they resented very much the evolutionary doctrine that human beings had gradually been evolved from lower species in a process that required over 100,000,000 years, believing that the basis of their faith was being shaken Later a compromise was arranged between religion and science whereby certain Christians man-

aged to fit the evolutionary doctrine into their scheme of *Divine Truth* things According to the Catholic church, the Darwinian theory of time could explain only the evolution of man's material body, not the creation and life of immortal spirits This spiritual side of humanity belonged to the realm of faith and religion as unquestionably as the material side belonged to the province of natural science Some of the Protestants, called Fundamentalists, however, refused to accept the theory of evolution

The church opposed attacks upon its temporal as well as its spiritual power Determined to resist any attempt to limit the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) attacked modernism in his famous *Quanta Cura* (1864) In this religious ultimatum he reasserted the supremacy of the church in matters of faith and morals, he denounced secular and public education, civil marriages, free thinking, and other bourgeois beliefs and modern trends Also, he frankly opposed republicanism and nationalism, considering them disintegrating movements hostile to the interests of the church Attempting to strengthen his papal authority, which these forces seemed to threaten, Pope Pius called a meeting of the General Council at the Vatican (1869-1870) This assemblage of nearly 800 churchmen ratified the dogma of papal infallibility that "declared it to be divinely revealed that whatever the pope spoke as pope, with respect to the affairs of the church, he spoke without liability to error" Despite this stand, the Holy Father was unable to stem the tide of nationalism, even in Italy, and lost his temporal power in Rome (1870), and remained confined thenceforth to the Vatican

This hostility between the church and the modern state finally subsided Between 1878 and 1914, the successors of Pius IX accepted, or at least, tolerated democracy, constitutionalism, nationalism, and lay education, while the bourgeois government, in return, aided the church in its missionary activities.

This *entente* did not mean that all issues between church and state were settled. In fact, the antagonism subsided largely because the representatives of both camps, by the close of the nineteenth century, faced a common enemy — “the Reds.” To suppress these socialists, anarchists, and communists, the Catholics organized political parties and labor unions — Center and Catholic Action groups — in European countries, especially in France, Germany, and Belgium. These organizations set themselves ardently to improve the existing capitalistic order by forming associations of young workingmen for religious as well as economic improvement and by organizing Catholic political parties to bring about moderate social reforms.

The new coalition

From the first, Protestants accepted the modern state. Individualists in the matter of salvation, they did not find it difficult to accept constitutional and democratic reforms hinging about the *laissez-faire* doctrine. Certain sects, as, for example, the Methodists, whose membership included a large representation of working people, did favor social and economic reforms, but within the framework of the established order.

Prior to the World War the Greek Orthodox faith of the East was little affected by bourgeois liberalism. This organization of autonomous churches, which counted among its adherents a great majority of the Russians, the Greeks, and the Balkan Slavs, was deeply influenced by the Russian Church (the Russian branch which was controlled by the tsar through the Holy Synod). Subservient to the tsar, the same rituals, ceremonies, and customs had existed for centuries, little troubled by revolts from within and little touched by influences from without. The great Russian Revolution of 1917, however, marked the sudden overthrow of this powerful organization in secular activities in Russia. As in France during the Revolution, the Christian church went down with the old order. Ecclesiastical lands and property were confiscated, and some of the priests and higher clergy murdered or exiled. In Spain a similar upheaval occurred in 1931.¹

The Greek Orthodox Church

Largely as a result of this bourgeois emphasis upon secularism, a great pedagogical revolution occurred. This upheaval was anticipated by Rousseau, who, in his writings, especially, “*Émile*” (1762), favored more emphasis upon self-expression in students. This idea was developed by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), and Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782–1852). Of these, Froebel contributed

Education

the most important educational concepts. Accepting Rousseau’s thesis he claimed that the development of the personality was of more importance than the mere accumulation of information. Influenced by this belief he founded the kindergarten, in which he emphasized the value of play in the education of the young child.

During the nineteenth century important changes were made in the cur-

riculum of educational instruction. Heeding the views of Herbert Spencer, Thomas Huxley and others, educators accepted the various branches of science as fundamental studies. A liberal education was recognized as important in so far as it prepared one to earn a livelihood.

Prussia led in the development of education in the early nineteenth century. In that country, the absolute ruler encouraged the establishment of normal schools and also the creation of primary schools. Thus was developed a system of education which became distinguished by its emphasis upon thoroughness and coherence. The nineteenth century was also the Golden Age of the German universities. At that time they had developed a conception of academic freedom which was offered to professors and students alike. For the student it meant a greater emphasis upon individual freedom in his selection and method of study. For the professor it signified more freedom in expression and greater security of tenure, enabling him thereby to devote more time to his special field of research.

As a result of this emphasis upon freedom of education, the German universities took the lead in the development of post-graduate and professional work. In these institutions the lecture method continued to be widely used, special seminar courses were introduced in which the emphasis was placed upon research and original investigation, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which had nothing to do with philosophy in the accepted sense, was introduced.¹

This new stress upon education helps to explain the remarkable expansion of the public-school system elsewhere in the nineteenth century. Influenced by German achievements, there appeared in the United States the first national system of public schools. Later most of the European states adopted the German and American progressive trends in the establishment of national systems of public education.

At first, most Christian sects, fearing the loss of their moral leadership, opposed the spread of secular education. They also disapproved of the development of the theatre, the opera, and the cinema, feeling that these forms of entertainment would deprive the church of its cultural supremacy. Unable to check them, Catholics and Protestants both established organizations designed to strengthen their moral and cultural influence. Protestants, for example, tried to restrict secular activities on Sunday, and Catholics endeavored to improve the moral tone of motion pictures. Many churches also attempted to regain their social and cultural leadership by holding dances, lectures, and motion pictures in their social centers.

Secularization of social life as well as of education contributed to the emancipation of women. During the nineteenth century co-education was established in most bourgeois countries. Systems of education had been improved; illiteracy and a more tolerant position before the law was extended to

¹ See also p. 970.

peoples regardless of religion or sex. Men now began to realize that women had played an important rôle in the development of civilization. Influenced by this point of view, they were reconciled, despite occasional difficulties, to seeing women assume a larger share in the economic and educational life.

Feminism Having made limited gains in the economic and intellectual spheres, women began to agitate for political equality. Prior to the twentieth century only New Zealand (1893) and some of the Australian colonies enacted woman suffrage. The early years of the twentieth century, however, witnessed the triumph of feminism. By 1914, Norway and Finland granted suffrage to its women. In some of the American states and in the United Kingdom and in the more advanced parts of the British Empire, women gained political and legal rights before the close of the war. After the world conflict, the feminist movement spread rapidly. Germany, Russia, and the new countries of Central Europe granted women the right to vote.¹

The growing secularism in life, especially after the World War, led to a revolt against certain moral and cultural traditions. Determined to seek self-expression, to defy many of the more traditional conventions, the Post-War generation frequently discarded the older outlook upon sex and dress. Many of the admirers of the new spirit of youth advocated nudism, claiming that such naturalness was conducive to both the health of the human body and the esthetic enjoyment of it as a work of beauty in nature. To its critics, however, the movement was a symptom of a degenerating age.

Secularism Prior to the World War many people began to find fault with the outstanding contribution of the late modern era—the capitalistic state. They admitted that in its economic, political, and psychological aspects, this organization showed itself to be the most efficient and the most powerful state established thus far. At the same time they condemned its competitive and aggressive characteristics, claiming that these developments tended to increase hostility, fear, and suspicions between countries.

Enlargements of military forces did testify to the mutual hatreds and rivalries of the Pre-War nations. Military conscription in the form of universal obligation to service, subject to selection by lot (introduced during the French Revolution, 1793, and extended and systematized by Napoleon I and the Prussians after the battle of Jena, 1806), had led to an overhauling of the military systems of Europe. In this movement the Germans, as a result of their military efficiency demonstrated in the wars of 1866 and 1870, took the lead. Aroused by her defeat in 1870, France then became Germany's chief competitor. This military competition

Militarism ¹The rise of Post-War dictators (with the exception of Russia), on the whole, checked the advance of feminism. These leaders professed to believe that woman's place was not in the business world but in the home.

was not limited to Germany and France. Before 1914 practically every European nation engaged in an armament race. With the exception of Great Britain, who was dependent upon her navy rather than upon her army, all the great powers, and many of the small ones, adopted universal military service. They maintained giant peace-time armies, backed by millions of reserves, equipped with modern weapons, and ready to respond to the call for mobilization at any moment.

Naval, as well as military, rivalries developed before the War. Germany, in order to protect her shipping and her colonies, decided to build a powerful navy. Determined to maintain the two-power standard—a navy equal to the next two largest combined—Great Britain, suspicious of German naval expansion, increased her strength. New boats were built, especially the all-powerful dreadnoughts, which, from 1906, were considered the most important types of ships. Occasionally “naval holidays” were proposed by leaders on both sides, but Great Britain, insisting on a 50 per cent superiority over the German navy, refused to trade her supremacy on the sea for an alliance with Germany. As a result, the competition continued. Meanwhile, other nations, particularly the United States, France, and Japan, constructed powerful fleets. In short, there was a marked increase in military and naval rivalry between 1900 and 1914, which reached its zenith just before the outbreak of the World War.

More important than the armament race was the economic competition which involved the leading states of Europe prior to 1914. This struggle in the economic sphere was the result of the developing opportunities of power and wealth offered by the Mechanical and Industrial Revolutions. During the early nineteenth century, as we have seen,¹ there had existed a general opposition to governmental intervention in the economic activities of its people. In fact, there seemed to be a definite tendency to promote individualism in business by doing away with all restrictions and regulations which fettered personal enterprise. France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, the Swiss cantons, Norway, and Sweden, and the German and Italian states, followed Great Britain's example, and abolished internal tariff barriers. British, French, and Dutch colonies were thrown open to the trade of all countries, and shipping restrictions were eliminated. Beginning *The age of free trade* with the Anglo-French Treaty of 1860, numerous trade agreements were arranged whereby tariffs were reduced on most-favored nation terms, since most economists generally believed that free trade was bound to result in prosperity and peace.

After 1870 there came a change. Industrial as well as political leaders soon began to advocate state intervention in international economic affairs, while maintaining non-intervention in domestic matters. Aware of the strength of the modern state, exponents of Big Business now desired to use it in order

¹ See pp. 905-943

to stifle the importation of competitive goods and to gain markets and raw materials abroad. They succeeded in having national tariff systems introduced

Economic Nationalism so as to protect "infant industries" and to insure for the wage-earners, "a full dinner pail." Inspired by these and other

bourgeois arguments, the governments of France, Germany, and Russia, between 1870 and 1900, returned to the protective system. In 1902, for example, the German tariff on British goods was 25% compared with a French tariff of 34% and a Russian tariff of 131%. Italy, the United States — in fact, all the great powers save Great Britain — revived this phase of mercantilism. As in the early modern period, this resumption of mercantilistic practices resulted in bitter international disputes, colonial rivalries, and in increasing diplomatic intrigue. These developments caused many people by 1914 to fear a devastating World War which might demolish the existing state system and all that it implied. This conflict, as we shall see, finally occurred, and while the capitalistic order was not destroyed as a result of the struggle, it was gravely weakened and considerably changed.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE LATE MODERN AGE SCIENCE¹

While the most spectacular advances in science occurred during the past one hundred years with totally unexpected practical applications and with almost unmanageable social consequences, significant discoveries, as we have seen, were made in the earlier times. The Greeks were on the verge of an industrial and steam age, and the Egyptians and Arabs all had moments of scientific insight, but they did not appreciate the value* of experimental proof, and, primarily because of the hiatus between knowing and doing, they stopped short of the practical application of their scientific theories. The people of the later Middle Ages, according to Professor Strong, experienced an era of scientific development that was interrupted by the humanistic revolt of the fifteenth century.² During this era, stimulated by the intellectual atmosphere of the Arabian universities, much effort was expended on the study of science, but it was largely motivated by mystic ideals that were incapable of accomplishment. The alchemists sought a philosopher's stone with magic powers of creating life or of converting common metals into gold, and they failed in their quest because they did not focus their attention on building a solid roadway to such distant peaks.

Nevertheless, the basis of modern science was laid in these past ages, quite incidentally and almost unnoticed. It was not until the seventeenth or eighteenth century, however, that a few amateur philosophers — Sir Isaac Newton, Antoine Lavoisier, Joseph Priestley and others — attacked such problems as the nature of gravitation and of combustion and thus were able to prepare the way for the outstanding achievements of the period after Napoleon.

This unfolding of science, particularly in the fields of astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine and bacteriology, constitutes one of the most notable developments of the nineteenth century. So brilliant were its achievements in the harnessing of natural forces, so optimistic were people as the result of its great advances that science won for the period between Napoleon and the World War, quite rightly, a most appropriate title — The Century of Hope. Whereas the earlier scientific movements stopped short of fluorescence, this last movement, on the contrary, seemed in the nineteenth century to have just begun to tap the sources of man's conquest of nature. Amid the

¹ The author is indebted to Dr. Gerald Wendt, Professor Seville Chapman (University of Kansas), and Mr. Ben Rust for valuable assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

² Strong, E. W., *Procedures and Metaphysics*, pp. 118-120

political and economic uncertainty of the post-war period, the march of science continued, great discoveries were made, and the life of mankind was considerably altered. Influenced by these developments, there are those who believe today that men of science by their discoveries and by their emphasis on accuracy and conciseness alone can solve the economic and social problems confronting this twentieth-century world.

In the light of the present emphasis on this subject, a detailed survey of the progress of science since Napoleon could easily be justified. Unfortunately, the scope of this volume will not permit such a comprehensive survey and a brief résumé of the most notable scientific advances is all that can be undertaken in the pages of this chapter.

Astronomy, the science of the celestial bodies and thus of the external universe, is the father of all the other sciences. The stars are a vivid challenge to human imagination and their investigation requires, first, *Astronomy* precise observation, and second, ample mathematics. Thus it was a problem in astronomy that led Isaac Newton to the development of the calculus. His Law of Gravitation not only established the solar system and permanently discarded all geocentric concepts of the universe but also brought out the importance of mathematics as an essential tool of all the sciences. Repeatedly it has been astronomy that has demanded progress in mathematics, and this in turn has permitted the advance of all other sciences.

Not all progress in astronomy, however, was based on mathematics. Nineteenth-century astronomy profited as much from a knowledge of the composition and temperature of the stars as from their mathematical motions. Fundamental to this phase of investigation was the perfection of the spectroscope of Kirchhoff and Bunsen at Heidelberg and the consequent method of spectro-analysis which permitted the identification of all the chemical elements, both in the laboratory and in distant stars. The analysis of the light from these stars soon established the fact that they are all composed of the same elements that are found on the earth and that therefore the material composition of the universe is essentially the same throughout.

Spectroscopy was the first development in the larger field of astro-physics and the latter has proved so revealing that the spectroscope rivals the telescope in importance for astronomical researches. Thus it has been possible to measure not only the temperature of stars and nebulae, but also their size, density, distance, and velocity of motion and of rotation. Slight shifts in the position of well-known lines in the spectrum of certain elements indicate that the source of light is not stationary but is moving. A shift toward the red end of the spectrum indicates that it is approaching us. This principle, set forth originally by the scientist, Christian Doppler (1803-1853), has established not only the motion of the so-called fixed stars but has in very recent years also led to the conviction that entire galaxies are in motion. If so, they are apparently all receding from us so that the universe seems to be expanding.

The motions of the stars indicate that our sun is one of many millions that comprise a disc-shaped cluster — our galaxy. This entire mass rotates about a relatively fixed center, one rotation requiring about 250,000,000 years. Since the earth is at least two billion years old it has during its lifetime accompanied the sun through eight revolutions about the galactic center. The diameter of this galaxy is some 100,000 light years. Much more remote, and measurable in distances of a million to almost a billion light years, are other galaxies, uncounted but many millions in number, whose distance cannot be accurately measured. It is in this very remote region that most present problems of astronomy lie. Because the light from these remote galaxies is so excessively faint the major hope of further discoveries with regard to the external universe lies in more powerful telescopes such as the two-hundred inch instrument of the California Institute of Technology.

Such a concept of the universe is far from that prevailing a century ago. The recognition that all the stars to be seen with the naked eye are a very small fraction of a single galaxy and that this, our "Milky Way," is only one among millions of galaxies, is as great a revolution as the earlier belief that the sun is the center of the solar system. In fact, the concept of a universe of galaxies underlies such majestic general concepts as the relativity theory.

Scientists during the past century have also revealed much information on the nature of the stars themselves. The striking difference between giant stars and dwarf stars, which was first pointed out in 1913, has led to astonishing new facts and has practically abolished any previous confidence in our ideas of stellar evolution. Certain it is now that there are extremely diffuse stars of enormous size in which molecules may move for long periods without encountering others. It is equally sure that there are dwarf stars in which the "matter" is 60,000 times as dense as water. In some of the white dwarf stars the density seems to be as much as 100 tons to the cubic inch. This conclusion would have been rejected as absurd in any previous period of the science of physics, but the quantum theory, our knowledge of ionization and wave-mechanics, and the nuclear concept of the atom, make such astronomical conclusions quite acceptable today. Furthermore, the Einstein theory of relativity contributes to our confidence since it predicts a shift of spectral lines when light passes close to a star by an amount which depends on the mass of the star and its diameter. The fact that observation agrees with the Einstein theory seems to be final proof that the density of matter may range from the high figure just given to that prevailing in some nebulae — as low as a thousandth of a billionth of a billionth of a pound per cubic inch.

During the nineteenth century, however, the advances in physics and chemistry were far more vital and practical than the challenging developments in astronomy. At the time of Napoleon almost nothing was known about magnetism and electricity and relatively little about light or heat. Indeed, at the beginning of this period the fundamental

Physics

concept of energy was just becoming established. The work of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814), during the French Revolution, and later of James Joule (1818-1889), had proved by accurate measurements that energy cannot be destroyed, but, in all its various manifestations, is merely converted from one form to another. The equivalence of mechanical energy, i.e., the energy of motion, and of heat, is absolutely necessary to modern engineering and to the understanding of all processes that involve work (the use of energy).

Inasmuch as the mathematical development of thermodynamics was a necessary step for the understanding and improvement of the operation of steam engines, this science is the very cornerstone of the *Heat* machine age. Its Second Law is as universal and compelling as the conservation of energy itself, for it establishes the concept of potential, or intensity of energy, and defines the conditions under which energy will flow from one place or body to another, i.e., from a body of higher temperature, pressure, or voltage, to one of lower potential. The elimination of the ancient concept of "caloric," the material or tangible substance of heat, was thus complete and heat energy was established as the energy of molecules in motion. Rapid motion corresponds to higher temperatures and a cessation of such molecular motion or vibration occurs at the "absolute zero" of the temperature scale.

A similar change took place early in the century as regards the concept of light. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) had advanced the idea that light is composed of tiny particles, or corpuscles, but in the nineteenth century, Young in England, Fraunhofer in Germany, and Fresnel in France, proved that light is a wave phenomenon. In order to account for the waves the proposal of Huyghens, that all space — even between the atoms of matter — is filled with a perfectly elastic medium called "the ether," was adopted although no other use for or evidence of this universal intangible and weightless substance has ever been found. Thus light-waves are supposedly ether waves.

In this field the outstanding contribution of the period was that of the English mathematical physicist, Clerk Maxwell (1831-1879). His theory of light as an electromagnetic wave propagation was presented to the Royal Society of London in 1864 in a paper entitled "A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field." Recognized as one of the greatest productions of the human mind, this belief could not be practically tested until some eight or nine years after the death of Maxwell when H. R. Hertz (1857-1894) investigated it experimentally.

As a result of the researches of Maxwell, Hertz, and others, light actually was found to be a form of electromagnetic vibration. These men showed that there were electromagnetic waves other than those to which the eye is sensitive. Waves longer and shorter than visible light were revealed. Indeed the

human eye can detect only a single octave in the enormous range of wave-lengths of these ether vibrations. The wave-length of red light is about twice that of violet light, but the wave-length of an X-ray is one-thousandth, and gamma rays from radium are still shorter. On the other hand, the waves used in wireless telegraphy and radio broadcasting today are from a million to a billion times as long as those of visible light. To detect these ether waves, both longer and shorter than visible light, it is necessary to use devices such as the ionization chamber, the photographic plate, the photo-electric cell, and the thermopile.

*Electromagnetic
Waves*

Maxwell's theory of electromagnetic waves, though purely mathematical, permitted the discovery of the non-visible radiations and thus made possible the utilization of X-rays, discovered by Roentgen in 1895, the commercial development of wireless telegraphy, first undertaken by Marconi in 1896, and the understanding of radium and radioactivity, first revealed by Becquerel in 1896 and by the Curies in 1898.

Industrially and socially, however, the practical mastery of electricity itself was of even greater importance. The invention of the electric battery preceded the nineteenth century, but the flow of electricity through wires was not seriously studied until the time of Oersted, in Denmark, Ampère, in France, and Ohm, in Germany, during the early years of the nineteenth century. On the basis of their work, Michael Faraday (1791-1867) discovered electromagnetic induction in 1831. Faraday possessed a rare combination of logical thought, technical skill, and imaginative power. He pursued his researches at the Royal Institution in London for forty years and not only clarified the relation between electricity and magnetism, but also prepared the way for all subsequent electrical dynamos, alternators, and transformers so that it became possible to generate large amounts of electrical energy by the exercise of such mechanical power as water and steam. In the hands of more practical men such as Edison and Steinmetz in the United States, electrical engineering became competent, and gigantic industries were built upon it. Its basic contribution to society was twofold. First it permitted the simple and inexpensive conversion of electric current into mechanical power by means of the electric motor. Even more important was the fact that it facilitated the free distribution of energy in limitless quantities to any desired point by the mere installation of a conducting wire. The importance of this transportation and distribution of power can hardly be over-emphasized as a determinant of the conditions of industry and of modern life.

Electricity

By the end of the nineteenth century, the science of physics seemed to have reached maturity and it was generally believed that its future would produce only further refinements, but no major revolutions. Nothing in all the history of science has been more ironic than the complete revolution at the beginning of the twentieth

*Atomic
Structure*

century which ended this serenity. The discovery of radium and X-rays in the late 1890's was followed by such major developments that all classical physics seems relatively minor. Merely to list the radical advances is to reveal a whole new universe. In 1911, Robert A. Millikan at the University of Chicago isolated the electron, the atom of electricity, and at once gave the previous empirical knowledge of electricity a scientific validity. Electron collisions became the obvious explanation for the generation of extremely short ether waves, that is, X-rays, and the relation between electron velocities and X-ray wave-lengths followed at once and inevitably led to the improvement of X-ray tubes and their successful utilization in industry and medical practice. Even more important were the relations developed between the electron and atoms at high temperatures, for the emission of electrons from hot wires became the basis of detectors and amplifying tubes which are essential to radio broadcasting.

More important, however, was the recognition that electrons are essential constituents of all matter. This fact led to the greatest forward step of modern physics, Rutherford's proposal that the atom is not the "hard, massy particle" described by Sir Isaac Newton, but is a miniature solar system with all its actual "matter" concentrated in a central nucleus which occupies only a millionth of a billionth of its volume, and with electrons moving in orbits about it, like planets about the sun. This theory of atomic structure, developed by Bohr and others, has not only accounted for the spectra of the elements and for the amazing radiations of radium, but it also has actually made obvious the differences between the behavior of the various chemical elements. Chemical properties of elements and compounds can now be referred directly to the electron arrangements in their atoms and molecules.

Indeed today research on the atom is devoted primarily to the study of the nucleus itself, for powerful instruments are available, such as the cyclotron of E. L. Lawrence at the University of California, which can shatter the nucleus and thus convert one element into another — the ancient goal of the alchemists.

Exploration of the minute, and the penetration into the nature of matter are balanced by the outward reach of modern astronomy. Actually they go so far beyond the normal human experience that the classical laws, even those of geometry, do not apply. Indeed, the facts in both regions would be quite incomprehensible without another great advance in mathematics. It was in 1905 that Albert Einstein first published his theory of relativity. This accomplished the final step in the progression begun by Copernicus and Galileo, for it abolished all naive ideas that man's outlook is cosmic and absolute, and demonstrated that our concepts of time, space, motion, and velocity can be only tentative, and valid within our limited experience. On a universal scale all standards of measurement are relative to each other and can be relied upon only when relative motion is

Relativity

definitely known. Therefore the difficulty of making reliable measurements of velocity on swiftly moving stars or planets is insuperable as there can be no absolute standard of reference. Einstein's mathematical formulas for converting measurements on one moving system to those on another moving with a different velocity, however, might have seemed wholly speculative had they not found striking confirmation in such matters as the bending of a light ray as it passes a star or the displacement of lines in the spectrum of an element. Consequently both in the vast reaches of astronomy and in the minuteness of the atom the concept of relativity has restored order where classical mathematics failed completely.

Similarly the concept of energy introduced by Max Planck (1858-) in 1900, and commonly known as the quantum theory, assumes that energy is not continuous, but exists in discreet amounts or quanta. This idea was at first incomprehensible, but it has clarified many diverse phenomena in the field of radiation and of heat. It has not yet reached maturity, but together with relativity and the nuclear atom it forms a possible basis for the understanding of the universe in terms of a single fundamental concept. As a result of these three ideas it is possible to consider electrons as having the properties of waves, it is commonly assumed that matter and energy can be converted one into the other, and it is a definite possibility that the twentieth century will see a full development of the matter-and-energy relation so that either can be converted into the other at will, and — a very remote contingency — for the useful purposes of industry and perhaps of humanity.

The study of matter itself, the science of chemistry, is very old. The Greeks had theories and the alchemists had much factual information. No real understanding was possible however until the question of the ultimate structure of matter was settled, and this came *Chemistry* in the nineteenth century. In 1808, John Dalton (1766-1844) proposed a very specific and detailed atomic theory in which he assumed that matter can be subdivided down to an ultimate particle — the atom — beyond which subdivision cannot proceed without the destruction of matter itself. This concept was not new, but in expounding it, Dalton assigned definite weights to the atoms of different elements, and assumed that two or more atoms of two or more elements combine to form molecules, thus forming the fundamental unit of chemical compounds. These conclusions gave a definite interpretation of chemical reactions and an explanation for the fact that reactions do take place between very definite quantities of materials. Thus one gram of hydrogen reacts with eight grams of oxygen to produce water and any amount of either above those figures is left over, untouched. The elaboration of this theory during the succeeding century convinced chemists that matter "acts as if" it were composed of atoms and that all substances consist of molecules which in turn are built up from atoms of different elements. At the beginning of the twentieth century the atomic theory was probably the best established and the most

useful of all scientific theories and yet its basic assumption had not been actually proved

This proof waited upon progress in physics. It was the study of radium and, in particular, of its disintegration into alpha rays and a series of other elements that furnished the actual proof of the atomic theory. Experiments of great precision made in the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge determined the actual mass of single atoms ejected in a radium explosion and it was the development of the mass spectrograph by Aston that made it possible to photograph and measure the mass of any atom whatever. It was in the years just preceding and during the World War that final conclusive evidence became available to prove that the atom is the ultimate and chemically indivisible particle of an element, and that it has an attractive force toward other atoms which leads it to combine in definite patterns into molecules of chemical compounds. Ninety-two different varieties of atoms, — ninety-two different elements — were thus established. Indeed it was subsequently found that nearly all the elements have several types of atoms, as for instance, isotopes, wholly alike in behavior but slightly different in mass.

The study and mastery of chemical reactions did not, however, wait for the atomic formula to progress from a theory to a fact. Most of the ninety-two chemical elements had been definitely recognized by the
The Atom early nineteenth century and in 1869 Mendeleeff (1834-1907) arranged them in the order of increasing weight of their atoms, and thus revealed a striking periodic relationship. The sixteenth element in this order, for instance, resembles the eighth very closely. There was a gradual change from metallic to non-metallic properties in each octave, from a tendency to form alkalis to a tendency to form acids, from one end of the scale to the opposite, in almost every chemical property and then a repetition of this swing — so that the elements could be arranged in periods and thus fall into eight major families. This "periodic system" of the elements provided extraordinary insight into chemical relationships and at once permitted the production of many new chemical compounds. At the same time it furnished a profound challenge to explain changes in relationships within the atom. But this again had to await the nuclear concept of Rutherford (1871-) and Bohr (1885-).

This nuclear atom at once explained the periodic system on the basis that the mass of the atom is confined to the nucleus while its surface is composed of planetary electrons. The difference between one atom and another is twofold. In going from one to the next in order of atomic weight, the mass of the nucleus increases, but the number of electrons in the external regions also increases — for the units that are added to the nucleus are positively charged and require a balance of negative electrons to make a stable atom. The chemical behavior of the atom, however, depends partly on the number, but primarily on the arrangement of the electrons at the surface.

If the outermost orbit contains only a single electron this is easily detached in the process of chemical combination, a fact which gives the atom metallic properties. Two electrons in the outer orbit give the atom metallic characteristics which are less intense but, at the same time, allow the atom to attach two other atoms instead of one. The series progresses until, with seven electrons in the outer orbit, there is little or no tendency to release electrons and, instead, there is a tendency to take electrons from other atoms. Then its behavior is thus the reverse of metallic, or, non-metallic. Most chemical reactions between atoms involve the combination of atoms in such a manner that the metallic atom surrenders electrons to the non-metallic, forming a stable orbit of eight electrons which constitute the bond that holds the molecule together. Thus again twentieth century physics has given a wholly competent explanation for the long established facts of chemistry.

While this theory was being developed there was also a steady building up of knowledge concerning many thousands of chemical compounds. Acids, alkalis, and salts were easily recognized by their chemical behavior. All acids have certain properties in common, but are distinguished by their own characteristic element, i.e., sulfur or phosphorus or chlorine. The compounds of one element, carbon, fitted but vaguely into these general classes and yet were so multiform as to constitute a separate science — organic chemistry. This name was derived from the fact that prior to 1828 these compounds were widely available in nature, but were produced entirely by plants and animals and could not be made from carbon itself or from any mineral substance. The classical experiment of Liebig and Woehler in that year produced the organic compound, urea, from purely inorganic sources. It was at first difficult to realize that plant and animal substance was also chemical and could be altered and built in the laboratory as well as in nature.

Within the next few decades the major classes of organic compounds were recognized, their chemical behavior was correctly attributed to certain groupings of atoms within the molecule, and the characteristic reactions and formulas were set up for alcohols, acids, ethers, aldehydes, phenols, etc. In the twentieth century this knowledge of the structure of molecules and the chemical and physical behavior depending upon it led to a veritable synthetic age so that synthetic silk, rubber, leather, glass bristles, resins, and plastics are now huge items of commerce. Indeed synthetic perfumes, flavors, medicinal, and even vitamins and hormones, i.e., materials of powerful psychological and physiological effect, are widely and confidently used. There is perhaps no limit to the possibility, not of duplicating nature, but of improving on natural materials. As a result man has in recent years become less dependent on all sorts of special raw materials produced by animals and plants and is more and more relying upon the great basic natural substances of coal, petroleum, natural gas, and wood for an infinite variety of special organic products.

In short, chemistry and physics have achieved a profound insight into the nature of matter and of energy and have passed far beyond the merely descriptive phase that they had reached in the days of Napoleon

The science of biology is not so fortunate and cannot as yet give a profound and satisfying definition of life. Nevertheless it, too, is more than descriptive today. During the nineteenth century biology

Biology

was "natural science" and devoted most of its attention to the exploration of the incredible diversity in the forms of life and in relating plant and animal species to each other. The first great generalization in this field, the theory of evolution, was put forth by Charles Darwin (1809-82) in *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859. This ordering of the forms of life and the unfolding of the great drama in the development of higher animals through eras measured in millions of years was again a profound shock to the human race and incompatible with ancient traditions and doctrines. The furious quarrel that ensued set science apart from those who most cherished human precepts. Even now, when the facts of evolution are more firmly established, the scars of conflict are still evident in the supposed antipathy of cold analytical science to deep human and spiritual values.

Thus the science of life has repeatedly encountered obstacles because its conclusions, unlike those of chemistry and physics, touched mankind to the quick. Nevertheless, anthropology has now sketched the evolution of man through a million years and has convincingly shown his development from a more primitive ape-like type. Physiology has applied the principles of chemistry and physics not only to the circulation of the blood but to such processes as digestion, metabolism, and cell growth. Perhaps the most important development of physical chemistry has been its success in explaining the innumerable chemical reactions which take place in the animal body and are necessary to the processes of life.

Among these the most striking are probably the reactions controlled by minute quantities of chemicals, such as enzymes, vitamins, and hormones which govern not only the normal processes of the body, but determine the disposition and reactions of the mind. At present the most poignant challenge comes from the recent isolation of definite chemical compounds that exert a profound control over body processes, i.e., the sex hormones. They control behavior and personality in an uncanny manner, due apparently to the catalytic effect of certain groupings of atoms in molecules, and can be manufactured in the laboratory from quite innocuous ordinary chemicals. It is apparent that this chemical influence and alteration of human behavior and personality will furnish the next great battleground for science.

Perhaps the most significant chapter in the life sciences is that of heredity and genetics. This originated in the purely descriptive work of the Austrian monk, Gregor Mendel (1822-1884), whose careful work on the breeding of sweet peas established the broad principles

Genetics

of the inheritance of specific traits in offspring of different parents and led to the concept of "dominant" and of "recessive" traits. His empirical principles were seized upon by plant and animal breeders for the production of many new and valuable types. As in the case of the atomic theory, many years elapsed before the actual unit of inheritance that is responsible for physical traits could be determined. In the twentieth century T. H. Morgan of New York and his collaborators succeeded in attributing the traits of individuals to the genes within the chromosome of the nucleus of the cell. The redistribution of these chromosomes in the process of reproduction and in mitosis of the reproductive cells provided a definite physical, and even mechanical, basis for the principles of Mendel. These units of genetics play much the rôle that are played by quanta in energy and by atoms in matter.

Advances in biology are of such intimate consequence to the human race that they are swiftly applied not only in the plant and animal industries, but also in medicine. Indeed, the need for knowledge in the medical sciences has always been so pressing that they have *Medicine* provided a primary incentive for research. An excellent example is the work of Pasteur (1822-1895), a chemist, who revealed the nature of infectious diseases by discovering a whole new world of living things. By his skillful use of the microscope and of the laboratory methods of chemistry he discovered bacteria and other micro-organisms and, though not a physician, was able to effect astonishing cures in diseases such as anthrax and hydrophobia. He established bacteriology and through the work of Koch (1843-1910) and many others the conquest of bacterial fevers is now almost complete. Such scourges as malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, diphtheria, and typhus have been brought under control by the rigorous application of the principles related to bacteriology.

The history of medicine is in itself a vast subject both in the mass of its detail and in its significance to humanity. It includes many subjects that were inconceivable a century ago, such as embryology, cytology, anaesthesia, modern surgery, immunology, and many others that cannot here be mentioned.

This survey would not be complete, however, without some reference to the study of the functioning of the human mind. To a large extent the science of psychology still waits upon better understanding of the chemistry and physics of the brain and of the nervous system. *Psychology* Yet many clarifying concepts have been introduced by such men as Pavlov and Freud, and the numerous social applications of their principles have made psychology one of the most active fields of present-day science. Psychiatry and psycho-analysis promise to develop fundamental units of behavior and mental action which may in time become analogous to the atom, the quantum, and the gene.

Thus it is evident that the content of science today is almost wholly differ-

ent from that of Napoleon's time Knowledge gained during the past century far outweighs that of all previous centuries The application of this knowledge has produced tremendous social consequences, including an enormous increase in the population of the earth, an extension of life expectancy to some sixty-five years, the existence of great cities, an expansion in transportation and communication which has effectively reduced the size of the earth, an incredible increase in the average wealth, comfort, and leisure of the human being, and above all, a philosophical outlook by humanity which is relatively confident and fearless Indeed the amazing success of science in solving the problems of our environment has produced a reliance upon intelligence, fact-finding, and logic which is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the present age On all sides there is insistent demand that the problems of economics and of social living—and even the pervasive problems in the spiritual realm—be solved by the same methods If the time is not yet ripe for this development it is because on the whole the outlook of science is still materialistic and mechanistic This in turn is due to the fact that the solution of fundamental problems in the mental world and even in the biological world must be delayed until the basic principles of matter and of energy are thoroughly mastered It is possible that this time has come and that we may now look to a development of biology and psychology that will rank them with chemistry and physics as exact sciences If so, it is not unlikely that in the future, units of reality will appear that cannot be considered material or mechanical and that thus the present aspect of science will be radically altered

There are many people, however, who question the ability of scientists to solve all earthly problems In the field of science as in politics, there is today a feeling of uncertainty This condition arises largely out of the inability of scientists to overcome the limitations imposed upon them by such laws as first, the conservation of mass—that in any chemical change, there is no loss or gain of mass, second, the conservation of energy—that in all physical changes there is neither destruction nor creation of energy, and third, the law that living matter cannot be made by man from non-living matter Gone is some of the assurance, the finality, and the optimism which prevailed in the Century of Hope Many scholars are no longer convinced that they possess accurate knowledge concerning the world and destiny In fact their growing knowledge of science has given them what has been aptly termed *a cosmic uncertainty*.

The Scientific Outlook

CHAPTER LXVIII

LATE MODERN AGE LITERATURE AND ART

The late modern period was a golden age in literature and art as well as in science. In literature the works of this era equalled if not surpassed those of the Renaissance. Never before had there been so much good writing, never before was there such great popular interest in literary production, and never before were so many books made accessible to the great mass of people through the printing of cheap editions and the establishment of great libraries. *A golden age*

Literary artists of distinction appeared in practically every country. Great Britain experienced a golden age (the Victorian period) as vital as any literary era in her history. In France, the classical epoch of Louis XIV was followed by the age of romanticism and realism, superior in many respects to its literary predecessor. In the Germanies the works of the Revolutionary period marked the beginning of a literary movement that was European in its scope. In Russia, in the Scandinavian countries, in Spain, and in other states, important books appeared. Most of these were stimulated by the clash of Revolutionary ideas, by the progress of science, and by the economic and social movements of their day. Thus they reflected an ardent optimism — so characteristic of the Century of Hope.

All kinds of writing — prose, poetry, drama, criticism, and historical composition — were ably done by talented men of letters, but prose, particularly prose of interest to the layman was emphasized more than poetry or the drama. It was through the medium of the novel that the great writers of the nineteenth century expressed most of their political and social ideas. But, at the same time, they produced many brilliant critical and descriptive essays.

The literary lights of the early nineteenth century carried on the struggle between classicism and romanticism which had begun in the second half of the eighteenth century. At that time Burns, Wordsworth, and Coleridge in England, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller in the Germanies, had broken away from the restraints of the artificial and stereotyped classical school, and had given free reign to their imagination and passion.

Not identified with any particular social or political philosophy, the romantics, however, did follow certain consistent literary theses in their method and style. Their thoughts were generally obtained from the inward world of personal feeling, their literary forms *Romanticists* were individualistic creations, quite independent of classical influence; and

their beliefs often "implied a return to an attitude of wonder towards the world." Many were inclined towards mysticism, and, as a result, the views of these romanticists were linked historically with the traditions of the Middle Ages. At the same time, in exalting the common people as brought out in medieval legends, folksongs, and sagas, other romanticists, especially the Germans, Schlegel and Novalis, became ardent nationalists, actually visualizing the re-establishment thereby of the perfect civilization, which (according to them) had existed in the medieval period.

The outstanding forerunner of romanticism was probably the eighteenth century Frenchman, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). By placing final authority on the powers of intuition, he gave each man personal sovereignty in matters of thought. There are those who believe that a combination of such temperamental traits led to the French Revolution.

Certainly the emotional excesses of this cataclysm produced a reaction among many of the romanticists themselves. Turning conservative, men like Fichte, Hegel, and Kant, rejected democracy and individualism in favor of a monarchical state. They considered the stability of the old authoritative society necessary as a check on arbitrary actions outside the law. Hegel, moreover, set up an idealistic philosophy of progress, which reckoned the glorious power of the state as the apogee and finality of temporal life. Similarly, the brilliant English statesman, Burke, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), defended the established order as exemplified in Great Britain and attacked the French Revolution partly because it broke with tradition. "Society," he said, "was a contract between those living, those dead, and those to be born, and could not be broken." Monarchs throughout Europe praised these words, and their intellectuals elaborated upon them. In literature, Sir

*Conservative
Romanticists*

Walter Scott (1771-1832) expressed the opposition of conservative romanticists to change. Opposed to utilitarianism, because it injured old ties of religion, patriotism, and family loyalty, he, in his novels, idealized the Middle Ages and encouraged the conservatives in their attempt to resurrect the past.

In France there were romanticists in the early nineteenth century who considered the French Revolution a gigantic mistake of history. Bonald (1754-1840), and de Maistre (1754-1821), outstanding literary reactionists, attacked not only the Revolution but also the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. They maintained, for example, that Rousseau paved the way for the massacres and the Reign of Terror when he elevated the masses by claiming that man is fundamentally good. They argued that man in his natural state is bad, that original sin as proclaimed in the Bible is the ultimate truth, and that man is only restrained from sin by some authority from above. Authority, therefore, was essential, without the power of the crown, the church, and the nobles, chaos and anarchy would result.

Many romanticists, on the other hand, upheld the principles of the French Revolution. In the Germanies, Heinrich Heine (1799-1856), the outstanding literary light of that time, embraced these concepts and expressed in his writings the sincere desire to help build a united-democratic Germany. Unfortunately by revealing the injustices of his generation, he aroused the bitter opposition of German conservatives who claimed that he advocated the overthrow of the entire social order. Liberal
Romanticists

In Great Britain, Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) was one of the leading defenders of the new bourgeois individualism. In his essays he expounded the middle-class beliefs of the Victorian Era as expressed in the famous trinity — Liberty, Utility, and Progress. Frankly materialistic, he maintained that the practical progress of mankind alone counted — all else was unimportant. He believed for example, that the government should simply maintain law and order and not concern itself with the economic activities of its people. Devout exponent of individualism, he also expressed in his essays a complacent egotism which another romantic poet, Robert Browning, perhaps unconsciously reiterated in his famous lines Macaulay

"God's in his heaven
All's right with the world"

There were romanticists in Mid-Victorian England who tended to exalt the cause of liberalism. Shelley (1792-1822), as an ardent reformer, worked for Catholic emancipation, Byron (1788-1824) lost his life in the Greek wars for independence, Mrs. Browning (1806-1861), in her sentimental poem, *The Cry of the Children*, helped to bring about factory reform, while Thackeray and George Eliot described wealth as sordid and tended to make it hateful.

Outstanding humanitarian was Charles Dickens (1812-1870). In his works dealing with the oppressed in English life, he pictured the horrors of the poor houses, the ridiculous methods in vogue in the schools, the endless delays and lack of justice in the courts, and the terrible sufferings of the unfortunates in prison for debt. His *Oliver Twist* attacked the Poor Laws because they created prisons instead of homes for the poor. His novels became the Bible of contemporary social reformers. Dickens

Most bitter were the humanitarian romanticists in their criticisms of social injustices brought about by the Technological and Industrial Revolutions. While they accepted these great upheavals as a logical phase in the economic development of the nation, they protested against the failure of society to deal properly and adequately with the new conditions. Certain romanticists, however, could see no good in these revolutions. Carlyle viewed them as monstrous things, entirely materialistic, and claimed that they would crush the spiritual instincts of the British. Humanitarian
Romanticists

people. The great devotee of art, Ruskin, felt that revolutions were responsible for much of the ugliness in life.

In France the prolific Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), was perhaps the most brilliant of a number of writers who considered the bourgeoisie as a deadly blight on all true refinement and beauty. In his novels he describes a panorama of the vices and weaknesses, the stupidity and foibles of the middle-classes in the forties. Such liberal thinkers as Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and George Sand also attacked the injustices of the new order. Victor Hugo, in his preface to *Les Misérables*, justified this literary tendency when he wrote

So long as there shall exist, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which in the face of civilization, artificially creates hells on earth and complicates a destiny that is divine with human fatality, so long as the three problems of the age — the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of woman by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual night — are not solved, so long as in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible, in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, books like this cannot be useless.

Later Émile Zola (1840-1902) continued the trend of the social novel with his powerful portrayals of life.

Even in backward Russia able literary surgeons studied the human heart and described both the noble and base impulses of men and women. Gogol (1809?-1852), in his famous work, *Dead Souls*, gives a clear understanding of Russian serfdom and its abuses. Turgenev (1818-1883), in his writings also describes social conditions in Russia, basing his famous masterpiece, *Fathers and Sons*, on the development of the Nihilist movement.

These Russian writers were in a way forerunners of another school in literature which appeared after 1870 — the realist. Influenced by the emphasis upon facts, rather than upon reason or emotion, these literary "radicals" tried in their works to reveal things as they actually exist. One of the most famous of these realists was Gustave Flaubert, (1821-1880). In his *Madame Bovary* he reveals the utter mediocrity of small-town life and shows that average qualities are in reality merely bourgeois virtues. Surpassing Flaubert as a satirist was another eminent Frenchman, Anatole France (1844-1924), who possessed many of Voltaire's skeptical traits. His best work is *Penguin Island*, a social satire in which institutions and classes are indicted rather than individuals. Property, for example, is defined as follows

"Do you see, my son," exclaimed the holy Mael, "that madman who with his teeth is biting the nose of the adversary he has overthrown, and that other one who is pounding a woman's head with a large stone?"

"I see them," said Bullock "They are creating laws, they are founding property, they are establishing the principles of civilization, the basis of society, and the foundations of the state"

Realist writers attacked various phases of modern existence In Germany, Thomas Mann (1875-) in his famous work, *Buddenbrook*, reconstructed the life of a rich merchant family In a remarkable word picture he brings out the pride and the emphasis upon wealth of the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Germany Russia's greatest realist was Count Leo Tolstoi (1828-1910) In such novels as *The Kreutzer Sonata*, *Resurrection*, and *War and Peace*, he revealed many of the cruelest inhumanities of man against man His *War and Peace* is a masterful analysis of the effects of the Napoleonic invasion of 1812 upon all people It is, moreover, a brilliant essay on the evils of war in general Though Tolstoi was a Christian mystic in thought, he was at the same time practical, analytical, and supremely realistic in his descriptions Mann Tolstoi

Most radical of all the realistic Russian writers was Maxim Gorky (1868-1937) In his famous novel, *Foma Gordeyev*, he frankly sees no good in the upper classes whom he stigmatized as exploiters of the people Discursive and increasingly revolutionary in his writings, Gorky was an active Russian communist until his death He was considered to be the outstanding literary apologist for the Bolshevik program Gorky

In certain respects the writings of the English realists were more pessimistic than those of their Russian contemporaries Men like George Gissing (1857-1903) and John Masefield (1875-) lost faith in their age and resigned themselves to hopelessness According to Masefield, the best man can do is, like Pompey, to stand fast to his principles and be crushed Somewhat less pessimistic was the outlook of the two famous Fabian socialist writers, Bernard Shaw (1856-), and H G Wells (1866-) Determined to shock society's dearest prejudices, to defy conventions, and to challenge the whole order, Shaw praised much of the work of the communists in Russia and favored the establishment of a socialist society in England through evolutionary and educational means The English Realists

While following a similar trend of thought, Wells devoted many pages to the justification of science as a blessing rather than a curse to mankind Both of these men, however, opposed violent revolution in Great Britain Living to a ripe old age, they perhaps will be in a position to see some of their predictions fulfilled

Nineteenth-century American writers also discussed the new capitalist order In Hispanic-American literature the theme most frequently exploited was that of intellectual liberty Linking this concept with that of human progress the famous Argentine poet, Andrade (1841-1882), for example, made a stirring appeal in his *Prometheus* to thinking men Hispanic-American literature

Arise thinkers!
 Progress is your triumphal herald
 And truth the desired goal
 Of your gigantic solicitude

Another basic bourgeois ideal, individual enterprise, was forcefully presented. In his *Atalantis*, Andrade calls the individual into action for the purpose of promoting the future prosperity of his country. Other Hispanic-American writers severely criticized the ruthless methods of individual enterprise and the materialistic goal of bourgeois capitalism. For instance, this rugged egoism is described in Calixto Oyuela's *Fantasia* as

The infamous scuffle
 The savage assault,
 which man calls "the struggle for life,"
 Obliterates in his confused conscience
 The desire for the deal of right

In the United States, literary artists were both favorable and adverse to bourgeois capitalism. Of these, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) might be regarded as the father of American middle-class beliefs. Staunch advocate of individualism, he gave much advice on how wealth could be best attained. His *Poor Richard's Almanac*, a compendium of maxims upon business, moral conduct, and thrift, was the bourgeois Bible of the majority of American farmers, merchants, industrialists, and bankers in the nineteenth century. During this century, certain writers, however, tended to oppose Franklin's emphasis upon the utilitarian way of living. More closely allied with romanticism, Emerson (1803-1882), and Thoreau (1817-1862) called upon men to develop their personalities and get away from the materialistic life. Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), in his lectures, frankly condemned private capitalism "with its dehumanizing profit motive" as the arch-enemy of a worthy civilization, while William Dean Howells (1837-1920), recognizing the essential tragedy inherent in the American social and economic maladjustments, gently satirized his age in his novels.

Around 1890, realist American writers began to criticize the upper bourgeoisie, the plutocrats. In his novel, *The Octopus*, Frank Norris (1870-1902) pictured the designing ends of the trusts and the cruelty of plutocracy. Such writers as Booth Tarkington and Winston Churchill also subjected the bourgeois order to sharp satire. Tarkington, in the prologue of his famous trilogy of novels entitled *Growth*, treated a dominating characteristic of the new industrial age when he wrote

But there was a spirit abroad in the land, and it was strong . . . a spirit that had moved in the depths of the American soil and labored there, sweating till it stirred the surface, roved the mountains, and emerged, tangible and monstrous, the god of all good American hearts—Bigness

The attacks on the bourgeois order were centered in the works of the post-World War writers, among whom Sinclair Lewis was outstanding. His satire is a searching criticism of the bourgeois ideals and habits, its tyrannical herd mind, and its poverty-stricken materialism. *Post war writers* His *Main Street* describes the small town, his *Babbitt* sketches the prosperous small city, and his *Arrowsmith* presents a vertical study of American life from village to metropolis.

Sinclair Lewis was especially apt at picturing bourgeois "ideals." A large income, a comfortable bank account, an enormous house, an automobile—these were the ambitions of the business classes. Salvation on earth meant physical comforts, and Bigness was the criteria of success. Babbitt (Sinclair Lewis's average American business man) loved Zenith because it "was big

and he respected bigness in anything, in mountains, jewels, muscles, wealth, or words." Standardization, as well as bigness, was his boast. "With all modesty," says Babbitt, "I want to stand up here as a representative business man and gently whisper, 'Here's our kind of folks! Here's the specifications of the standardized American citizen.'"

Many writers bitterly attacked this worship of bigness and emphasis upon standardization. Implying that big things may house little men, Edwin Markham in *Man-Making* wrote

We all are blind until we see
That in the human plan
Nothing is worth the making if
It does not make the man
Why build these cities glorious
If man unbuilded goes?
In vain we build the world unless
The builder also grows

Most pessimistic in his delineation of bourgeois life is Dos Passos (1896–) In *Manhattan Transfer*, *The 42nd Parallel*, 1919, and *The Big Money*, he displays the American middle class as one of chaos and bankruptcy. To him it seemed destined for liquidation. *Dos Passos* and he implied that America's only hope was the establishment of a reasonable social order out of the vitalizing elements that remain.

Prior to the outbreak of the World War the drama became an important vehicle of literary expression. One of the greatest dramatists was the Norwegian genius, Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906). An implacable foe of bourgeois society, Ibsen's dramas attempted to present the social problems which confronted the average people. In his *Enemy of the People* and *The Pillars of Society*, he satirized the middle classes and their conception of democracy, in *The Doll's House*, he called for the emancipation of women, and in *Ghosts*, he showed the results of syphilis as a social disease. In none of these dramas, however, did he offer any solution to these

problems, he merely presented the facts to the public. Another revolutionary, more radical even than Ibsen, was his contemporary, the Swedish writer, August Strindberg (1849-1912). In his *Upper and Lower Classes* distinct socialist views are preached.

Foremost of the German realist dramatists was Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-) In his early work, *Before Dawn*, and in his most famous one, *The Weavers*, he described the misery of the workers, especially the weavers, and the clash between employee and employer. He showed the middle classes face to face with the problem of the rising proletariat: the employers stormed, threatened to use force, pled before justice, prayed to Heaven for protection of their wealth, called the leaders of the workers demagogues, tried to split the ranks of the proletariat, but refused to ease the lot of their workers.

In spite of the economic backwardness of Russia some of the best drama of the century was produced by Russian dramatists. Gogol masterfully portrayed the corrupt Russian bureaucracy, especially the grasping provincial governors, in *The Inspector*. Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) was, probably, the outstanding dramatist of the century. Works like *Uncle Vanya* and *The Cherry Tree* brilliantly described the changes in the Russian social order, and the growing sense of decay and futility on the part of the landed class.

France produced few really great dramatists during the century, though the works of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas, the younger, are not without merit.

Similarly Great Britain could claim few outstanding playwrights during the Victorian Age. At the turn of the century, however, — notably with the advent of Bernard Shaw — English drama came into its own. Outstanding dramatists in Britain included Shaw, Sir James Barrie, Galsworthy, and Somerset Maugham. Maugham handled the dilettante interests of the English middle class in sparkling fashion. Barrie was fantastical and sentimental, with one of the keenest senses of humor that the recent period has developed. More important are John Galsworthy and Bernard Shaw. Galsworthy is regarded by certain critics as a greater master painter of social drama than Shaw. In *Strife* a powerful picture is drawn of the conflict between labor and capital. *Justice* pleads for penal and criminal law reforms. Essentially, Galsworthy is a portrait artist, not attempting to solve or analyze but merely to describe. Shaw is of a different sort. A keener analyst, a more biting critic, he has created a new form of drama based upon discussion and without the characteristic plot arrangement as the central theme. Thus his *Man and Superman* is a discussion of eugenics and socialism and *Mrs. Warren's Profession* deals with prostitution and economic exploitation. Many consider Shaw as one of the really great figures in recent English literature.

History, like literature, experienced a remarkable renaissance during the late modern period. In the early modern years, social and cultural history, stimulated by the era of discovery and the growth of nationalism, came into its own.

Men like Garcilaso de la Vega (1503-1536) and Robert Southey (1774-1843), wrote on history in the new world, and Voltaire, Robertson, Gibbon and Hallam brought out the influence of rational-^{History}ism in their historical writings. Around 1750 an interest in universal history became popular which led such men as Fontenelle, Vico, and Comte, to speculate on various theories of progress.

In the early nineteenth century romanticism gained a strong foothold in historical thinking. Reaction against the influence and spread of liberalism became popular. Chateaubriand (1768-1848) eulogized early French Christianity, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), brilliant ^{Romanticism in history} and discursive as a stylist, also tended to worship the past. His *Heroes and Hero Worship* represents his views of the superman of by-gone days, and his *French Revolution* pictures that event as a vast panorama created by heroes. As such it is a master portrait, though it lacks analytical and historical scholarship. Anthony Froude (1818-1894), a disciple of Carlyle and also a romanticist at heart, showed more ability as a scholar.

Many German historians also displayed strains of romanticism. Most of these were essentially interested in the philosophy of history. Kant (1724-1804) looked at civilization as a union between progress and order, individualism and collectivism, Fichte (1762-1814) set ^{Philosophical history} up an "ideal series" with an artistic age as the summation of all. He believed that the coming era would be dominated by absolute reason.

The philosophy of history took a different turn in the works of the historians of Great Britain, France, and the United States. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) showed the influence of the Darwinian evolutionary hypothesis in his writings. Henry Buckle (1821-1862), ^{"Scientific History"} was, however, the supreme rationalist of the period. In his comprehensive *History of Civilization in England* he tried to create history along the scientific lines of the physical scientists. Probably the most brilliant exponent of scientific history was the learned French Philosopher — Auguste Comte (1798-1857). He also set up an "ideal series" based upon three stages which he thought all civilization passes through — the theological, the metaphysical and the scientific.

After the French Revolution, nationalism influenced many of the leading figures of the nineteenth-century historical group. In Germany, especially after the compilation by Baron von Stein of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* these views became influential. Three ^{Nationalism in history} figures attracted the most attention — Droysen (1808-1884), Treitschke (1834-1896), and von Sybel (1817-1895). Droysen eulogized the Hohenzollerns, von Sybel was the exponent of German unity under Prussian leadership, and Treitschke glorified the German Empire. In France the organization of the *Society of the History of France* by Guizot

(1833) gave impetus to nationalistic history and the tradition was carried forward by Lamartine (1790-1869) who wrote on the exploits of the Girondists. Great Britain had a nationalist historian in the person of Edward Freeman (1823-1892) who found the origin of political liberty in the early German folkmoor.

Nor was the nationalist type of history excluded from the United States. In the works of George Bancroft (1800-1891), Francis Parkman (1823-1893), and John Fiske (1842-1901), patriotic exaltation in the exploits of a new and growing nation evidenced itself. This is particularly true of the work of George Bancroft, which has been aptly called the "American Aeneid."

The scientific and nationalist historical schools exerted a profound influence upon investigators in the field of economics. During the early nineteenth century the so-called "classical school" of economists ignored the historical or nationalist method. Advocates of rugged individualism and free trade, they preferred to arrive at conclusions through rationalization rather than through scientific investigation. But by the middle of the nineteenth century a school of national economists developed. These scholars, especially the Germans, List (1789-1846), Schmoller (1838-1917), and A. Wagner (1835-1917), recognized the importance of the state in the determination of economic and social policies. Advocates of tariff protection, they insisted that economists must study historic facts and thus make their subject the science of national economic development. Precursors of the post-war school of economic nationalists, they declared that all classes must cooperate in the creation of a prosperous and powerful state, so that all might benefit. Thus history, to them, was largely the story of the economic development of the state.

But the outstanding work in the field of history was accomplished by Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) and the German school. They introduced the most critical historical scholarship up to that time.

Probably the four outstanding contributions of these men were (1) A new interpretation and reorientation of the medieval period of history, (2) beginnings of extensive use of archival and contemporary collections; (3) the use of newer critical methods of analogy, and (4) a more systematic and competent organization and synthesis of evidence. Strong advocate of the use of contemporary materials in the search for truth, Ranke insisted on writing history as it actually occurred. To him every age was dominated by its own *Zeitgeist* (spirit).

Probably the greatest single influence upon history during the nineteenth century was the advent of a new economic doctrine — dialectical materialism.

Early in the century, Hegel formulated the dialectical principle of history — that society or civilization advanced because of the clash of two opposing forces. This principle was taken over by Karl Marx (1818-1883). He added a different group of forces than

*Nationalism and
economic history*

Ranke

*Dialectical
materialism in
history*

that set forth by Hegel. These forces, claimed Marx, were economic and materialistic. Thus history, according to him, moved forward by reason of opposing (dialectical) forces which were of materialistic (economic) nature.

The newer Marxian interpretation of history powerfully influenced the study of the twentieth-century historians. Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), largely on these foundations, introduced the study of intellectual history in which he reviewed the ideas, beliefs, and *Cultural history* opinions of the past. A student of his, Kurt Breysig, continued his work after his death. The American, James Harvey Robinson (1863-1936), however, was the most active figure in the execution of this newer approach. Greatest difference between this new history and the old was the acceptance of a far broader perspective in the history of civilization. While it is admitted that Ranke did introduce scientific method in historical study, the historians belonging to this new school claim that he was narrow in vision. In other words, because Ranke's perspective was limited to the study of *Weltpolitik* (world-politics), he never saw the "whole" in history.

Art and music, as well as history and literature, experienced a marked development in the late modern period. The Italians, the French, the Scandinavian peoples, and the Slavs all made valuable contributions in the field of music, but, in the nineteenth century *Music* at least, the Germans were the leaders in this form of art. Prior to that time such musicians as Bach and Mozart had made Germany the musical center of the world as a result of their stately classical compositions with their emphasis upon melody.

The outstanding representative of the revolutionary school of modern music was Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827). One of the greatest musical geniuses of all time, his work involved new conceptions and new techniques. He broke with the classical idea of music *Beethoven* as the acme of poise, of grace, and of sheer perfection. Because of his rebellion he is often called the man who "freed" music.

Beethoven's conception of music was romantic. He believed in the triumph of inner feeling and rejected the conventionality of classicism. In his own words art was the "communication of the divine, a higher revelation than all wisdom and all philosophy," and music "more emotion than tone-painting."¹

The emotional power of Beethoven's musical explorations remain unsurpassed to this day. There is no doubt but that his works reflect the radical romanticism ushered in by the era of the French Revolution. The new

¹ Interpretations of Beethoven's position in music differ. According to H. Leichtentritt "neither Haydn nor Beethoven can be called real romanticists, though romantic ideas sometimes penetrate into the solid, clear structure of their classical form." Moreover, the *Pastoral Symphony* is an example of tone painting in program music. See H. Leichtentritt *Music, History, and Ideas*, p. 202.

musical thought of this master artist, moreover, revealed a sympathetic appreciation of the revolutionary tradition. He dedicated his Third Symphony (*Eroica*) to Napoleon when he considered the little Corsican to be the champion of the masses, but destroyed his dedication when Bonaparte declared himself emperor.

At the same time Franz Schubert (1797-1827) was quietly writing songs which have never been surpassed for their sheer simplicity of beauty. Among the most famous of these is his *Avia Maria*. He also performed remarkable work in the composition of symphonies, and his *Unfinished Symphony* is noted for its beautiful interweaving of melody.

In the early part of the century the Italians produced fine music. Cherubini (1760-1842) was the last of the great line of Italian church composers, Spontini (1774-1851) was regarded as the final master of the old Neapolitan lyrical tradition, and Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) was considered the outstanding figure in the field of opera.

One of the foremost contributions of the revolution in music was the modern symphony orchestra. This orchestral development paralleled the mass production activities in the economic sphere during the nineteenth century. Whereas the leading composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — Mozart, Haydn, and Bach — had to compose for piano (the harpsichord) or organ, and had also to limit their activities in the wind instruments to simple passages, the development of mechanical perfection of the brass and wood-winds in the nineteenth century offered innumerable opportunities for the exploitation of more intricate musical scores. Alongside of this perfection in mechanical exactness, came the development of the orchestra.

The orchestra is truly a modern product. Lacking the necessary instruments the small string and ensemble groups with which the musicians Bach and Vivaldi worked can hardly be called orchestras. It was only in the nineteenth century that artists like Boehm and Albert perfected instruments, especially the wood-winds and the brasses, to such an extent that they could be incorporated into a workable group in conjunction with the violin family. These three major divisions, then, formed the nucleus of the modern orchestra.

This orchestral development was aided by the technical perfection of the instruments. In Bach's day, for instance, the trumpet player had to insert or change an entire section of tubing before he could go into a different key. However, the simple valve system that was perfected in the nineteenth century made this method obsolete. Towards the latter half of the century a new element, the drum, was added. The bass drum was an innovation from Turkey, and when Peter Tschaiikowsky introduced a variant of the xylophone in one of his works, the percussions were definitely established as

an important unit of the orchestra. At present, the modern symphonic orchestra is composed of four basic sections—the violin family, the woodwinds (such as reed instruments, and flutes), the brasses (such as trumpet and tuba), and the percussion (such as the drum, the cymbal, and the glockenspiel).

This orchestral evolution increased the importance of the orchestra in the opera. Hitherto its rôle had been essentially subordinate, providing mere accompaniment to the voice. Weber (1786–1826), often called the father of modern orchestration, increased the instrumental elements, and made the orchestral unit play a leading part in the action at times. This is exemplified in his opera, *Der Freischütz* in which the action in the scene depicting the casting of the silver bullets is almost wholly taken over by the orchestra. Wagner of Germany (1813–1883) and Verdi (1813–1901) of Italy, however, were the two leading composers of opera wherein the orchestra played an important rôle.

These musicians were also the outstanding interpreters of nationalism in music. Wagner has to this day remained the symbol of German unity and expression. His *Meistersinger* is primarily a glorification of German civilization, a hymn celebrating its triumphs in the fields of art and science. Verdi also expressed desire for Italian unity in his compositions and the phrase "Viva Verdi" was the rallying cry of the Italian people during the critical years of unification. So important a representative of the *Risorgimento* was he that one writer even claimed that "it is probably not going too far to say that Verdi played a more important and decisive part in the liberation of Italy than even Mazzini, Garibaldi, or Cavour themselves, individually, although the fact has yet to be recognized by historians."

Yet Wagner seems to be the more domineering figure. As the "Napoleon of music" he sought to subordinate it to drama.

When Wagner declared that music should only be the means to the end of drama, we are reminded of Napoleon's contemptuous exclamation made in the course of negotiations with Metternich—"What are the lives of a million French soldiers to me!" No ruler with the interests of his subjects at heart, no composer with the interests of music at heart could possibly speak thus, and the explanation of it is to be found in the simple fact that Wagner was no more a true musician at heart than Napoleon was a Frenchman. The reason, why Wagner adopted music as the principle vehicle for the expression of his ideas is simply to be found in the fact that music was, more than any other art, the dominant art of the nineteenth century, and the one best fitted to his purposes.¹

The importance of the German masters during the nineteenth century caused many people to underestimate musical contributions of composers in

¹ C. Gray, *History of Music*, pp. 207–208.

other lands. It is only recently that they have begun to recognize the importance of the French school. Hector Berlioz (1803-1869), for example, has been vastly underrated. His masterful work in the field of orchestration and rhythmical device in the percussion stands as a living monument to his genius. Composing music full of sinister vibration, this ardent romanticist, in an orgy of musical fanaticism, showed his hatred "for the Philistines and classicists and society itself." Recognizing his greatness, the poet Heine called him "a gigantic nightingale, a lark the size of an eagle, such as they say existed in the primitive world."

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the Russian musicians came into their own. Heirs of a geographic and ethnographic Asiatic tradition, they wrote music that showed the influence of the orient on Russian life and culture. Moreover, their compositions reflected, by means of abrupt interchanges of major and minor tonalities, the staidness and pessimism of the Russian masses.

Perhaps the greatest musical genius that Russia has produced was Peter Tschaiikowsky (1840-1893). His compositions were among the most brilliant and individualistic of that time. Their boldness, passionate melancholy, and varied contrasts, all seem to convey to the listener an appreciation of the unrest of the Russian people prior to the revolution.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there occurred a revolt against this emotional, sentimental, and passionate type of music. While fundamentally romantic, this new school emphasized impressionism. The leading exponent of this type was Claude Debussy (1862-1918). He attempted to emphasize the tonal impression which he received from the outward forms of nature. Striving to portray in his music the realities of life, he introduced such novelties as the whole-tone scale, creating thereby harmonies which to the ordinary listener at first seemed to be ugly discords. Other disciples of the modern musical trend, such as R. Strauss, Scriabin and Stravinsky tried to create new musical effects. At the same time many exponents of the more conservative romantic and nationalist school, such as the Norwegian composer, Grieg, and the Finnish genius, Sibelius, were producing their monumental works.

Painting, sculpture, and architecture also were vitalized during the late modern period. In these fields, as in literature and music, the seeds of romanticism sprouted forth. Artists broke with the past in their belief that the spiritual world was granted to the artistic mind through the medium of imagination. Each painter became, thereby, an artistic Protestant—one who was able to interpret for himself, and not to build upon precedent. This attitude was expressed in the words of Goethe, when he said:

"I hate everything that merely instructs me, without increasing or indirectly arousing my activity. My friends held me incompetent in

philosophical discussion But I, as an artist, considered this a little matter Indeed, I prefer that the principle by which I work should be hidden from me I have never thought much about thinking Poets produce their best works, as women do pretty children, without thinking about it, or knowing how it is done

France and Spain were the centers of this romanticism at the turn of the century Outstanding representative of this school was Jacques David (1748-1825) Despised by his contemporaries during the rule of Louis XVI, it was not until the French Revolution that he became the triumphant figure in the world of art As a member of the Revolutionary Convention of 1792 he was instrumental in bringing about the dissolution of the "feudal" Academy, as he called it In 1794 the new *Institut* was founded partly with his help, and in 1803 reconstructed by the decree of Napoleon

Probably the most violent romanticist of the period was Eugene Delacroix (1799-1863) Sprung from revolutionary parents, this man was the implacable foe of realism "A realistic poetry," he said, "could one conceive of that monstrosity, is a contradiction in terms" A great traveller, especially in the Near East, he deliberately avoided Italy for fear that he be influenced by the works of the classical masters of the Renaissance His principal expressive element in pictorial design was a natural feeling for color

Though somewhat antedating romanticism, Francisco Goya (1746-1828) belonged to the same school Probably the greatest painter Spain has produced since Velasquez, he was a deadly enemy of the Church and of War In his series of etchings called *The Disasters of War* there is a brilliant characterization of the stupidity, cruelty, and sadistic fury of militarism One of the few bold painters of the era, his taunting barbs were directed not only against Napoleon, but also against certain influences in his native country "As though possessed of demons, he ripped aside the veil of pretense and illusion to reveal the festering cancer of society's moral and spiritual decay"¹

John Constable (1776-1837) was the leading English romantic painter, a great landscape artist, he was impressed, not by perfection and order in nature, but by its irregularity and variety of movement and color Influenced by such work as Constable, a definite school grew up in France around 1830 whose members were chiefly interested in landscape painting Centering about the little city of Barbizon, they began to be known as the Barbizonists This group is particularly famous because of one man — Camille Corot (1796-1875) His pictures are noted for their excellence of composition, perfection of balance, casual simplicity, indescribable charm, and freedom from strain and artificiality. Famous also in the romantic school was J Millet (1814-1875) who interpreted the eternal struggle of the French peasant with the soil.

¹ Robb and Garrison, *Art in the Western World*, p 604

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the realists challenged the supremacy of the romanticists in the world of painting. They attempted to describe nature as it is seen by the eye, unmodified by abstract ideas or poetic sentiment. The French artist, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), can well be remembered as the man who demonstrated the truth that it is not so much *what* the subject matter is as *how* it is painted. Henri Daumier (1808-1879) developed, especially through the use of political lithograph work, one of the most concentrated and dramatic styles in French art. His drawing *Soup*, a typical example, shows a half-starved couple voraciously devouring their dinner, both from the same dish.

Realism in painting

About 1865 the impressionistic school began to develop. This group tried in their works to reproduce an even closer approximation to the physical processes of seeing. Edouard Manet (1818-1883) created a sensation by his nude figures. During the showing of his *Olympia* special guards had to be posted to protect the painting. Another member of this school, Claude Monet (1840-1926), did fine work in his analysis of light and color. Having very little moralistic bias, Monet's pictures show the effects of a pantheist and naturalist seeking to discover beauties in nature. Other artists who belonged to this group are Pissarro, Sisley, Degas, and Renoir.

Impressionism in painting

Impressionism in art had many defects, and Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) turned to the correction of them. His efforts established another artistic school which has been called post-impressionism. In Cézanne's own words their object was "to make of Impressionism something as solid and durable as the old masters themselves." In attempting this he arrived at a more elliptical and abstract method of painting. Probably as famous as Cézanne was the Dutch painter Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890). During his short and passionate life, this half mad, mystical, and very religious preacher to the poor succeeded in evolving a most distinctive style which is characterized by an unusual color effect. So brilliant were his strokes that one is amazed at the radiancy these "bundles of energy" provide. Few pictures have ever been more full of color than his "He paints . . . the sun-drenched wheat fields as if they were caldrons of molten gold."

Cezanne

Influenced by the ideas of Cézanne, contemporary painters were dominated by a passion for novel construction. Artists like Georges Braque (1881-) and Pablo Picasso (1881-) for many years painted pictures with no subject matter. Their works consist primarily of geometrical forms with fine relationships and excellent color. Such social movements as communism and socialism, have also affected art. Two Mexican artists have revived the technique of mural painting. Diego Rivera and José Orozco have declared art to be the language

Contemporary painting

of the people and their work is concerned with social and economic themes — the history of labor, the machine, and the worker

The nineteenth-century general revolt in art evidenced itself also in sculpture. Classic and rococo styles of the Ancien Régime were abandoned in favor of works which showed the influence of neo-classicism and romanticism. The German scholar, Winckelmann, played an important rôle in the move to destroy the old forms. Considered to be the founder of modern neo-classicism, he developed an ideal in his writings which was motivated by the search for pure beauty. Only the Greeks, he believed, ever attained this ideal. *Sculpture*

The extent of Winckelmann's neo-classic influence on early nineteenth-century sculpture can be seen in the work of Antonio Canova (1757-1822) whose *Pauline Borghese* is an excellent example of neo-classic style. But the Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), was probably a better exponent of the Winckelmann idea, since he was less affected by the rococo style than was his Italian contemporary. John Flaxman (1755-1826) shows the same tendency in England and Hiram Powers (1805-1873) is the best known exponent of neo-classicism in America. *The Classicists*

First true romantic sculptor was probably Jean Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-1875) who seems to have translated the style of the painter Ruben's into stone. The culmination of this type of art is found in the work of Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). At no time, not even in the Middle Ages, was French sculpture so completely dominant as during the period of Rodin. By means of successive hollows and projections, he was able to bestow reality upon his work, and by the skillful use of light and shade he created a sense (somewhat akin to that of the Impressionists in painting) of reality to his figures. All the artistic actuality, all the psychological penetration, indeed all the pictorial beauty of sculpture may be seen in his crowning masterpiece — *The Kiss*. While at a first glance the work of the American artist, Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907), seems different from that of Rodin, deeper penetration will reveal the fact that he also attempted to give universal meanings to abstractions through the use of figure and setting. The *Adams Memorial* is characteristic. In it the sculpture shows the spiritual exhaustion of the modern mind. Saint-Gaudens may rightly be called the American counterpart of Rodin. *Romanticism and naturalism*

The Rodinesque methods have recently been adopted by a great many American and European sculptors. Outstanding protagonist in the United States is George Gray Barnard (1863-). The reaction, however, against the technical and interpretative exaggerations of the Rodin school, is found in the work of Aristide Maillol (1861-) whose *Seated Woman* is representative. *Influence of Rodin*

Starting from the belief that mathematics is the basis of all good art, Cubism has also entered the field of sculpture. Its aim has been to por-

tray what is considered to be the most sublime character of its subjects by emphasizing the mathematical relationships found in them Constantin Brancusi (1879-) is one of the chief exponents of this school

The romantic movement was a reaction from Cubism It attempted to restore character or the human element in art The American, Paul Manship (1885-) is a representative artist of this school Probably the greatest living sculptor, however, is the Yugoslavian artist, Ivan Městrovic (1883-) His tremendous power and virile expression are distilled from his intensely nationalistic spirit Another outstanding Rodin type may be found in the work of Carl Milles (1875-), the Swedish sculptor, whose statues were exhibited at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago (1933)

Architecture was also profoundly affected by the romantic movement in the early half of the nineteenth century A Gothic revival took place in England where, between 1840 and 1860, the Houses of Parliament were built according to that style Towards the middle of the century, however, Eclecticism became the vogue Having as their only criteria the freedom to choose freely from all historical styles, the exponents of the movement built such houses as the *Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevieve* in Paris

It was in America that the most distinctive architecture was probably produced Influenced by national pride, and by the ready-made rustic colonial styles, governmental and private edifices of substantial and original beauty were erected Moreover, the classic style took hold in American architecture The Capitol in Washington, D C, the best example of this style, is evidence of a marked national pride

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries architecture was deeply influenced by the theory of functionalism The use of iron and steel in buildings helped this theory along, since it had as its basis the belief in the use of architecture for utilitarian ends The Brooklyn Bridge and the Eiffel Tower show the effects of steel construction, but the modern skyscraper is the best representative of this type For the first time, the world evolved a kind of architecture without the suggestion of an historical style Outstanding exponent of this newer aim was the American architect, Louis Henry Sullivan (1856-1925) First to synthesize the ideals of the new functionalistic architecture he summed up his aims in the phrase — "form follows function." After his death, his student and one-time assistant, Frank Lloyd Wright, continued this type of work

Contemporary architecture adheres for the most part to Sullivan's views Formal beauty is attained through the observation of functional requirements, and geometrical motives are usually employed to enhance the mechanical exactness of the buildings

Since the World War many planned communities have sprung up. Built

as low-cost housing experiments, they have been used by worker's organizations to provide better housing facilities at a lower cost. Of these, the outstanding example is the group of *Worker's Houses at the Hook of Holland* Constructed in 1926-1927, ^{*Housing and architecture*} they represent a crowning achievement for the architect J J P Oud (1890-) who is probably the outstanding figure of the day in community design.

Recently, dancing has again become prominent as one of the fine arts, representing a universal language of expression. This is due to its development as a medium of interpretation in conjunction with the great musical works of the past. Two artists have contributed ^{*Dancing*} much to this development. Salvatore Vigano (1769-1819), the great Neopolitan dancer, worked persistently on perfection in technical execution, and taught the methodology of the ballet. He attempted to bring about a closer relation between dancing and music by the use of rhythmic pantomime. Carlo Blasis, also born in Naples but of the next generation, created the method of the ballet which is today still the backbone of the traditions of the "danse d'école." His *Code of Terpsichore* published in 1829 is his principal claim to fame. Translated into all of the European languages it became the standard textbook of ballet dancing in Europe.

During the early twentieth century, two schools of dancing developed. One, a western model, was represented by the Californian — Isadora Duncan. The other, the Russian type, championed by the slav, Fokine. Duncan's ideal has been expressed in her book, a series of essays entitled *The Art of Dance*. In this work she said,

People have never understood my true aim. They have thought that I wished to form a troupe of dancers to perform in the theatre. Certainly nothing was farther from my thoughts. Far from wishing to develop theatre dancers, I have only hoped to train in my school members of children who through dance, music, poetry, and song would express the feelings of the people with grace and beauty.

All promise for the future I see in a great school where children will learn to dance, to sing, to live for the Wisdom and Beauty of the world.

Fokine's conception was expressed by him when he declared that every ballet demanded a new technique, which was conditioned by its style, music, and meaning. It was largely through his efforts that the Russian ballet has continued to hold the commanding position it has gained in that field.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE LATE MODERN AGE THE NEW IMPERIALISM

During modern times Europe experienced two periods of imperialist expansion. The first, extending from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century, consisted primarily of competitive colonial movements sponsored by the powerful dynasties of Europe. Following the great explorations of the early modern period, religious enthusiasts, explorers, adventurers, and traders went forth to the New and the Old Worlds, founded colonies, and enabled ambitious kings to establish overseas empires. Out of the European expansion rose a new economic doctrine — mercantilism — a doctrine whereby the state proceeded to monopolize the economic life of the nation through the acquisition of wealth, the creation of a favorable balance of trade, and the attainment of economic self-sufficiency. Colonies were established primarily to enable the mother country to reach these ends.

Early modern expansion

In the eighteenth century opposition developed in the colonial world against European control. Determined to work out their own economic destinies, colonies condemned, and in the case of the Thirteen American Colonies, revolted against the system whereby they were regulated, politically and economically, by the mother country. Meanwhile, occupied by the internal problems which rose out of the revolutionary movements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the European states* became less interested in colonies. Until the third quarter of the nineteenth century they were primarily concerned with national and industrial consolidation rather than with imperial ventures.

About 1870 economic developments forced the European countries to engage in the second wave of imperial expansion. This so-called new imperialism was essentially an outgrowth of the capitalistic and industrial systems, just as the old imperialism resulted largely from national-mercantilistic policies. The growth of large-scale business, with giant output and enormous profits, led to a vast increase of capital which encouraged a further growth and expansion of business enterprises. Out of the changed economic order arose a new nobility — the industrial and financial plutocrats. During the nineteenth century these men, especially in England, taking political control from the landed aristocracy, paved the way for the subordination of the state to business interests.

But this development of capitalism threatened its very existence. Unre-

stricted competition forced individual industries to expand, to lower costs by adopting labor-saving devices, to discharge at times large numbers of wage-earners, and thereby to decrease the number of consumers able to purchase their goods

This capitalistic society found itself in a very embarrassing situation, there being more goods to sell but relatively fewer people to buy them, and also more monetary capital but fewer productive enterprises in which to invest. The domestic market being cluttered with a surplus of goods, capitalists, to avoid devastating depressions, were forced to seek foreign markets which would absorb not only the excess production, but also the idle capital which had been accumulated.

Moved by these considerations, and encouraged by the development of rapid transportation and communication, groups of capitalists induced their governments to establish protective tariffs and to encourage imperialist expansion. Thus mercantilism, called neo-mercantilism or economic nationalism today, was revived. Economic self-sufficiency now became the great objective—an end to be reached by colonial expansion, tariffs, state aid, and methods of discrimination which controlled the markets, raw materials, and economic opportunities in the interests of the nationals.

Although the material benefits of imperialistic ventures were enjoyed by the few—wealthy merchants, industrialists, capitalists, certain missionaries, and high military and naval officers—the general public supported territorial expansion. National pride led the masses to urge the acquisition of strategic naval bases, colonial markets, and the control of raw materials. Many of them subscribed to Kipling's concept of the "white man's burden," and looked upon imperialism as a crusade to give the world the benefits of a superior civilization. Pious Christians—both Catholic and Protestant—also viewed imperialism as primarily a means whereby the true faith could be carried to the heathen. Frequently the precursors of the movement, the Christian missionaries, aroused a popular interest in these heathen lands, and by their activities demonstrated to traders and capitalists the unexploited economic potentialities of these backward countries.

In this struggle for empire which became intensified in the 'seventies, Great Britain had a distinct advantage. Prior to that time all the great colonial empires had declined save that of Great Britain. True, she had lost the Thirteen Colonies in 1783, but she had soon replaced them by taking possession of Australia and New Zealand, by expanding her interests in India, and by obtaining, as a result of Napoleon's downfall, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Guiana, Trinidad, Malta, and other possessions. Then, while the European states were trying to solve internal problems, England developed her empire and evolved new methods of control, such as self-government for certain colonies, as, for ex-

*Patriotism,
religion, and
imperialism*

*British expansion
before 1800*

ample, Canada, in 1840 By 1870, Great Britain possessed the largest empire of all time, an empire which included about one-fourth of the globe and which provided havens for emigrants and sources of tremendous wealth

Two other nations, Russia and the United States, by 1870 had established great empires, although in these instances it was national expansion rather than economic imperialism Russia had expanded in Asia until her dominions reached the Pacific In North America the United States extended her frontier until it reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans Thus, by 1870, three countries ruled over the major part of the world No wonder that certain European states felt dwarfed and oppressed

*Expansion of
Russia and
United States*

Impelled by the need for markets, raw materials, investment-opportunities, and havens for emigrants, these countries after 1870 entered into a race to obtain the unoccupied portions of the earth France and Belgium, and belatedly, Germany and Italy, entered the field, determined to win at least a place in this important contest Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands, conscious of prizes won in the earlier cycle of modern imperialism, entered the game, while Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, seasoned veterans, continued to compete They soon became the favorites in the race, as Austria, alone, of the great powers abstained from overseas colonialism

*Chief imperialist
nations*

The scenes of this great imperialistic struggle lay in Africa, in Asia, and in the Pacific The United States, through the famous Monroe Doctrine, forbade further colonization in the Americas But the prizes offered in the other continents seemed to satisfy the participants

*Imperialism
in Africa*

During the course of the contest, the intense rivalry threatened to precipitate a general war Fortunately, the diplomats were able to avoid such a catastrophe until the World War of 1914 Within forty-years, the greater parts of available territories in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, had been parcelled out as rewards among the powers

The widespread interest in this international contest and the importance of the prizes awarded would seem to justify a description of the event Businessmen, statesmen, soldiers, sailors, explorers, and missionaries—all were involved in it It was characterized by private exploration, public enterprise, conquest, and international agreements Winner of the first prize was Great Britain She acquired tremendous new territories in Africa which gave her a continuous influence from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, broken only by German East Africa, which came under her imperial control after the World War She also was awarded important possessions in Asia, in Oceania, and in Malaya

Egypt and the Boer states in South Africa were Great Britain's outstanding African prizes In the contest to gain Egypt, Great Britain, however, encount-

ered the keen competition of France. The latter country had long been interested in North Africa. She had established a post near the mouth of the Senegal River in 1626, and during the reign of Louis XIV, she had acquired Gorée (1677), annexed Madagascar, and founded *France in Africa* posts on the Ivory Coast. She also had established headquarters for slave traffic near the mouth of the Senegal River. During the early nineteenth century she had increased her possessions in that continent, beginning the occupation of Algeria in 1830 and bringing that country into subjection by 1847, despite brave resistance led by the native chieftain, Abd-el-Kader. Native uprisings and border raids by the semi-nomadic, Moslem Berbers of the Sahara, Tunis, and Morocco, forced the French to extend their control beyond the boundaries of Algeria. Gradually they began to penetrate the Sahara and press eastward toward Tunis. This defensive expansion resulted in the annexation of Tunis (1881) — long considered by the Italians as a logical field for colonization — and in the acquisition of Morocco, despite the opposition of Germany (1905–1911).

While France was establishing an empire in Northwest Africa, Great Britain challenged that country's plan to acquire Egypt. This ancient land was strategically located near the main highways of trade connecting Europe with Asia. It was under the rule of a clever *Egypt* Albanian adventurer, Mehemet Ali (1769–1849), who had secured virtual independence from his nominal sovereign, the sultan of Turkey.¹ But his successors were less capable. Wasting huge sums of money on lavish entertainments, vast projects, futile conquests, one, Ismail, by name, obtained loans from French and British bankers at high rates of interest, and, by the 'seventies, this spendthrift found himself near bankruptcy.

Unable to borrow more money, Ismail in 1875 was forced to sell his interest in the Suez Canal. This waterway had been built with European capital, under the direction of a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, and was opened in 1869. France, crippled by the costly war with Prussia (1870–1871), could not purchase Ismail's stock. Disraeli, Prime Minister of Great Britain, thereupon borrowed the money from the Rothschilds and purchased the shares for his country. Financial troubles within Egypt soon forced both France and Great Britain to intervene and to take over control of its finances in order to protect British and French creditors. This dual control, however, broke down in 1883 because France had failed to join Great Britain in an attempt in the preceding year to put down a nationalist rebellion. Thereupon, England suppressed the uprising and extended her influence over Egypt. Moved by a threat of a Turkish attack upon the Suez Canal in 1914, Great Britain finally established a protectorate over Egypt which lasted until 1922, when Egypt was granted limited independence.

Following the withdrawal of France from active participation in Egyptian

¹ See pp 946–947

affairs (1883), Great Britain and France engaged in a struggle for control of the Nile basin and the Red Sea, south of Egypt. Hoping to establish a transcontinental empire, France now attempted to extend her control across Africa from Tunis to her colony of Somaliland on the Red Sea (secured in 1862 by Napoleon III). Great Britain opposed this French advance, realizing that British ascendancy in the region south of Egypt was necessary in order to protect her water-highway to India and to carry out her project of a Cape-to-Cairo railway. A crisis between the two nations arose in 1898 when a French expedition under Captain Marchand faced a superior British force under Lord Kitchener. The French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, decided to avert a war at this time and gave way. Thus, England, left supreme in the Sudan, was in a position to dominate the whole of the upper Nile Valley. As we shall see, the rivalry between France and Great Britain was liquidated later when all conflicting interests were compromised and the famous *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 was arranged.

While the British and the French were quarreling over control of North Africa, the Italians were trying to set up an empire on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Establishing their supremacy in Eritrea (1882) and Somaliland (1889), they then attempted to conquer the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia. Native opposition, aided by the French, checked the advance of the invaders, who suffered a humiliating defeat at Adowa in 1896. This repulse resulted in the temporary neglect of Italian imperialism. In 1906, the French and the British determined to dominate North Africa, entered with Italy into a tripartite agreement that defined the economic interests of these countries in Ethiopia and guaranteed the integrity and independence of that state. Five years later Italy revived her policy of imperial expansion. Having arranged a friendly understanding with France, Russia, and Great Britain concerning her designs on Tripoli, she took advantage of local uprisings in that land to impose a war on its owner, Turkey, and thereby to seize not only Tripoli in Northern Africa, but also the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea (1911-1912).

Whereas Great Britain, France, and Italy were the chief rivals in the race to acquire control of North Africa, the contest for the central part of that continent was characterized by keen competition among a number of other powers. Prior to the start of the race in 1880, the British, French, and Portuguese had established footholds along the west coast, but the hinterland had remained neglected. Representatives of all nations interested in this region met at Brussels in 1876 and formed the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Africa." King Leopold II, of Belgium (1865-1909), was especially concerned with this humanitarian project. He had heard of the populous districts of the Congo, with their valuable natural resources, particularly

gold, diamonds, copper, wild rubber, ivory, palm products, and tropical woods. Determined not only to give the natives the questionable benefits of civilization, but also to get possession of these important material things, he and his associates established a "Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo." This body sent the famous explorer, Stanley, in 1879, to negotiate treaties with the natives, build roads, and establish trading centers. Overcoming with difficulty the rivalry of the Portuguese and the French, Leopold in 1884 was recognized by all powers as head of the Congo Free State.

*The Congo
Free State*

In control of one of the most fertile regions in Africa, covering over a million square miles, Leopold proceeded to exploit his empire. He pretended that his interest in the Congo was primarily humanitarian, but certain humanitarian Englishmen, in 1903 and 1904, proved to the world that Leopold, in order to obtain huge profits, was treating the natives brutally. Public indignation became so great that Leopold was forced, in 1908, to hand over the Congo Free State to Belgium in return for a handsome indemnity. Reforms were introduced by the Belgian government in its administration of the Congo Free State, and slowly the evils of European imperialism were removed.

Influenced by the reports of the fabulous economic resources to be found in the Congo Basin, a number of great powers entered the contest in this region. They met at Berlin in 1884-1885, and at that meeting they declared solemnly that they would maintain free trade in the Congo, would abolish slavery and the slave trade, would establish effective occupation — not a paper declaration, — and would treat the natives as "children of God." Having thus drawn up the rules of the game, they quickly partitioned the west coast of Africa, disregarding some of the pious promises set forth in the Berlin Conference. France obtained a vast area above the Free State, most of the Senegal and Niger river basins, the greater part of the Sahara and western Sudan, and reoccupied the island of Madagascar to which she had an old claim. Great Britain increased her holdings on the Guinea coast and enlarged her colony of Nigeria, especially in the region between the Niger River and Lake Chad. Germany acquired the Cameroons and Togoland. Disputes between the French, the British, and the Germans were settled by compromise arrangements.

*Partition of
West Africa*

Great Britain, Germany, and Portugal partitioned the west coast below the Congo. Portugal got the large colony of Angola, Germany obtained a barren area between Angola and British Cape Colony, which was called German West Africa. Before England would recognize Germany's conquest, she obtained Germany's recognition of her claim to the strategic Walfish Bay, on the coast of the German colony. By 1914 the entire west coast of Africa, with the exception of Liberia, a protégé of the United States, which was ostensibly independent, had succumbed to European rule.

The east coast was also partitioned Portugal revived her claim to Mozambique, Great Britain extended her empire to include Uganda, and Germany and Great Britain divided the sultanate of Zanzibar (1890), establishing colonies known respectively as German and British East Africa

*Partition of
East Africa*

In South Africa British imperialism was triumphant In 1815, Great Britain annexed the Dutch colonies in Cape Town Resenting alien rule, the Boers, or Dutch, moved to the north, founding the independent republic of Natal (1838), the Orange Free State (1836), and the Transvaal (1838) Natal was soon taken over by the British, but the other two provinces retained their independence until 1877 At that time Disraeli annexed the Transvaal, but in 1881 Gladstone recognized the independence of the two Boer republics again

The Boers

During the next two decades imperialist sentiment in Great Britain forced the British government to further the cause of expansion in Africa Under the direction of Cecil Rhodes, the diamond magnate and empire builder, a British protectorate was established in 1885 in Bechuanaland, to the north of Cape Colony Later Rhodes extended British control to Lake Tanganyika, over the region which came to be known as Rhodesia

In 1899-1902, Great Britain took possession of the Boer countries of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Discovery of valuable gold mines in those lands, and the influx of British citizens to these Boer states led to trouble between the Uitlanders (foreigners) and the Boers Influenced by the appeals of the Uitlanders for help, Great Britain finally decided to intervene In the war that followed, the British encountered great difficulty in crushing the Boer states Directed by able leaders, the Dutch fought a successful guerrilla warfare against the British, who were forced to put over half a million men in the field It was only after three years of bitter struggle that the Boers agreed to peace terms By 1902 British arms were victorious and the whole of South Africa was brought under the sway of imperial England

*British conquest
of Africa*

Having protected its subjects in their desire to participate in the economic exploitation of the Dutch republics, the British liberal government in 1910 created a self-governing federation in South Africa A federal union of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and Cape Colony was created in which liberal home rule and constitutional government were established

Thus, by 1914 Europe dominated all Africa, with the exception of Liberia and Abyssinia Of the competing powers, Great Britain and France had won first and second prize respectively. Belgium and Portugal had obtained valuable awards But Germany and Italy, despite their resources and great power status, were unable to secure colonies commensurate with their dignity and prestige, in Africa. They both remained land-hungry.

European powers competed against one another in Asia as well as in

Africa In the early modern period the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English established trading posts and obtained holdings in various parts of this continent But Russia acquired the largest empire in that center of European rivalry

One of the most remarkable movements of modern times was the expansion of Russia from the small duchy of Moscow to a great empire of about 8,650,000 square miles and a population of 170,000,000

In Asia this expansion occurred in three regions northern Asia — through Siberia to the Pacific Ocean, Alaska, and California, the heart of Asia — through Turkestan to China, Afghanistan, and India, and the Caucasus — through Georgia and Daghestan to Persia The outstanding motives for this increase of territory were the desire of an agrarian nation for more land, the ambition for increased trade connections with the great commercial centers of the orient, the extension of the fur trade, the acquisition of ice-free ports, and the establishment of defensible frontiers on the east and the southeast against the wild nomadic tribes of the steppes of central Asia Moreover, the Russians had a civilizing mission to perform They wanted to bring order and civilization to Asia and to convert the natives to Greek Christianity

The success of Russian expansion was due partly to a favorable geographic location, Russia being the only great European state whose borders touch the continent of Asia Her autocratic government was a factor which favored expansion because of its centralization, and because it was the type of government which was understood by and appealed to the numerous tribes of Asiatics in Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia Also, the Russians were experienced in the use of bribery, intrigue, and force when necessary Finally, imperial officials studied the languages and customs of the East, and in establishing Russian supremacy, gained the support of the conquered peoples by simply asking them to recognize the tsar, to pay an annual tribute, and to stop pillaging Drastic political and social reforms were not usually imposed upon the natives

In the earlier attempts to obtain holdings in Asia, European nations (save Russia) only touched the fringes of that great continent Great Oriental states like China were practically ignored They continued to pursue their own courses and policies until the great wave of nineteenth-century imperialism engulfed them

The rapid industrial transformation of Western Europe brought about the exploitation of the economic resources of Asia Faced with expansion or destruction, the various capitalistic countries struggled for control of different parts of that continent By 1914 they had largely destroyed the seclusion of its ancient peoples and had brought the greater part of them under European political or economic control

In Asia the Chinese Empire, because of its tremendous population, great

natural resources, and political disorganization, was the most promising field for the European contest. Actually, the unpopular Manchu dynasty (1644-1912) controlled only the central portions of that empire. The outlying regions, such as Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Sinkiang, were sparsely settled frontier districts which possessed virtual independence.

For many centuries China was the home of the predominant civilization of the Far East. Other peoples, such as those who lived in Siam, Burma, and Indo-China, imitated it, and were practically vassals of China. Considering her customs and traditions ideal and eternal, China resented all foreign intrusions or innovations. As early as the fifth century B.C. a great Chinese philosopher warned his people against expansion by the sword. He wrote:

Here is a man who enters his neighbor's orchard and steals some peaches and plums therefrom. When this is known he is condemned and fined by the government. Wherefore? Because he has injured his neighbor to profit himself.

And if he steals his neighbor's horse or cow, he commits a wrong still greater.

Now here is the greatest of all crimes—the invasion of one nation by another. But the gentlemen of the world not only refuse to condemn it, but even praise it, and declare it is right!

Shall we say that these gentlemen know the distinction between right and wrong?

Killing a man constitutes a crime and is punishable by death. Applying the same principle, the killing of ten men makes the crime ten times greater and ten times as punishable.

But when they come to judge the invasion of one state by another, they cannot see that they should condemn it.

Here is a world which condemns a petty wrong and praises the greatest of all wrongs—the attack of one nation upon another—and calls it right. Can we say that the world knows the distinction between right and wrong?

Having established her political and cultural hegemony in the Far East, a satiated China could well afford to favor the doctrine of anti-imperialism and to adopt a policy of "splendid isolation."

In ancient times and in the early modern period, China, however, had permitted trade connections to exist with some of the foreign powers. The first Western trading station in China was established by the Portuguese at Macao in 1557, and later, the British, the Dutch, and the Russians established commercial relations. Constant quarrels between the various rival traders led to change of policy on the part of Chinese authorities. In the eighteenth century foreign religious activities were suppressed, aliens were barred from China, and overseas trade was limited to the port of Canton.

This isolation lasted until 1839. At that time, Great Britain, backing its

East India Company's determination to export opium to China, despite the opposition of that government, declared war on the "Flowery Kingdom." Within three years the Chinese were defeated and forced to accept a treaty whereby five treaty ports were opened to foreign trade, the island of Hong Kong, near Canton, was ceded to Great Britain, and an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars was to be paid. Subject to certain restrictions, the opium trade was permitted to continue.

Opium war

Encouraged by Great Britain's advance in China, other powers, — France, Prussia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United States — demanded and obtained similar rights. These concessions were extended in 1860, following an attack upon China by Great Britain and France, to avenge the sinking of a British vessel by pirates and the death of a French missionary. According to the terms of the settlement which followed the War six additional ports were opened, foreign ministers were to reside at Peking, the imperial capital, protection of missionaries was promised, foreigners were allowed to carry on commercial operations along the Yangtze River, Great Britain obtained a territorial concession on the mainland near Hong Kong, and a large indemnity was levied upon China.

Imperialist advance in China

Taking advantage of these concessions, the Western powers now proceeded to advance their economic interests and at the same time to undermine the political independence of China. Legations were established by the leading foreign states. Special treaties enabled them to fix the Chinese tariff, while, by the privileges of extraterritoriality, China was forced to exempt foreigners from the jurisdiction of her courts.

A protest against the concessions to foreigners — the Taiping Rebellion (1853-1864) — was suppressed by the Chinese government, aided by European forces. Following this uprising, the powers proceeded to advance their economic interest by engaging in a partial partition of China. Russia in 1860 annexed the coast south of the Amur River, to the northeast of China proper, France in 1863 took over Cambodia, and in 1885 annexed Annam and Tongking, Great Britain completed her absorption of Burma in 1886, and Japan, as a result of her war with China (1894-1895), secured recognition of the independence of Korea, cession of the island of Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula, and an indemnity and certain commercial rights. Opposition on the part of Germany, France, and Russia forced Japan to relinquish her claim to the Liaotung Peninsula. Later, Russia gained control of this strategic region through a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur and neighboring harbors. France, not to be outdone, strengthened her influence in south China through the acquisition of Kwangchow, Great Britain obtained in 1898 the port of Wei-hai-wei, across the Yellow Sea.

Taiping Rebellion

Attempt to partition China

from Port Arthur, and Germany received from China special concessions in the Shantung Peninsula

In possession of strategic holdings on the Chinese coast, the European powers proceeded to carve China into spheres of influence. In the north, Russia got concessions in outer Mongolia, Manchuria, and the Liaotung Peninsula, the Germans developed their interests in Shantung, the British made plans to dominate the whole Yangtze River valley, and the French determined to exploit the three southern provinces which adjoined French Indo-China.

This attempt to partition China aroused deep concern in the United States. While the European nations were advancing in China, the United States had become a Pacific power as a result of the Spanish-American War, which enabled her to acquire the Philippines and other islands. She had failed, however, to acquire a foothold on the Chinese coast, a circumstance which hampered American economic interest in China. Attempting to obtain equal rights for American businessmen, Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 announced his famous Open Door policy in which he asked the various European powers not to discriminate against other nationals in their spheres of influence. This idea was accepted in 1900 by France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, in principle, and by Italy, unreservedly, as she had no special interest in China.

While the Western powers were introducing their civilization into the Celestial Empire, the Chinese experienced profound political changes. Despising these aliens, conservative factions wished to expel the foreigner and his hated innovations. A party of reformers, however, recognizing the might of the Westerners, desired to imitate them to the extent of modernizing the government and of adopting certain phases of Western civilization. At first, the reform party obtained the support of the young emperor, Kwangsu, and an attempt was made to introduce educational reforms, railways, and other features of Western life. A palace revolution, however, enabled the anti-Western party to imprison the emperor, to restore the old dowager empress, Tzu-Hsi, and to inaugurate a policy of opposition to Western civilization and foreign control. A strong anti-foreign movement, led by a secret society known as the Boxers, developed between 1898-1900. This movement culminated in a Chinese attack upon the legations at Peking and their relief by an international army. Following the suppression of this Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the Western powers levied a huge indemnity upon China and secured further concessions and privileges from the dowager empress.

Unable to check the advance of the white men by force, the Chinese government now decided to adopt Western reforms. The weak monarchy, however, was able to make little headway. As a result, in 1912 the ancient government was terminated, and a republic, under the able Chinese leader, Yuan

Shih-k'ai, was announced. An attempt was made to create a liberal republican government. Inspired by the American-educated Dr. Sun-Yat-sen, a constitution was drawn up and a republic created. But the disconcerting effects of foreign penetration and exploitation, the disturbances resulting from the spread of liberalism and Western ideas in China, and the cultural differences between northern and southern China led to further disintegration of the great state. From relative stability China passed to the horrors, uncertainties, and turmoil of civil strife from which she had not emerged with the coming of the War in 1914.

In complete contrast to the disintegration of China prior to the outbreak of the struggle, was the rise of the powerful Japanese Empire. For many centuries this island kingdom had existed in a state of almost complete seclusion. During this period a feudal system *Feudal Japan* developed. A mayor of the palace, called a Shogun, took over the functions of the emperor, and the nobles and warriors exerted real authority.

In 1853-1854, an American squadron, under the command of Commodore Perry, visited Japan and forced that country to grant trading privileges and to open ports to the United States. Other nations got the Shogun to give similar concessions to them. These actions terminated Japan's long period of isolation. At first, the Japanese resented this interference. Opposing the introduction of Western ideas and practices, these Orientals tried to expel the foreigners. Meeting failure, they finally decided to adopt Western civilization.

Within a period of about twenty years Japan was partially modernized. In 1867 the Shogun relinquished his authority to the Emperor, who was re-established as the supreme head of the state. Foreign legations, alien traders, and travellers were welcomed, telegraphs and railways were constructed, and Western commercial and industrial methods were introduced. A complete social transformation accompanied this industrial revolution. Feudalism was abolished in 1871, a national school system was established, and in 1889 a constitution was promulgated. This constitution gave the emperor considerable executive and veto power, and created a legislative branch, consisting of an aristocratic House of Peers, and a House of Representatives with rather limited powers and selected on the basis of a restricted suffrage. In addition to this important governmental change, the judicial and legal systems were Westernized, and in 1871 universal military service was introduced and the construction of a navy was initiated. *Modernization of Japan*

By the 'nineties Japan, a rapidly growing industrial country, became conscious of the need for territorial expansion both as a solution of the problems of surplus population, raw materials, and markets, and as a defensive measure to resist possible Russian encroachments. She therefore engaged in a war with China (1894-1895). *Beginning of Japanese imperialism*

As stated elsewhere,¹ she defeated her neighbor easily, and obtained control of the island of Formosa, but she was not permitted by Germany, France, and Russia to retain her extensive conquest on the mainland. Resentful of this interference, she watched with mingled fear and anger the partition of China by the great powers of Europe. Especially did she oppose the advance of Russia in Manchuria. Bent upon keeping the Russians out of Korea, she entered into an alliance with Great Britain (1902), in which each agreed to maintain benevolent neutrality if the other should be involved in a war with a third state. By the terms of this agreement the two nations also promised to maintain the independence of China and Korea and to carry out the terms of their alliance for a period of five years.

Despite this alliance, the Russians proceeded to penetrate Korea. Japan now tried to arrange a satisfactory understanding with Russia by negotiations, but failing, she in 1904 determined upon war. Disregarding the formality of a declaration of war, she invaded Manchuria, winning the battle of Mukden and virtually crushing the Russian military power in the Far East. She then attacked Port Arthur and captured that great Russian stronghold after a long siege. The destruction of the Russian Baltic fleet, on May 27, 1905, destroyed the tsar's naval power. Facing unrest at home and subjected to diplomatic pressure from the neutral powers, the Russian government reluctantly agreed to a peace meeting at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. With President Theodore Roosevelt acting as mediator, the two powers finally accepted the following terms: Recognition by Russia of the pre-eminence of Japan in Korea, cession by Russia of one half of the island of Sakhalin to Japan, evacuation of Manchuria by the troops of both powers, transfer to Japan of the Russian lease of Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, surrender by Russia to Japan of the southern section of the railway between Port Arthur and Harbin, and the grant to the Japanese of fishing rights along the shores of the Bering Sea.

After this treaty was signed, Japan took steps to establish a protectorate over Korea. In view of its unwillingness to accept this overlordship, the Korean government was overthrown in 1910 by the Japanese, who then annexed the country. By a treaty arranged in 1915 the Emperor of Korea formally handed over his country to Japan, and henceforth it was governed as an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

A Japanese penetration of Southern Manchuria followed the war against Russia. Some Japanese settled there, much capital was invested in Manchuria, and the foundation of a great Japanese empire in Asia was established. Thus, by 1914 Japan had created an empire for herself, comprising a long chain of islands from Formosa to the Kuriles, as well as Korea and a sphere of influence in southern Man-

¹ See p 1049

churia This empire she was able to enlarge during the World War, for, as an ally of Great Britain (by virtue of the renewals of the alliance in 1905 and 1911), she seized the German concession in Shantung and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator This put Japan in a position to threaten the sovereignty of China and to guard the sea approaches to her prospective victim

India, like China, was an empire in itself, with a population of over three hundred millions In ancient times it had enjoyed a high civilization, but numerous alien invasions had contributed to its cultural and political decline Split into religious groups, particularly *India* Hindus and Moslems, weakened by a rigid caste system, and politically disrupted with the fall of the Mogul empire in the eighteenth century, India by the nineteenth century could offer little opposition to British imperialism Great Britain, therefore, was able to obtain virtual control of that vast peninsula

Prior to the nineteenth century, the British East India Company had functioned as a state in a few districts on the coast Inefficiency and corruption of company rule, however, forced the government, by the Regulating Act of 1773, to appoint a council of four members *British imperialism in India* to pass on the acts of the governor-general, representative of the Company In 1784 Parliament extended its authority by passing the Government of India Act, which established at London a board of control for the supervision of Indian affairs with a cabinet member at its head It also arranged for the selection of the governor-general in India by the Company, but provided for his recall by the government

Rapid British expansion in India, following the decline of the Mogul Empire, resulted in the introduction into India of many forms of Western civilization Steamships were used, harbors improved, telegraphs and roads built, railways planned, a postal system set up, schools established, and agricultural reforms introduced Aroused by the discovery of valuable mineral deposits, such as coal and iron, British investors poured large amounts of money into organizations designed to exploit the region

Most of the natives resented this advance of the Westerners In 1857-1859 hatred of foreign attempts to change certain religious beliefs and customs, together with opposition to Western exploitation of India, led to the Sepoy Rebellion The immediate cause of this *Opposition to British imperialism* uprising was the enforced use of cartridges greased with tallow from the cow (a holy beast among the Hindus), by the Moslems, and Hindus who had been forced into British military service This practice offended the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus, and they therefore initiated the uprisings. The Revolt soon spread into the Ganges provinces and Central India, receiving the support of native rulers as well as the masses

* At first, the revolution, led by the Mogul, was successful. Many British civilians and troops were killed, and in many provinces native rule was restored. Military reinforcements, however, finally enabled the British government to suppress the uprisings, to punish the mutineers severely, and to exile the Mogul.

This rebellion forced the British government to introduce further reforms in India. In 1858 the rule of the East India Company was abolished. By the Better Government of India Act, the Empire was converted into a crown colony, with supreme control vested in the Secretary of State for India, a cabinet member, and a small council in London. A Viceroy, selected by the cabinet, represented the government in India. He was aided by executive and legislative councils, and by provincial administrations under governors, assisted by nominated councils or chief commissioners who dispensed with councils. Over three-fifths of India came under this system of British rule. In addition there were over six hundred native states not under British administration whose dynasts were dependent on British protection and supervision.

Introduction of Western civilization into India only tended to increase the nationalist opposition to British control. A movement to attain native representation in the government was fostered by the educated peoples of India. Willing to grant this reform, provided that they could retain control of the government, the British in 1907 permitted two Indians to be appointed on the Council of the Secretary of State, and one on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In 1909 another act made provision for the election of twenty-five of the sixty-eight members of the Viceroy's Legislative Assembly.

But these concessions did not satisfy the natives. Claiming that they were not represented adequately, an extreme nationalist group demanded independence, or at least autonomy. Security of British economic interests in India prevented the government from granting these demands. As a result a bitter struggle began, its bitterness enhanced by the fact that the natives now frankly demanded freedom from alien economic as well as political oppression. Conspiracies, assassinations, and riots disturbed the land. Inability of the Hindus and the Moslems to co-operate, however, weakened the cause of the nationalists and enabled the British government to maintain its control.

Meanwhile, India experienced marked material development. Railways, canals, roads, and modern communications tended to make India an economic unit. Vast fortunes were accumulated, chiefly by the British, through the production and export of coffee, tea, rice, wheat, opium, jute, cotton, gold, ivory, trinkets, and fine fabrics. Tremendous quantities of British manufactured goods, especially cotton and iron goods, were imported into India. Small wonder the British,

*Reforms
in India*

*Imperialist
India*

enjoying almost a monopoly of India's foreign trade, discouraged the development of competitive industries (textiles, for example) there

The British justified their exploitation of India by citing the great benefits conferred upon that land by British rule. Codification of laws, introduction of educational facilities, abolition of infanticide and the suicide of widows, diminution of famines, wars, and internal uprisings, and the introduction of sanitary improvements — all were brought about by British rule. Despite those benefits, the natives of India prior to the outbreak of the World War were keenly aware of the fact that, as yet, they had not been permitted self-government.

*British
achievements
in India*

British supremacy in India faced external as well as internal opposition. East of India, the French, as we have seen,¹ took possession of Cochinchina. Following a war with China, France in 1883 forced that country to agree to the establishment of a French protectorate over holdings in Annam and Tongking. In 1898 France secured a sphere of influence in south China, including the port of Kwangchow.

*French
imperialism in
Cochin China*

Periodically, the British became alarmed. Fearing a French occupation of Siam and a French march toward Burma and India, they attempted to stop this threat by taking possession in stages, as the result of wars in 1826, 1852, and 1886, of the buffer state, Burma. Thenceforth, they did everything in their power to prevent the conquest of Siam by France. Until 1904 the two European powers were frequently on the verge of war over this region. But in 1904 they reached a settlement, as a phase of the general Anglo-French colonial understanding, whereby Siam was to be recognized by both powers as an independent buffer state.

Russia, as well as France, threatened British dominance in India. Throughout the nineteenth century she engaged in a policy of expansion that carried her ever closer to India.

Turkestan was brought under her control, extending the Russian Empire to the frontiers of Afghanistan, a mountainous state located north of India. Great Britain now decided to check this Russian advance. The barren state of Baluchistan was seized by the British in 1883, and the great mountains in Afghanistan which constituted India's northwestern frontier were placed under British control.

*Russian
expansion in
Central Asia*

Meanwhile, Russia continued to threaten India on three sides: Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Between 1891 and 1900 she built the great Trans-Siberian Railroad and extended another line from the Caspian Sea to the western wall of the Chinese Empire. Thereupon Russian and British capitalists and diplomats soon engaged in a lusty battle for control of the economic resources of Persia and of Tibet, Russian and Japanese statesmen at the same time argued over Russian expansion.

Persia

¹ See p. 1049

in the Far East As we have seen,¹ the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 signified the creation of a united front by these states directed against Russian expansion This alliance was followed by a war between Japan and Russia and the advance of the Bear in the Far East was definitely checked Forced to give up her plans to acquire Korea, as a result of her defeat by Japan (1904-1905), Russia concentrated upon her policy of expansion in Persia, desirous of participating in the exploitation of that country's valuable resources, especially oil, and to establish a rail-highway between the Persian gulf and European Russia At this critical moment, when an Anglo-Russian war over Persia seemed imminent, the construction of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway by Germany forced Russia and Great Britain to settle their imperialist rivalries Determined to prevent Germany from securing the shortest and quickest route to the Orient, they, encouraged by their joint friend, France, decided to liquidate their rival interests By a treaty, agreed upon in 1907, they divided Persia into three zones The northern part of the country was handed over to Russia, the southeastern portion, especially rich in oil, was given to Great Britain, and the intervening strip was left in the hands of the Shah of Persia Great Britain also got Russia to recognize the independence of Afghanistan and the neutrality of Tibet The Russian threat to India from the direction of Persia and Afghanistan was allayed

The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 did not solve Persia's troubles Until 1914 that unfortunate country was ruled by a clique of unpatriotic politicians who served the interests of the partitioning powers Aroused by this situation, the Persians themselves organized a nationalist movement, which had as its objectives the reestablishment of law and order within the country, the abolition of foreign control, and the return of Persia's economic resources to the Persians Prior to 1914 the Persians remained pretty much under the thumb of English and Russian imperialists

While the European powers were struggling for control of Asia, they also engaged in a contest for possession of the myriads of islands in the

Pacific In this race Great Britain again won the first prize

*Imperialism
in the Pacific*

Already in possession of Australia and New Zealand, she, during the nineteenth century, established six colonies in

Australia, one on the island of Tasmania, and further settlements in New Zealand The Australian colonies were combined into a federal union in 1900 and were granted a constitution and a parliamentary government In 1907, New Zealand was also given dominion status in the British Empire In both Australia and New Zealand, Western civilization made marked progress In New Zealand, especially, the introduction of modern culture resulted in the enactment of progressive political and social legislation Factory laws were passed, a labor department was created, a system of old-age pensions was introduced, and the government embarked on a policy of state socialism,

¹ See p 1052

taking over railways, telegraphs, telephones, insurance companies, and certain coal mines

In addition to these important dominions Great Britain also acquired numerous small islands in the Pacific. The Fiji group was annexed in 1874, and in 1886 England acquired the southeastern part of New Guinea, Germany the northeastern, and the Netherlands the western half.

In the contest for islands in Oceania, the Dutch won second prize. Already in control of the East Indies, they, in the late nineteenth century, proceeded to develop these possessions. Subsequent humane reforms, leading to social and economic progress, made these enormous islands among the most valuable of colonial possessions.

Germany, France, Japan, and the United States also won awards in the contest over the Pacific. In the late nineteenth century Germany obtained the Marshall Islands in addition to a part of New Guinea, and the Caroline, Pelew, and Ladrone groups of islands, except Guam. In 1899, upon the partition of the Samoan group, its two larger islands went to Germany, but the one containing the important harbor of Pago-Pago went to the American nation. French acquisitions in the Pacific were not as extensive as those of Germany. New Caledonia was annexed in 1853, and Tahiti and other small islands in the Pacific were also obtained during the nineteenth century. Like France, Japan annexed groups of small islands, extending from Russian Siberia to Sakhalin, and from southern Japan to a point not far from the Philippines.

The United States, however, was more successful than Japan in this race in Oceania. In 1867 she strengthened her position in the north Pacific by her purchase of Alaska from Russia, in 1898 she acquired the Philippines and Guam, as a result of the Spanish-American War, and by an agreement in 1899 with Germany and Great Britain, she got the most important of the Samoan Islands. Meanwhile, she had obtained a number of small islands, and in 1898 had annexed Hawaii. Possession of these lands made the United States one of the most important Pacific powers.

While the United States was extending her interests in the Pacific she was also developing her influence in the Americas. Taking advantage of the backwardness of the various Hispanic states, following their separation from Spain, she proceeded to engage in an economic penetration of these countries. Fearful that the European states would seize these regions, the United States had enunciated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. But the European nations disregarded this doctrine and proceeded to enter into the economic development of Hispanic America, even attempting to annex certain regions. In the 'sixties France, for example, tried to set up an empire in Mexico. Later, in 1895, Great Britain, as a result of a dispute with Venezuela over a boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, threatened to settle the matter by war. At this time the United

*Hispanic
America*

States intervened, and requested Great Britain to submit the matter to arbitration. In making this demand, the American Secretary of State, Olney, declared that the United States was practically sovereign on this continent, "and its fiat law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." Great Britain eventually consented to arbitration. In 1902-1903, European creditor states, after blockading Venezuela for not paying her debts, submitted their dispute to American arbitration.

Following the war with Spain the United States proceeded to expand its economic interests in the Caribbean. Gaining possession of Cuba and Porto Rico (ceded to the United States by Spain), it made the former a protectorate and annexed the latter. Meanwhile, by conquest, lease, purchase, and intervention, the United States soon dominated the Caribbean area.

The Caribbean area

Protection of American interests in the Caribbean was associated with attempts to take over the Isthmus of Panama. In 1878 a French company had obtained a concession from Colombia to dig a waterway connecting the Pacific and the Atlantic. Later this project was dropped and the United States purchased the French rights. Colombia, however, refused to lease the strip of land necessary for the construction of the canal. Whereupon, in 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt took advantage of a revolution in Colombia to obtain the independence of Panama. The new republic, grateful for American aid, granted the United States a perpetual lease on a ten-mile strip across the Isthmus. Work on this important project was begun at once, and in 1914 it was opened to traffic.

The Panama Canal

The rise of the two great non-European powers, the United States and Japan, exerted a tremendous influence upon world politics. Henceforth European states could not settle arbitrarily the affairs of Hispanic America and the Far East, they had to take into consideration the ideas of these two powerful nations, knowing that the latter were well organized by 1900 and were in a position to contest on even terms for the valuable economic prizes which the backward regions of the world supposedly offered.

CHAPTER LXX

THE ROAD TO WAR

After the German victory of 1871, Bismarck became an ardent advocate of peace "Our policy is and remains a policy of peace," he said "We have no reason to want a war, and I do not see what we should gain by one Three times God has given us victory That *Bismarck's fear of war* was a great mercy But to let it come a fourth time, without pressing reasons, would be tantamount to tempting Providence" As chancellor of the new German Empire he realized that his immediate task was the creation of a powerful, united, and prosperous state Future wars, involving Germany, might make it impossible for him to achieve this end

Bismarck was aware of the fact that an armed conflict might break out at any time He knew that Germany's harsh treatment of France had won for the empire the deep hatred of a humiliated people He realized that this injustice could not be removed save at a *Bismarck's objectives* price he was unwilling to pay He also felt that Germany could not count on the friendship of a single European power That some of these states might sooner or later join France in an alliance against Germany was Bismarck's constant fear Therefore his entire diplomatic policy may be said to have been directed against the consummation of such a danger To prevent antagonisms from developing into war, to destroy potential combinations against Germany, to attach the various countries to his empire rather than to France—and thus, by a series of alliances and counter-alliances, to preserve the German Empire—these were Bismarck's diplomatic objectives during the remaining twenty years of his rule

At first the chancellor merely tried to establish friendly relations with Austria and Russia Thanks to his foresight in arranging the generous peace settlement of 1866 with Austria, he was able to achieve this aim. Ceremonial visits were exchanged between the German and Austrian Emperors in 1871 and 1872 On the occasion of Francis Joseph's trip to Berlin in 1872, Tsar Alexander II of Russia was present Out of this social gathering grew the well-known 'Three Emperors' League, an informal understanding between the three rulers whereby they agreed to *The Three Emperors' League* maintain the *status quo* as established in 1871, to work for a solution of the Near Eastern problem, and to oppose international socialism and other revolutionary doctrines which threatened the monarchical system.

In certain respects the 'Three Emperors' League resembled the Quadruple

Alliance Although there was no formal agreement, there was an informal understanding that these three conservative states would co-operate in checking the spread of all subversive political, social, and economic doctrines. Thus, by aligning the reactionary nations against advanced ideas which emanated from republican France, Bismarck endeavored to build up and consolidate suspicion and distrust of that country.

Like Metternich, the Iron Chancellor really wanted to bring Russia, Austria, and Germany into a close alliance which would take definite steps to check liberalism. But he failed to reach his chief objective at this time — the formation of a definite alliance against France — although, in 1873, to his satisfaction, Germany, Russia, and Austria decided to discuss common action in the event that a third power should threaten the peace of Europe.

In his attempt to isolate France, Bismarck tried to bring Great Britain into the conservative League. He emphasized, in his diplomatic negotiations with England, the danger of international socialism, and insisted that Great Britain — the leading exponent of the bourgeois-capitalistic system — must join in this crusade to stop socialism and save civilization. Enthusiastic advocate of the policy of "splendid isolation," Great Britain refused to join the conservative powers in their attempt to maintain the *status quo*. Like Canning, who opposed Metternich's plan to check the spread of nationalism and democracy, Gladstone — the "Little Englander" — so called because of his antipathy to imperialistic expansion, and Disraeli — the imperialist — realizing that this war on radicalism was in reality directed against France, did not propose to drag England into European troubles merely to keep the balance of power overturned for the benefit of Germany.

In 1875 occurred a famous war scare, occasioned by the widespread but probably fallacious belief that Bismarck planned a preventive war against France.

The republic's remarkable economic recovery after 1871, her payment of the indemnity levied by Germany, her rearmament program, and her imperialistic activity in Egypt (the Suez Canal), alarmed the jingoistic element in Germany. In France it was believed that Bismarck proposed to launch a second war against that country in order to crush it for good and all. The French appealed to London and St. Petersburg. British diplomats, committed to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, did not favor any further weakening of France. Joining Russia, Great Britain let it be known that she and her ally would oppose any attack upon the French state. Thereupon the war fever quickly subsided, and France, grateful to England for her aid, accepted that country as her partner in the ownership of the Suez Canal.

Another crisis soon threatened to bring about a general European war. In 1875 massacres of Christians by the Turks in the Balkans led to Russian protests and finally to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Again Bismarck feared that his Three Emperors' League would be disrupted by this Balkan crisis.

*War scare
of 1875*

Austria, he realized, would bitterly oppose Russian supremacy in this region, and a war between these powers might involve the leading nations of Europe. Therefore he decided to co-operate with Great Britain and Austria in their attempt to bring about a revision of the *Russo-Turkish War* Treaty of San Stefano which Russia imposed upon Turkey in 1877. Therefore, at the Congress of Berlin, called to consider the Near-Eastern Question, Bismarck assumed the rôle of the "honest broker," and permitted Austria and Great Britain to check Russian aspirations in the Balkans. Thus isolated, Russia accepted the Berlin settlement, but she did so sullenly. She now proceeded to withdraw from the Three Emperors' League, claiming that the Congress of *Congress of Berlin* Berlin was a European coalition led by Bismarck against Russia. "The Congress of Berlin," said William II later, "destroyed the remnant of the brotherhood in arms among us, engendered a hatred of everything German, stirred up by association with France. That was the soil in which the world-war ambitions of our foes found nourishment, '*revanche pour Sedan*,' combined with '*revanche pour San Stefano*'"

Perturbed about Russia's hostile attitude toward Germany, Bismarck decided to strengthen Austro-German relations. In 1879 a defensive alliance between Austria and Germany was concluded against Russia. Its terms provided that, should either Austria or Germany be *The Dual Alliance* attacked by Russia, they were bound to lend each other aid and not to conclude peace save by joint agreement, should one of them be attacked by another power, the ally would observe an attitude of benevolent neutrality, if the attacking power, moreover, were supported by Russia, the obligation of armed help would arise, and the war would be waged jointly until the conclusion of peace. Bismarck wanted the agreement to provide special protection against France, but Austria, interested primarily in Balkan affairs and not hostile toward France, refused to accept this proposal.

Realizing that he had by the Dual Alliance involved Germany indirectly in the Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans, Bismarck decided to regain Russia's friendship and to check thereby the growing hostility between Austria and Russia over the Near East. In 1881 he *Alliance of Three Emperors* succeeded in re-establishing the League of the Three Emperors, whereby its members agreed to remain neutral should any one of them be attacked by an outside power. Thus Germany was assured of Russian neutrality in the event of being assailed by France. Furthermore, Russia and Austria, by consenting to co-operate in the solution of any problems arising out of the Near East, decreased the danger of a general war. This alliance endured only a few years. An intensification of Austro-Russian hostility, as a result of intrigues in Bulgaria and Serbia, culminated in a protracted crisis. Bismarck's moderating influence succeeded in averting war, but the League

lapsed in 1887 when Russia again withdrew. To prevent a conflict in the Balkans, and also a possible alliance between Russia and France, Bismarck initiated negotiations with Russia — negotiations which resulted in the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887. By its terms Russia and Germany promised to remain neutral if either should become involved in a war with a third power. This clause was not applicable, however, in the case of a German attack upon France or a Russian assault upon Austria.

The Reinsurance Treaty

The Triple Alliance

Prior to the consummation of this agreement with Russia, Germany entered into an alliance with Italy. Bitterly opposed to the French occupation of Tunis in 1881, and worried lest some Catholic power intervene in the Roman question, the Italians had turned to Berlin for support. But Bismarck, although he welcomed the opportunity to strengthen the opposition to French *revanche*, refused to agree to an alliance which should exclude Austria-Hungary. Italy accepted his terms. She realized that in Austria were millions of Italians who should be emancipated, but at the same time she felt that the French menace in the Mediterranean was of more immediate concern. In 1882, therefore, the Triple Alliance was formed, in which Germany and Austria agreed to aid Italy if she were attacked by France, and Italy promised to help Germany if the latter were assailed by France. If any one member were menaced by two or more powers, the other two would likewise support their ally. Each state, however, was to remain benevolently neutral if a member were attacked by any other power. Because of her long sea coast, Italy was exposed to the attack of the great naval power, Great Britain. She therefore insisted that the treaty should not be regarded as directed against her island neighbor. Serbia, through an agreement with Austria in 1881, and Rumania, in 1883, became indirectly associated with the Triple Alliance, which was renewed a number of times before the outbreak of the World War.

Bismarck's diplomacy had as its chief objective the maintenance of the *status quo* and the avoidance of war. A complicated system of juggling and manipulation by means of insurance and counter-insurance agreements, it prevented an international crisis, isolated France, and kept the peace. At the same time it had certain significant weaknesses. Russia, for example, because of her aspirations in the Near East, could never be brought close to Austria. Bismarck himself realized that the rivalry between Russia and Austria-Hungary over the Balkans was a constant menace to peace and he frankly stated that his chief concern was to prevent the outbreak of a war between the two powers over some issue in that region. He well knew that if a struggle occurred, his entire diplomatic structure would collapse. Germany would then be forced to choose between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Bismarck was aware of a tendency on the part of Russia and France to drift together, especially after Russia discovered

Weakness of Bismarck's diplomacy

during the Bulgarian crisis that she could not count upon German support in a struggle over the Balkans. Despite this weak link in his chain of alliances, he believed that conservative Russia could not draw very near republican France.

The Iron Chancellor also failed to reach a close understanding with Great Britain. He encouraged the consummation of the First Mediterranean Agreement of 1887, in which Great Britain, Italy, and Austria agreed to preserve the existing territorial situation in the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas. He also favored the Second Mediterranean Agreement of that year whereby Great Britain, Austria, Italy, and Spain decided to oppose any disturbance in the Near East and to defend the neutrality of Turkey. But he refused to bring Germany into these agreements, knowing very well that such an act on his part would arouse bitter antagonism in Russia. Moreover, he was of the opinion that Anglo-Russian rivalries in Asia and Anglo-French hostility in Africa and Asia would prevent England from joining any group hostile to Germany. Nevertheless, in leaving Great Britain unattached to any definite alliance, and at the same time, in creating a diplomatic set-up whereby war could not be localized but was a matter of European concern, Bismarck built up a system which was almost certain to involve England.

Bismarck's diplomacy had several other weaknesses. In the first place, France, although temporarily isolated, was a constant menace to German security. Nursing a bitter hatred and fear she engaged in a definite program of rearmament. Also, the Triple Alliance had a number of marked flaws. The Italians, for example, desirous of freeing their fellow-countrymen who lived in Austro-Hungarian territory, could not enter sincerely into an alliance which included their ancient enemy—Austria-Hungary. In fact, this Triple Alliance obligated Germany not only to support Austria-Hungary in the event of a war over the Balkans, but obligated her also to help the Habsburgs sustain their anachronistic empire by opposing the desires of the Slavs and the Italians for autonomy and freedom. Despite these weaknesses Bismarck's system of alliances worked under his guidance. His successors, however, were less adroit in diplomatic finesse and only succeeded in arousing a hostile coalition of powers against Germany.

Following the resignation of Bismarck in 1890, German foreign policy passed into the hands of the young, ambitious, and inexperienced Kaiser William II. The new emperor left the direction of affairs largely in the hands of his advisers in the foreign office, *The New Course* especially in those of the neurotic Baron von Holstein. At one time an ardent advocate of Bismarck's policies, Holstein later opposed them vigorously. He occupied a key position in the foreign office and wielded decisive influence upon German diplomacy. He was largely responsible for the disagreement between William II and Bismarck over relations with Russia which contributed to the latter's resignation. Staunch exponent of the Austro-German

alliance, he, supported by certain military officers, succeeded in convincing the kaiser that Germany had to choose between the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia and the alliance with Austria. Conflicting interests in the Balkans, he maintained, were bound to lead to a war between Austria and Russia, and it was Germany's duty to support her ally. William II finally accepted this point of view, thereupon Bismarck resigned, and the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, upon its expiration in 1890, was dropped.

Economic changes in Germany helped to explain this new diplomatic policy. Under the old chancellor the empire had become powerful, united, and prosperous through internal economic expansion and the maintenance of peace. Interested primarily in the building of a powerful and prosperous Germany, Bismarck favored a continental policy and at first opposed colonial expansion. Industrial development, however, was accompanied by the rise of an imperialistic group in the empire which demanded the acquisition of colonies in order to obtain markets, raw materials, and opportunities for investment. Bismarck was finally forced to heed the ideas of this group. Admitting the necessity of a moderate policy of colonial expansion, he had Germany participate at the Conference of Powers in Berlin (1884-1885) and by so doing obtained recognition by the great states, especially Great Britain, of Germany's right to expand. "If Germany is to become a colonizing power," said Gladstone of England in the House of Commons, "all I say is 'God speed her.' She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purpose of Providence, for the advantage of mankind."

When William II ascended the throne the rapid economic development of Germany seemed to require an aggressive imperialistic policy, described as *Weltpolitik*. Conscious of this need the kaiser enthusiastically subscribed to a policy of unrestricted colonial and naval expansion. In embarking upon this plan he disregarded the suspicions which it might arouse in the minds of the British. In justification of an aggressive platform, the kaiser said "We stand under the sign of world policy. Without Germany and the German Empire no important step in international matters should be taken even beyond the seas." In other words, Germany, as one of the great powers, had to be treated as an equal in world affairs.

Inspired by this new concept of world power, the young kaiser encouraged German economic expansion in the Near East. Following a visit to Constantinople in 1889 he succeeded in negotiating a favorable commercial treaty with Turkey. (1890) German capitalists, traders, and artisans now entered the Ottoman Empire, and prepared to exploit its resources. Abdul Hamid II, sultan of Turkey, welcomed this economic penetration. Facing internal revolts and the threat of foreign intervention, suspicious of the other great powers of Europe,

*Bismarck
and German
Imperialism*

*The Weltpolitik
policy*

*German
imperialism in
Near East*

and willing to trust Germany (the one nation that had not tried to rob his state nor had joined in any protest against Turkish atrocities in the past), Abdul Hamid encouraged close economic relations with that country. He was especially generous in the railway concessions he granted the Germans. Believing that a railroad would be a means of unifying and consolidating his empire, the sultan gave Germany leave to build a railway line across the Balkans and through the Asiatic parts of his empire, also giving them mining rights within a twenty kilometer zone on each side of the railway. By 1902 a German controlled line had been constructed across the Balkans, and was ready to be extended to the Persian Gulf and to the Red Sea. To the Germans this project constituted a significant step in the establishment of a huge economic empire which would include the Near East. Rich in oil, cotton, and agricultural products, this region offered Germany the things she needed. Moreover, the development of a rich market for German manufacture would be created through the exploitation of the Turkish Empire.

While he was engaged in this program of imperial expansion, William II also began the construction of a powerful navy. This policy, together with his imperialism, aroused the hostility of jealous competitors.

Alliances and ententes directed against German expansion were formed. Following the dropping of the Reinsurance Treaty by Germany, Russia and France, both increasingly suspicious of the Triple Alliance, drew close together and finally entered into a Dual Alliance (1891-1894). Technically this agreement was not an alliance, inasmuch as it was not approved by the French Chamber of Deputies as provided by law.

The Franco-Russian Alliance

Actually, however, it was the equivalent of one. Ostensibly defensive in purpose, it provided that "if France is attacked by Germany, or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia shall employ all her available forces to attack Germany. If Russia is attacked by Germany, or by Austria supported by Germany, France shall employ all her available forces to fight Germany."

The announcement of this Dual Alliance aroused considerable alarm in Germany. Bismarck's fear of an alliance between Germany's two neighbors had been realized at last. Her hegemony in Europe was ended, for in its place there existed henceforth an equilibrium of power, maintained by two groups, the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance.

New Equilibrium of Europe

This Russo-French combination was as distasteful to Great Britain as it was to Germany. In the 'nineties, England still clung to her isolationist policies, but there had been occasions when the two powers seemed to be drawing together. In 1890, for example, Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany, much desired by that country since the construction of the Kiel Canal. In return England secured a partition of Zanzibar, and thus, a peaceful solution of what threatened to become a serious controversy. At no

time, however, was Germany able to draw Great Britain into the Triple Alliance or to obtain a definite pledge of military support. Great Britain, despite the fact that her interests in North Africa and Asia were

*Anglo-German
relations*

threatened by France and Russia, refused to join the Triple Alliance.

She realized that German economic penetration in the Near East was just as much a menace to her interests as were the policies of France and Russia. Great Britain did go so far as to suggest in 1895 that Germany join Great Britain in a partition of the Turkish Empire. But Germany, suspicious of British motives, and, planning to exploit that region herself, refused to accept this proposal. There were later attempts to bring about an Anglo-German alliance, but it always seemed as though the two countries were never able to attain a full accord.

In the late 'nineties a number of events caused Great Britain to abandon her traditional policy of isolation and to seek friends. The fear of the Russian advance in the Far East, the clash with France over the occupation of Fashoda by French troops, the outbreak of the Boer War, and especially the belief that the Dual and Triple Alliances might combine against England — all of these developments influenced Great Britain into adopting a new course.

At first England tried to enter into closer relations with Russia and Germany. Unable to interest Russia in a plan to divide Turkey and China

*Britain's New
Diplomacy*

into spheres of influence, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, offered to arrange an alliance with Germany. But the German foreign office, fearing that

such an agreement might involve the Fatherland in Anglo-French antagonisms in Africa, refused to permit such a settlement with England. Colonial disputes, involving German and British claims in Africa and China, however, were amicably settled.

Unable to secure an ally in Europe, Great Britain finally found a friend in the Far East — Japan. As stated before,¹ that oriental country by the

*Anglo-Japanese
Alliance*

close of the nineteenth century had adopted the trappings of Western civilization, had defeated China, and had been checked by European powers in her attempt to obtain a foot-

hold in Asia. Quick to see that the Russian acquisition of Port Arthur challenged both British and Japanese interests in the Far East, Japan desired an alliance with Great Britain. Accordingly, negotiations were instituted, and in 1902 Great Britain and Japan concluded an alliance in which each was to support the other if it were attacked by two or more states, and each was to remain neutral if the other was attacked by one power. Assured of British support in the event that Russia was backed by another country, Japan now decided to stop the advance of the "bear that walked like a man." This objective she achieved in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

¹ See pp. 1051-1052.

While Japan was indulging in her war with Russia, her ally, Great Britain, was winning a friend in Europe. By 1902 a number of French diplomats, especially the foreign minister, Delcassé (1852-1923), had concluded that France could not establish a great colonial empire and at the same time regain her predominance in Europe without British support. They also believed that the Franco-Russian and the Anglo-Japanese commitments might involve England and France in war. Such a contingency would not only thwart French aims but would enable Germany to exact important concessions from both sides. A close friendship between France and Great Britain seemed imperative.

*The Entente
Cordiale*

By 1902, fear of Germany also influenced Great Britain to enter into some kind of an agreement with France. By that time the development of Germany's naval program, constituting a serious challenge to Great Britain's sea supremacy, menaced her security. In fact, the opening of the Kiel Canal in 1895, and the German Navy bills of 1898 and 1900 which sanctioned the construction of a fleet larger than that of either Russia or France, caused England to look upon Germany as her most dangerous rival. Aided by her Francophile king, Edward VII, Great Britain succeeded in arranging a settlement with France, whereby all colonial troubles were liquidated. This *Entente Cordiale*, as it came to be called, provided that France recognize the British position in Egypt, and that Britain support the predominance of France in Morocco. In a supplementary treaty, Spain underwrote this Moroccan agreement. England and France also settled conflicting interests over Newfoundland, Western Africa, and New Hebrides, Siam, and Madagascar, but the Egyptian-Moroccan agreement was the most vital part of the *Entente*. Appended to the general settlement were secret articles, not published until 1911, which provided for the eventual liquidation of Morocco and Egypt by the two powers.

This *Entente Cordiale* brought about a diplomatic revolution. Though at first without military and naval obligations (later the French and British army and navy authorities made arrangements for disposition of their forces in the event of a war with Germany) it signified European hostility to Germany's advance in the Near East. It also marked a widening rift between Great Britain and Germany and the abandonment of British isolation. The agreement increased France's self-confidence and caused her to pursue a more aggressive policy. It also forced Italy to reconsider her position in the Triple Alliance. By 1900, after a secret exchange of letters with France, she agreed to sanction the aspirations of France in Morocco provided the latter recognize her ambitions in Tripoli. In 1902 she signed a secret agreement with France which stipulated that Italy was to remain neutral if France were attacked by another power or if France declared war as a result of direct provocation. France made a reciprocal pledge. The consummation of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904 strengthened Italian opposition to the Central Powers.

Determined to regain "unredeemed Italy" from Austria-Hungary, and also to obtain control of the strategic Adriatic, Italy remained a member of the Triple Alliance in name only

The determination of the *Entente Cordiale* to check German expansion was revealed in the Moroccan crisis of 1905-1906. For a long time France had wanted to gain control of Morocco, which adjoined her colony of Algeria. Encouraged by the settlement with Great Britain, she, in 1904, began to interfere in the internal affairs of Morocco with the view of strengthening her political foothold there. This activity on the part of France aroused Germany. Possessing economic interests in Morocco she maintained that France was violating international treaties and German rights, and demanded the establishment of the open door policy in that country. In March, 1905, the kaiser landed at Tangier, Morocco, and boldly proclaimed the independence of the sultan. At the same time Bulow, German chancellor, declared that the Moroccan question was of international concern and asked that a conference be called to consider the problem. Meanwhile, the sultan, encouraged by Germany, rejected the French proposals to introduce certain reforms which would increase French influence there. Delcassé indignantly refused to consider the German request for a conference and, supported by Great Britain, seemed willing to go to war over the matter. At this critical moment Delcassé was overruled by his more cautious superiors, who agreed to the calling of a conference. France felt reasonably sure, however, that the majority of nations represented at this meeting would support her cause.

Aware of the intense opposition to Germany's Moroccan policy, William II tried, inconsistently enough, to strengthen the position of his country by merging the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance. Meeting Nicholas II in July, 1905, at Bjorko, in northern waters, he actually got the weak tsar to sign a treaty, by which Germany and Russia agreed to aid one another in the event of an attack by a third European power. For a moment the ghost of Bismarck's League of the Three Emperors hovered above the horizon, then disappeared again—forever. Knowing very well that Franco-German antagonism over Morocco and Russo-German rivalry in the Near East would prevent the carrying out of such an alliance, the foreign offices of both Germany and Russia rejected this personal pledge of their sovereigns.

Influenced by this Bjorko idyll, Great Britain in 1908 renewed her alliance with Japan and supported France at the International Congress of Algeciras (1906), called to deal with the Moroccan situation. Germany, isolated except for Austrian backing, was forced to withdraw some of her demands, to permit France actually to strengthen her position in Morocco, and to be satisfied by a mere formula recognizing the independence of that region. Thus, while the crisis resulted in a compromise, not satisfactory

to Germany or France, it did demonstrate the strength of the Anglo-French entente. Despite this diplomatic reverse at Algeciras, Germany announced her determination to become a force in world affairs by passing a navy law in 1906 which proposed to increase the strength of the navy by six capital ships and to enlarge the size and armament of all battleships which were being built at that time. Great Britain now considered this policy of expansion as a direct threat to her naval supremacy. After an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Germany to cut down this program, she decided to increase her own navy. Furthermore, she, urged by France, proposed to arrange a *rapprochement* with Russia, and by so doing, surround Germany by a ring of hostile powers.

Prior to 1905, German diplomacy was based on the assumptions that an alliance between Russia and Germany was possible and that one between Russia and Great Britain was improbable. The latter nation proved fallacious. Following the failure of William II to ar- *Triple Entente*
range an alliance with Nicholas II, Great Britain and Russia moved toward a reconciliation. Checked by Japan in the Far East, Russia by 1907 welcomed England's aid in arranging a settlement with her Oriental foe and also favored negotiations designed to end the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia. The German penetration of the Near East also influenced Russia in her attempt to bring about a settlement with Great Britain. Determined to revive her aggressive policies in that field of international rivalry, Russia decided to settle her disputes with Great Britain, believing that then Russia and England as friends would oppose Austro-German ambitions in the Near East. Accordingly, negotiations were opened in 1907 and a treaty was signed embodying surprising concessions on both sides.¹ The significance of this understanding lay in the fact that it united two erstwhile foes in common hostility toward Germany.

Russia, in 1907, had reached a settlement with Japan. By the terms of their pact both states agreed to maintain the existing situation in the Far East, the territorial integrity of China, and the principle of the Open Door. There were also secret clauses in which Japan and Russia recognized their interests in Manchuria. Japan and France in the same year also reached an agreement concerning their respective interests in the Far East.

Thus, by 1907, what twenty years before would have been considered impossible, was achieved. Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan had settled their rivalries and had created a loosely constructed coalition capable of challenging the hegemony of the Triple Alliance. *Root-Takahira Agreement*
Attempting to maintain her position in the Far East as well as the Near East, Germany tried desperately to bring the United States into her network of alliances. Difficulties between Japan and the United States over immigration in 1906-1907 were a cue for William II to emphasize his

¹ See p. 1056

idea of the "yellow peril" and to suggest that Germany and the United States unite in opposition to Japan and her friends. President Theodore Roosevelt, however, refused to enter into such an alliance. Instead, he welcomed in 1908 the famous Root-Takahira agreement, in which the United States and Japan recognized their respective interests in the Far East and promised to respect and preserve the independence and territorial integrity of China. Thenceforth the United States identified its interests, especially in the Pacific, with those of Japan and the *Triple Entente*.

By 1908, Germany believed that she and her ally, Austria-Hungary, were menaced on all sides by a deliberate policy of encirclement. Disaster faced the Triple Alliance unless the military and diplomatic pincers, manipulated by France and Russia, could be broken. Cognizant of this situation, many European statesmen feared that the stage was set for a world catastrophe. They appreciated the danger of two powerful groups, armed to the teeth, standing one against the other; they saw how military and naval conversations, preparations, and propaganda were being carried on by all the powers, and they felt that crises, and minor conflicts which were occurring with disturbing frequency were but the preliminaries to a world war.

From 1908 to 1914 the Near East was the checkerboard of European diplomacy. Here the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 marked the beginning of a series of crises which finally culminated in the world catastrophe. At first the European states had welcomed this uprising, believing that it would lead to the modernizing of Turkey and the elimination of national and religious troubles. But the Young Turks, once they had overthrown the old sultan Abdul Hamid II and placed his brother Mohammed V on the throne, embarked on an aggressive movement for reform and Ottomanization, which involved an attempt to compel everyone to conform to a uniform national pattern. Establishing a régime more oppressive to national and religious groups than ever before, the new Turkish government continued Abdul Hamid's foreign policy, opposing all Western powers, save Germany.

The Young Turk revolution, however, enabled certain states to advance their interests. Bulgaria took advantage of the uprising to repudiate Turkish suzerainty and to declare herself fully independent. Austria also used the revolution to strengthen her position in the Balkans. Bosnia-Herzegovina, which she, acting as a mandatory of the Congress of Berlin, had occupied since 1878, was annexed. This action produced an international crisis. Involved in a bargain with Austria, whereby Russia was to get the Straits opened and Austria was to annex the provinces, Russia opposed the sudden annexation of these provinces. Unable to obtain the permission of the European states to open the Straits, she naturally determined to prevent Austria from reaching her objective. At

*Encirclement
of Germany*

*Rise of
Young Turks*

*Decline of
Ottoman Empire*

this critical moment Germany came to the support of her ally, Austria, and Russia, as well as France and Great Britain, was forced to accept Austria's occupation of the provinces, or go to war. This crisis, however, served to widen the breach between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. It clearly indicated that the bitter Austro-Russian struggle over the Balkans might ultimately involve the two groups in combat.

A violent Austro-Serbian feud helped to precipitate the World War. As far back as 1903, Serbia had been the center of Pan-Slav agitation, fostered by Russia and directed towards the emancipation of the Slavs in the Dual Monarchy. The Bosnian crisis intensified this antagonism, for while it strengthened Austria's prestige in the Balkans, it cut Serbia off from access to the sea in that direction, increased the Slavic population of the Dual Monarchy, intensified their nationalistic feelings, and caused the Serbs (economically dependent on Austria) to fear loss of political independence.

The Austro-Serbian Feud

While the Austrian and Serbs were singing hymns of hate, the next crisis occurred in Morocco. This crisis rose out of Germany's stubborn opposition to French political control in that country. In 1911 the German warship, *Panther*, arrived at Agadir, a Moroccan port on the Atlantic, ostensibly to protect German economic interests, but actually to warn France not to take possession of Morocco without giving Germany the French Congo. Great Britain, fearing that Germany's bullying of France to extort the whole of the French Congo would force France into war, backed her friend firmly and forced Germany to arrange a settlement with Paris. According to the terms of this agreement, France gave to Germany a piece of the French Congo and a promise that the open door policy would be maintained in Morocco. In return, Germany permitted France to establish a protectorate over Morocco. This Agadir crisis again demonstrated the strength of the *Entente Cordiale*, just as the Bosnian trouble brought out the solidarity of the Austro-German alliance.

The Agadir Incident

Another crisis in North Africa followed the Agadir Affair. For some time it was generally understood that in the event of Turkey's liquidation, Tripoli, in North Africa, should go to Italy. The latter power, through agreements with most of the great states, had secured their consent to her seizure of Tripoli at the proper time. Finally, the Italians decided to conquer that land. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Young Turks in Europe and the crisis in Morocco, Italy dispatched an ultimatum to Constantinople and troops to Tripoli. Unwilling to accept the loss of this part of her empire, Turkey opposed this aggression. The Italo-Turkish War which followed lasted until 1912, when the First Balkan War forced the sultan to submit to a peace which deprived him of Tripoli.

The Italo-Turkish War

The Balkan crisis rose out of the desire of the Slavic states to obtain

Turkish territory and their expressed determination to bring about better conditions for the Christians in Turkish Macedonia. Casting *The Balkan Wars* aside their numerous quarrels, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria formed a League and ordered the Turks to introduce certain reforms. When the sultan refused to carry out these demands, the League declared war and within three months had completely defeated the sultan's forces, driving them out of all European territory save Constantinople and adjacent areas. The European powers, Great Britain and Germany, realizing that the intervention of Russia or Austria on either side would lead to a general war, intervened and obtained an armistice (December 1912). A peace conference was held in London. At this meeting Turkey refused to accept a proposed settlement which included cession of her territory to the Balkan states. Foolishly, she reopened the war, and her troops were soon pushed back to Constantinople. Facing the loss of that important city, the Turks finally submitted to the Peace of London (1913) in which they were deprived of everything except their capital and its immediate surroundings.

Trouble again developed when the Balkan League tried to divide the loot. Serbia became very angry because the other Balkan powers, under the influence of Italy and Austria, decided to set up Albania as an independent state. Serbia had planned for a long time to obtain part of Albania and to give the rest of the land to Montenegro. But Austria and Italy did not propose to see Serbia become an important Balkan and Adriatic power. Therefore they literally forced both Germany and Great Britain to oppose this Serbian aspiration in the interest of peace.

Meanwhile, difficulties over the disposition of Macedonia led to the Second Balkan War of 1913. Bulgaria, who had obtained the greater part of the spoils, was suddenly attacked by her recent allies, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey. Taking advantage of this opportunity to obtain certain territories from Bulgaria, Rumania also joined in the conflict. Surrounded on all sides, Bulgaria could offer little opposition and was forced to submit to revised peace terms which deprived her of half of what she had gained after the First Balkan War. The great powers, however, were relieved when the struggle was brought to a close. They realized that its continuation might have led to the participation in it of a member of the Triple Alliance, or the Triple Entente. This in turn might have forced both groups into a world war. Austria, on the other hand, was dissatisfied. Determined to punish Serbia she tried unsuccessfully to get her allies in the summer of 1913 to countenance an attack on that country.

Unfortunately, the Second Balkan War left most of the Balkan States discontented. Much to her dissatisfaction, Turkey was restricted in Europe to Constantinople and vicinity. Rumania, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia—all received parts of the territories obtained from Turkey and Bulgaria, but none of these states was satisfied. Serbia and Greece, the countries that

acquired the largest territorial rewards, were the most unhappy Greece, for example, increased her population by two millions and her territory by fifteen thousand square miles, in addition to gaining Crete and other Aegean Islands, and Macedonia (including Salonica), nevertheless, she wanted more territory inhabited by Greeks Serbia also benefited greatly, increasing her population one and a half millions and her area by fifteen thousand square miles But, again she failed to gain one of her chief objectives — access to the sea Disappointed, she held Austria largely responsible for her failure

Increasing enmity on Serbia's part soon expressed itself in intrigue and agitation among the Austrian Slavs Aroused by this reaction, Austria decided that, in order to preserve the independence of the Dual Monarchy, this subversive propaganda must be checked *Austro-Serb Antagonism* Germany also was interested in the Balkan situation She realized that the enlargement of Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, had changed the balance of power in the Balkans to the disadvantage of the Central Powers, who were now cut off from direct contact with Germany's protégé, Turkey On the other hand, Russia was strengthened through the aggrandizement of Serbia and Montenegro

Germany had always tried to prevent Austria from precipitating a general European war over the Near East by restraining Vienna from pushing matters too far By 1914, however, as the Triple Alliance weakened and Germany felt she was becoming isolated, Austrian support seemed essential to Berlin Aware of her alliance-value, the Dual Monarchy tended to become more aggressive in her Balkan policies Germany, down to her last ally among the great powers, could no longer say "Watch your step!"

As the antagonism between Austrian imperialism and Serbian nationalism became increasingly apparent, statesmen on both sides feared that war was inevitable Nevertheless, to avoid bloodshed and to strengthen the Dual Monarchy's position in the Balkans, Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister, tried to rearrange the alliances He felt that Germany had left Austria in the lurch by refusing to countenance intervention on behalf of Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War Therefore, he endeavored to gain the support of Russia St Petersburg, however, preferring to back her Slavic protégé, Serbia, spurned his overtures

Russia's hatred of the Central Powers was also brought out in an incident which occurred in 1913 At the time, the Turks decided to reorganize their political, naval, and military organizations The British were to help modernize the navy, the Germans, the army General *Liman von Sanders affair* Liman von Sanders, a German, was placed in charge of the first Turkish army corps at Constantinople Russia, possibly fearing an alliance between Turkey and Germany, opposed the appointment of von Sanders and forced Turkey to transfer him to another military post.

Entente powers, particularly Russia, however, were acutely suspicious of German motivation in this matter, and it tended to breed more ill-feeling.

Europe, in 1914, was in a state of international anarchy. Military and naval preparations in all of the leading European countries, and the failure of Great Britain and Germany to settle their naval rivalry, and other international antagonisms, all indicated the growing tension between the Central Powers and the Entente.

*Anglo-German
naval rivalry*

Earliest attempts were made to settle the naval race, but Great Britain simply could not give a pledge of neutrality in case Germany was involved in a war with other powers. Germany, therefore, refused to accept an arrangement whereby the German and British fleets would be fixed at a ratio of 10 to 16. In 1912 a German Navy Bill, greatly increasing Germany's strength on sea, became law, and by 1914 Great Britain, in order to maintain her supremacy, had embarked reluctantly on an increased ship-building program.

Despite their failure to settle the question of sea power, England and Germany were on better terms between 1912 and 1914 than they had been for some time. Germany seemed especially desirous of removing all possible causes for trouble. Aware of the opposition to her policy of economic expansion in the Near East, she arranged, in 1914, several treaties whereby the interests of France, Russia, and Great Britain in that region were recognized. The outbreak of the World War, however, prevented the consummation of a real understanding.

On June 28, 1914, occurred the tragedy which actually precipitated the World War. On that day Francis Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the Habsburg throne, and his wife, were murdered by a young Bosnian in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. Austria, with the consent of Germany, decided to stamp out this Pan-Slav intrigue once and for all by giving Serbia, whom she held responsible for the crime, a severe punishment. To Vienna, drastic action seemed justifiable in view of repeated provocations from Serbia. On the other hand, a decisive course of action ran the risk of inviting a war, not merely with Serbia, but a general conflict in which all Europe would be involved. Following an investigation of Serbia's responsibility — an investigation which suggested but did not prove that Serbian authorities knew about the plot weeks before its execution — Austria sent a harsh ultimatum to Serbia (July 23, 1914). The demands presented therein were more severe than was generally expected. They included: (1) the official condemnation by the Serbian government of all anti-Austrian propagandist activities by its citizens, (2) the suppression of all publications and societies which fostered hatred of the Dual Monarchy, (3) the elimination of anti-Austrian teachers and books from the schools, (4) the dismissal of governmental officials implicated in anti-Austrian activities, (5) the arrest of two Serbs, named in the ultimatum, who were allegedly involved in the murder conspiracy, and (6) the acceptance by Serbia of Austrian collaboration in the investigation of the

crime and in the carrying-out of the above program within her borders Serbia was given forty-eight hours in which to adopt, in its entirety, the Vienna ultimatum

Although Serbia accepted most of the demands, Austria stated that the reply was unsatisfactory and, in spite of William II's moderating counsels, declared war on Serbia (July 28) On the preceding day Russia, with the support of France, announced her intention of backing Serbia Believing that the Central Powers were determined at all costs to crush Serbia (which for selfish reasons Russia could not permit), the tsar, on July 29, issued the order (revived after a short cancellation on the 30th) for general mobilization This action was immediately interpreted by Europe as meaning almost certain war Aware of this fact, both Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, and Bethmann-Hollweg, the German chancellor, tried to localize the conflict They made all sorts of proposals designed to avert war, but they were unable to compel Austria and Russia to submit the vital issues to arbitration

Germany, meanwhile, realizing that a war with Russia meant a European conflict, demanded that Tsar Nicholas II stop mobilization within a period of twelve hours Receiving no answer by 7 P M, Germany on August 1 declared war upon Russia Then, turning to France, she asked for a statement of intentions "France will consult her own interests," was the reply A declaration of war by Germany upon France followed on August 3 Immediately, Germany proceeded to carry out her famous von Schlieffen military plan which had been prepared against such a situation On August 4th German soldiers swept across neutral Belgium and Luxemburg in an attempt to crush France before Russia was ready to fight

Germany had also communicated with Great Britain, promising to preserve the territorial integrity of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, in return for British neutrality But Great Britain refused to accept this promise Influenced by her obligations to France, ^{Invasion of} ~~distrust of Germany, and by a war party that was bent upon~~ _{Belgium} the reduction of German power, the British Liberal Cabinet decided to make the violation of Belgian neutrality an issue of war Therefore, upon the German invasion of Belgium, Great Britain declared war against Germany Of the nations in the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, Italy, alone, remained neutral She claimed that her allies were not fighting a defensive war and that, as a consequence, she was not compelled to support them

Within the first few days of August, hostilities had become European in scope. On August 6 the Dual Monarchy declared war on Russia Montenegro joined Serbia against Austria on the following day, and, on August 9 both Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Germany During the next three days France and Great Britain declared war on Austria On August 23, Japan, ally of Great Britain, joined the opposition to the Central Powers Shortly thereafter, Turkey, Germany's ally, cast her fortunes with those of the Central

Powers Thus, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, found themselves against Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, Belgium, Montenegro, and Japan Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece, however, remained out of the conflict, waiting, perhaps, to see which side was going to win before casting their lot

At last the accumulation of inflammatory material during a period of fifty years had plunged Europe into a devastating conflagration But this war was not the result of a deliberate conspiracy, it was the outcome of a complex of disturbing factors Military and naval rivalries, Russia's drive on the Straits, Austria's aggressive Balkan policy, Germany's bullying diplomacy, the idea of *revanche* in France, irredentism everywhere, but especially among the Slavs and the Italians, and trade rivalry, — all predisposed European nations toward war and made it increasingly difficult for the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente to maintain the diplomatic equilibrium In short, militarism, nationalism, imperialism, and entangling alliances had created a problem, which, in the opinion of many people, could be solved only by armed conflict No diplomat, ruler, or citizen seemed to be able to direct these forces in such a way as to maintain peace Fearing a war, which many of them regarded as inevitable, they simply tried to guard the interests of their respective countries The conflict was not premeditated, but it was made possible by peoples and by diplomats, who, rather than relinquish a single advantage for their countries, permitted the world to drift toward the abyss.

*General causes
of War*

CHAPTER LXXI

THE WORLD WAR, 1914-1918

In extent, nature, scope, and technique, the World War exceeded all historical experience and all human calculation. Five great European states with their colonies were engaged in the struggle by the end of the first week of August. Before its conclusion, it had involved all the great powers and most of the minor countries — it had, in truth, become a world war.

Japan entered the war on the Allied side in August, 1914, mainly to advance her influence in China through the elimination of one of her competitors, Germany. For the most part, she limited her military and naval activities to the Far East, taking possession of the German concession in Shantung, China, and in 1915, trying to force China to accept the notorious Twenty-one Demands, which would have converted that country into a Japanese protectorate.¹ In October, 1914, Turkey, under German political, military, and economic influence, joined the Central Powers in a war against her traditional foe, Russia. In 1915, Italy, after weighing the territorial bids by both sides, accepted the Allied promises of lands around the Adriatic, of financial help, of economic and territorial concessions in Asiatic Turkey and in North Africa, and joined the Allies. In the same year, Bulgaria, assured of territory in Macedonia, which lay chiefly in Serbia, cast her fortunes with the Central Powers. In 1916, Rumania, upon Allied pledges of territories and military aid, decided to support their side, and, in the following year, the United States, Portugal, Greece, China, and a number of Hispanic-American countries, entered into the war against the Central Powers. Many of the belligerents took little part in the actual fighting. Nevertheless, their support was of economic, strategic, diplomatic, and moral value in overcoming the Central Powers and their two allies, Bulgaria and Turkey.

As in extent, so in nature, scope, and technique the war differed from other struggles. For the first time the entire political, economic, and intellectual resources of the highly organized modern state were regimented and devoted to the cause of destruction. Scientific knowledge, educational facilities, state power (especially military conscription), national credit, and the fruits of agriculture, industry, and commerce — all were dedicated to one end — victory. Through this tremendous concentration of effort and resources the war itself was revolu-

*Extent of
World War*

*Nature of
the War*

¹ See pp. 1192-1193

tionized New methods, such as highly elaborated trench warfare, the use of gas, wireless telegraphy, and other products of science were developed, new weapons — machine-guns, tanks, submarines, and airplanes — were invented or improved, and a new sphere of fighting — the struggle in the air — was introduced. Before the conclusion of the war all the fighting nations were fused into a compact, mobilized whole, straining every nerve, using every science and art, summoning all powers of ingenuity, and enduring cruel military discipline to achieve one end — triumph over the enemy.

At first the military and naval leaders on both sides found it very difficult to cope with the new conditions which rose out of this revolutionized war. Firm believers in the idea expressed by the Prussian military writer, Clausewitz (1780–1831), that victory would come to the side possessing superior man power, they tended to neglect scientific progress and technical invention and to minimize the value of weapon power. Conservative generals often failed to appreciate the fact that improvements in the mechanical phase of warfare were bound to strengthen the defensive rather than the offensive, and that these inventions would make the struggle a trench deadlock, rather than a war of movement.

*Defensive
Warfare*

Yet experience was soon to show that two machine-guns in defense were often capable of paralyzing the attacking power of a thousand men, driving them to take refuge in trenches. And as the machine-guns became more plentiful, together with barbed wire and entrenchments, the paralysis would become more severe. Actually, the two groups of belligerents rather resembled, as has been pointed out, two cars whose bumpers have become interlocked as the result of a head-on collision.

A great majority of the military authorities were not only unable to appreciate the significance of the new mechanical warfare, but they were also unable to control the tremendous forces at their disposal. In their desire to swell their ranks, they had forgotten the warning of the able eighteenth-century commander, Marshal Saxe, that great numbers only serve to perplex and embarrass. Even with the aid of railways and broad highways it was difficult to handle armies of millions, keep them supplied, and prevent them from clogging the arteries of movement. The hope of an overwhelming victory, in the grand manner of Napoleon, was stultified by the very mass of these armies.

Nevertheless, the use of innovations did not eliminate the importance of man-power as a vital determining factor. Instruments of destruction, improved and more numerous, made the number of men required for military service greater than ever before; and those who could not serve in the armies were needed for the production of war materials and food supplies. Universal service, which mobilized men for the trenches, was extended to include the conscription of man-power in the factories which produced goods necessary for carrying on the war. Women, as well as men, played an important rôle in

the struggle. As nurses, as Red Cross workers, as substitutes for men in industry, commerce, and even agriculture, and as knitters of socks and sweaters, they played an important part in the war.

At the beginning of the struggle generals as well as civilians thought that it would not last longer than six months. German military experts, expecting a swift and glorious victory, adopted the famous von Schlieffen Plan whereby German troops would first invade and conquer France and then turn to the east and put Russia out of the struggle. In order to defeat France before Russia had mobilized her troops the plan called for a rapid invasion across the level, neutral states of Luxembourg and Belgium, rather than over the Franco-German frontier where the French were protected by strong fortresses and the Vosges mountains. This plan offered the Germans the opportunity to envelop completely and to conquer the French forces by a wide encircling movement of eight German armies, with Metz as the pivot.

*von Schlieffen
Plan*

Failing to grasp the significance of this strategy, the Allied military authorities planned to delay the German advance into France while the Russians mobilized and swept full strength into Austria and Germany. At the same time, the French intended to invade Alsace-Lorraine, and by so doing, liberate their compatriots and secure control of the industrial areas along the Rhine, and then outflank the German armies as they marched through Belgium and northern France.

Unexpected resistance in Belgium delayed the German advance and enabled the French armies and a small British expeditionary force to avoid being caught within the enemy's scythe. Failing to break the German lines guarding Alsace-Lorraine, the French force quickly gave way, and for a time it looked as though they might retreat to southern France, leaving Paris to the tender mercies of the Germans. Meanwhile, the Kaiser's armies, disregarding the important channel ports which might have been seized at this time, advanced towards Paris. But when they were within the vicinity of that city, insufficient troops and the necessity of re-establishing the alignment of the invading armies, forced the German army, under General von Kluck on the extreme right of the huge line, to sweep around east of Paris. General Gallieni, military governor of Paris, appreciated at once the full significance of this move of the Germans. Determined to strike the exposed right of the German line, he finally persuaded Joffre, the French commander-in-chief, to stop the retreat, order the Allies to attack, and allow Gallieni to strike the German army passing Paris "behind its right shoulder blade." On September sixth occurred the "right about turn" and the first battle of the Marne had begun.

*The first battle
of Marne*

Gallieni's stroke temporarily unhinged the German right wing. Meanwhile, in the center of the lines, the Crown Prince, trying to break past the strongly fortified Verdun pivot, was stopped by the fierce fire of the French artillery.

With his center and right wing held up, and with his forces beyond his control, the mediocre German commander-in-chief, von Moltke, from his distant headquarters in Luxemburg, ordered the retreat that signified an Allied victory in the first Battle of the Marne

Despite bitter protests, the German army-group commanders at the front obeyed this order and retreated to a strong position on the river Aisne. By so doing they gave up their plan to put France out of the war in six weeks by their enveloping movement. Instead, they now tried to seize the important channel ports. Antwerp and Ghent were occupied, but the French and British, in the famous battle of Ypres, prevented the Germans from obtaining possession of such important ports as Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. Thus the Germans had failed to carry out their plan to win the war with a smashing victory in France. After the short campaign, the struggle in the west ceased to be a war of movement and manoeuvre. Both sides settled down to trench warfare extending some 600 miles from the channel to the Alps. There they remained, neither side able to achieve a "break through" until the closing weeks of the war.

In the east as well as in the west plans of the Central Powers were frustrated. Completing a surprisingly rapid mobilization, Russia poured her armies into East Prussia and Galicia. For a short time the advance of the Slav forces into Germany and Austria seemed irresistible. But the inability of the Russian armies to co-operate enabled the German forces in Prussia to attack one Russian army and practically destroy it in the famous Battle of Tannenberg (August 26-31, 1914). In Galicia, however, the Russians were more successful, capturing fortresses and pushing the Austrians into the Carpathian mountains. By the fall of 1914 a Russian conquest of the Dual Monarchy seemed inevitable. But winter prevented conclusive hostilities. To a certain extent the conflict in the east became stabilized, yet it never completely lost its character as a war movement, as was the case in the west.

With the failure of both sides to achieve decisive results in the east or in the west, the conflict turned into a gigantic war of attrition to determine which side could outlast the other. At first neither the Germans nor the French had shown much interest in the potentialities of sea power. Intent upon a quick, complete victory on land the German command practically ignored the British fleet which had quietly gone to its bases above the North Sea even before the outbreak of Anglo-German hostilities. But by the spring of 1915 the Germans realized that British naval superiority, enabling her to dominate the seas, to strip Germany of colonies, and to sweep German commerce from the ocean, constituted a formidable obstacle to German success. Facing economic pressure as a result of an Allied blockade, the Germans by 1915 were forced to study the ways and means whereby a counter-pressure could be introduced. Afraid

*Battle of
Tannenberg*

The submarine

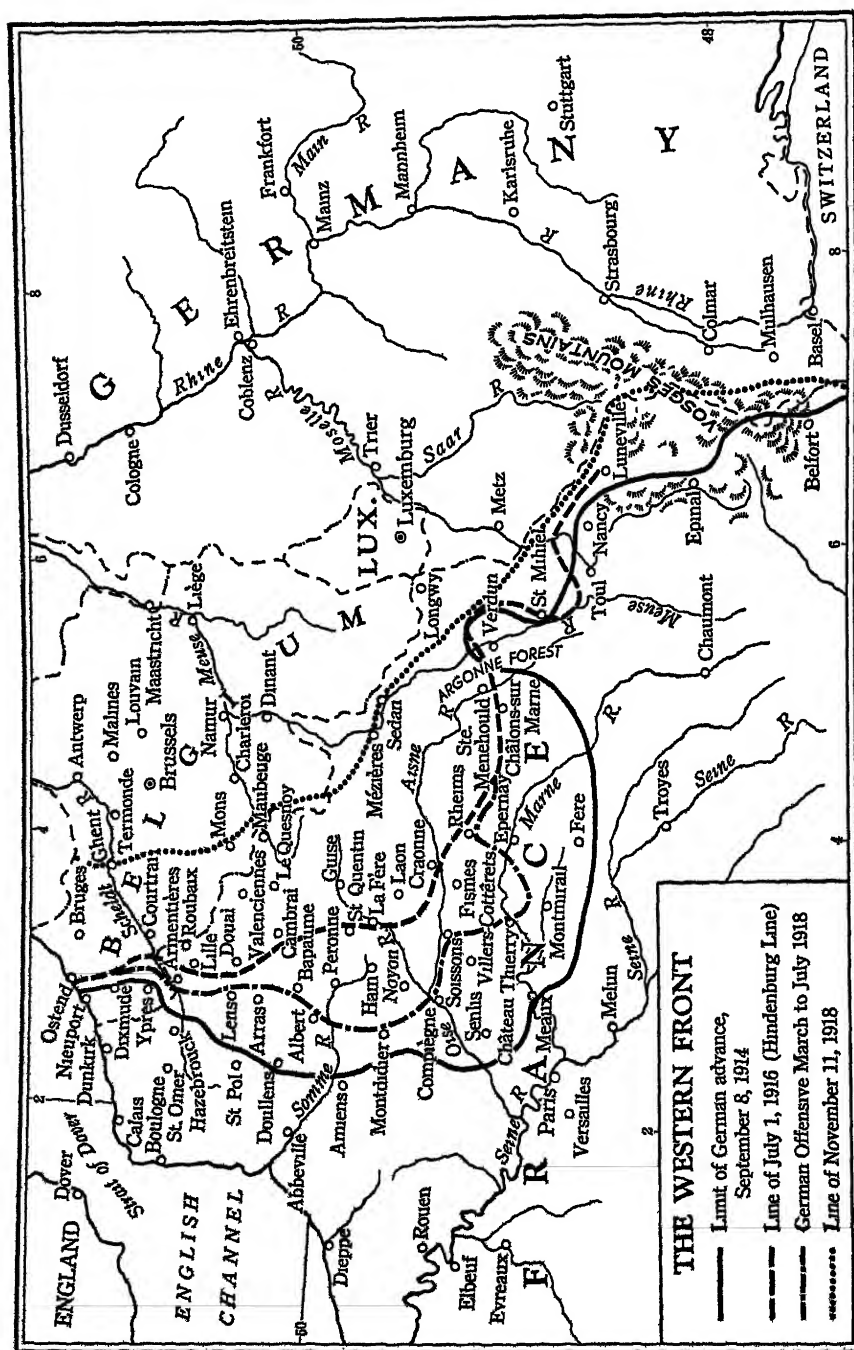
to send their main fleet, which was bottled up in the Kiel canal, against the British, the Germans resorted to the submarine as a means of overcoming British surface superiority and of blockading her ports

In February, 1915, Germany instituted a submarine campaign against British shipping. Inasmuch as the nature of the submarines would not permit the Germans to visit, search, and take prisoners from enemy boats, Berlin announced the establishment of a war zone around Great Britain in which enemy vessels would be sunk. In retaliation, Great Britain declared that she would search all ships suspected of carrying goods to Germany. These declarations led to difficulties with neutrals, especially the United States. America protested vigorously the right of the English and the Germans to search or destroy her vessels. Tension between Great Britain and the United States, however, was softened as a result of the sinking of the British liner, *Lusitania*, on May 7, 1915, by a German submarine. The drowning of over a hundred Americans, as a result of German naval policy, was resented by the United States much more than was the seizure of vessels and goods by the British patrols. The Allies, but perhaps even more the Germans themselves, built up intense anti-German sentiment in the United States as a result of these submarine attacks. At the same time, the Allies, disregarding neutral objections, tightened their economic pressure on Germany.

While Great Britain was trying to starve Germany by naval and economic pressure, British and French troops were engaged in a series of futile attempts to break through the German lines on the Western Front.

Of the opinion that superiority of numbers would ensure victory, Generals Joffre of France and French of Great Britain, launched, throughout 1915, attack after attack upon German heavily entrenched positions. In March the British struck the enemy at Neuve Chapelle, and a tremendous loss of life was the only tangible result. In April the Germans, using poison gas, struck the Allied line left of the Ypies salient. Taken unawares and defenseless, the French troops retreated, but General von Falkenhayn, the successor of von Moltke, had little confidence in this new weapon and failed to exploit this initial success. Meanwhile, Canadian troops, aided by English and Indian reinforcements, filled up the breach in the line and saved the situation. In May, General Joffre, announcing that the end of the war was near, opened a large scale offensive near Arras. Thousands of men and over 1250 guns were concentrated on a four mile sector. French gains were negligible, however, and did not compensate for the loss of 102,000 men. The strongly intrenched Germans, with machine guns and reserves, were able to keep their line intact. In September-October, the French sacrificed nearly 200,000 men in fruitless assaults against the German defenses in Champagne and Artois.

In 1915 the Allies felt constrained to engage in serious operations in the Near-Eastern theatre of war. Turkey's entry into the conflict on the side of





the Central Powers in 1914 had bolted the Black Sea back-gate, by which Russia's potential millions of men might have been furnished with adequate munitions. Aware of Russia's precarious situation and afraid of Turkish designs against Egypt and the Suez Canal, Great Britain, by December, 1914, decided to act. A landing of troops near Alexandria, where the solitary railway linked Turkey with the Arabian part of her empire, was considered. Meanwhile, the famous Englishman, Lawrence, aroused the national aspirations of the Arabs, and after 1915 brought them into the war against the Turks.

While Lawrence and the Arabs were making it uncomfortable for the Turks in Arabia, the French and British went to the aid of Russia. By so doing they planned to bring supplies to their faltering ally, to prevent Bulgaria from joining the Central Powers, and to establish a strong battle front in the Balkans. To reach these objectives the Allies decided to send a fleet up the Straits and capture Constantinople. On February 19, British and French warships having destroyed the forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles entered the narrows. A month later the combined naval forces, after silencing the land forts, were ready to move up the Straits. While engaged in this phase of the campaign several Allied warships were sunk or badly damaged. Fear of the unknown now caused Admiral de Robeck to abandon the attack, which, according to certain naval authorities, might have led to complete success, if the fleet had continued to advance.

The Allies refused to renounce their plans to force the Straits despite the hostility of the Allied commanders-in-chief who disliked seeing any soldiers diverted from the Western Front. Resorting to a land attack with an army of inexperienced Australian, New Zealand, Indian, and French colonial troops, they tried from April, 1915 until the following January, to capture the narrow Gallipoli Peninsula which commanded the western side of the Straits. But the Turks, under the direction of the able German general Liman von Sanders, and a brilliant Turkish leader, Mustapha Kemal, strengthened their fortifications and were able to check the Allied attacks. So, after losing over 50,000 men in futile attempts to scale the heights and capture Gallipoli, the Allies decided to withdraw their troops and to move them over to Salonika in Greek territory, where a battle front was to be established.

Even though it failed, the Gallipoli campaign indirectly enabled the Allies to strengthen their position on the Western Front by influencing the Germans to concentrate their efforts in the east and in the Balkans. Fearing the possible collapse of Austria as a result of Russian and Serbian pressure, von Falkenhayn determined to stand on the defensive on the Western Front, and, in the east, to push the Russians back to a safe distance and to liquidate the Serbian menace.

On May 2, 1915 the Central Powers launched an attack on the Eastern Front. Fifteen hundred heavy guns, firing thousands of shells, completely destroyed sections of the enemy's trenches. Deficient in reserves and guns the Russians were unable to match the fresh shock troops of the Germans and had to retreat. In less than two months Galicia had been reconquered by the Austro-German forces.

Victorious in Galicia, the Central Powers, led by Generals von Hindenburg and von Mackensen, now turned on Russian Poland. Applying pressure on the salient which surrounded the city of Warsaw, they literally squeezed the Russians out of Poland and back into the interior of Russia. By August 4, 1915, Russia no longer was in a position to threaten the Central Powers.

With the Russians expelled from Galicia and Poland, von Falkenhayn decided to "steam roller" Serbia and thus to remove another menace to the Dual Monarchy. Aided by Bulgaria, who, on September 6 had accepted the German promises of rich territorial rewards *Conquest of Serbia* and had joined the side of the Central Powers, von Mackensen forced the Serbian army out of Serbia. That country now came under the rule of the enemy, and the remnants of the Serbian army were transferred to the Allied front at Salonika, there to become a part of the Allied army of about 500,000 men. Inasmuch as this huge force remained inactive during the greater part of the war it was derisively called by the Germans "their largest internment camp."

- Italy's declaration of war on her ancient foe, Austria (May, 1915), was partly responsible for Germany's decision to conquer Serbia. Militarily, however, Italy's intervention did not greatly affect the situation, for her army, poorly drilled and inadequately *Entrance of Italy* equipped, was incapable of overcoming the Austrians, in view of the mountainous nature of the terrain. Because of this geographical advantage, Austria was able, in 1915, to hold the line without drawing more than a few divisions from the Russian front. Numerous attempts were made by the Italians in 1915 and 1916 to push across the Isonzo river and capture Trieste, but by August, 1917, the Italians, having suffered over a half million casualties, and having fought over eleven "Battles of Isonzo" were still in the vicinity of the river.

On the Mesopotamian, as on most other fronts in 1915, the Allies were not very successful. Even before Turkey entered the war a small Indian force had been sent to safeguard the oil fields in that region. Later, under the lead of General Townshend, a British division *Kut-el-Amara* was pushed up the Tigris river in order to menace Bagdad. Moving forward to Kut-el-Amara, far from his base on the Persian Gulf, Townshend was finally defeated by the Turks at that place and forced to surrender, on April 29, 1916.

Meanwhile, von Falkenhayn had already decided to seek a definitive vic-

tory in the west by delivering a knockout blow to France. In fact, with Russia practically out of the struggle, with Serbia crushed, and with the Turks holding their own, the Germans, in the fall of 1915 were of the opinion that a tremendous assault upon Verdun, chosen as the point of attack for sentimental as well as strategic reasons, would destroy France as a factor in the conflict. Such a success would silence criticism at home and would probably force Great Britain to accept terms of peace.

During the winter of 1915-1916 a tremendous concentration of men and artillery was completed in the powerfully fortified sector opposite the city of Verdun. Unaware of these preparations, Great Britain took over a larger section of the Allied line in anticipation of a projected Anglo-French offensive further north. Dissatisfied with the system of voluntary enlistments, the British adopted in January, 1916, a system of conscription. By the spring, the British, under their new commander, Sir Douglas Haig, were confident of administering a crushing defeat to the enemy. This plan was rudely disrupted when the German offensive struck Verdun with the fury of a cyclone.

In February, 1916, the battle was opened by a short, terrific German bombardment on a front of fifteen miles. This furious attack obliterated the French lines and converted the terrain into a wilderness of shell craters. Then the German infantry, protected by a barrage, moved forward. The Germans planned a continuous series of limited advances which would force the French to move reserves into "the mincing-machine" fashioned by German artillery. Each advance was to be preceded by a short but intense artillery bombardment. The briefness of the bombardment was calculated to effect surprise so as to deny the enemy an opportunity of concentrating reserves at the threatened point. By this means each objective would be taken and consolidated before the French could get set for a counter-attack.

Adhering to this plan during the first month of the battle, the Germans, under von Falkenhayn, seemed to be slowly but steadily bleeding the French white. The capture of Verdun seemed inevitable. About the end of March, however, von Falkenhayn felt that the French reserves had been destroyed. He therefore determined, rather illogically, to capture Verdun by the use of sheer man-power. Resorting to frontal attacks, ameliorated by no element of surprise, the Germans found themselves suffering severe losses. Although German troops were able to capture several forts and to penetrate within four miles of the city, they were not powerful enough to continue the advance. By June 30 the Germans lost the initiative and the tide of battle turned. The French recovered much of the territory lost earlier, and thus neutralized the German advance. On the following day British troops opened up a terrific attack on the Somme, and the German army, now on the defensive, forced to shift its reserves, could no longer concentrate on Verdun.¹

¹ Over 315,000 Frenchmen and 281,000 Germans were killed in the battle of Verdun.

In the battle of the Somme, which lasted from July to November of 1916, the British discovered that the German defense had not been appreciably weakened by their failure at Verdun. Aided by French troops *Battle of the Somme* and by tanks (which were used for the first time) they finally captured the plateau, held by the Germans, but at a tremendous cost of life. By fall the heavy rains made the battle field impassable, so that the struggle came to an end with both sides weakened, but with both lines unbroken.

While the Germans and the Allies were engaged in these titanic battles, an important naval engagement was fought in the North Sea. Having abandoned the use of the submarine against merchant vessels, the German naval leaders reverted to their original plan of weakening the British forces in order to give the German fleet a reasonable chance of victory in the event of a major battle. With this idea in mind, a German scouting force, functioning as a decoy, tried to lure a British squadron out into the North Sea. Meanwhile, the main German battle fleet lay in wait, prepared to pounce upon the unsuspecting enemy. The British also elected to maneuver in the North Sea, and Beatty, in charge of the battle-cruiser squadron, proceeded to join Jellicoe with the grand fleet at a rendezvous off the coast of Norway. Beatty fell in with the German scouts, and then their main fleet. When he realized the situation, he decoyed the German forces into the fangs of the high seas fleet on May 31, 1916. The Germans did not dare to fight it out at this time. After a running fight off Jutland, they escaped during the night and returned to Kiel. In the short engagement which *Jutland* did occur the British fleet was severely battered, but the Germans, in leaving the British in control of the seas, forfeited any claims even to a moral victory.

Influenced by their military and naval failures, responsible German leaders by the winter of 1916 realized that a complete victory was impossible. They were encouraged by their conquest of Rumania, who had entered the war on the Allied side in August, 1916, and by *German peace offer* their control of the valuable economic resources of the Near East, nevertheless, they realized that they probably had made their maximum gains. Therefore they desired to discuss terms of peace while the war map was still favorable to the Central Powers. With this plan in mind, the Germans in December, 1916, transmitted, via President Wilson of the United States, a note to the governments of their enemies. Therein, they proposed peace negotiations and intimated that they had no desire to destroy their foes, but that if the Allies refused to accept this offer, the struggle would continue with Germany and her allies "solemnly disclaiming any responsibility before mankind and history."

In an official reply to the note, the Allies (December 30, 1916) maintained that Germany had failed to state the terms of peace and had sent this vague offer only as a war maneuver in order to undermine public opinion in Allied countries and to stiffen it in the Central Powers. Claiming that the enemy

was worn out as a result of economic pressure and heavy losses, the Allied generals denounced their proposal as empty and insincere

Upon receipt of this reply the Central Powers sent a note to the neutral governments stating that they had made a sincere attempt to end the war and that the Allies, in refusing to take this road, must assume responsibility for the prolongation of the struggle. Meanwhile, Germany's celebrated pair of generals, von Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had supplanted von Falkenhayn, were making plans to secure a decisive victory. They decided to revert to unrestricted submarine warfare so as to starve England into submission. At the same time, they contemplated an eventful offensive to shatter the Western Front, which was to be preceded, however, by the complete liquidation of the Eastern Front.

On January 31, 1917, the German government announced that on the following day all vessels, neutral or belligerent, within certain zones adjoining Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, would be sunk by submarines. Germany realized that this desperate policy would probably bring the United States into the war, but she believed that the Allies would be crushed before this western power could be of much material assistance to the already war-weary Allies.

Germany's decision to resort to the use of the submarine precipitated the intervention of the United States in the war. By January, 1917, a great majority of Americans sympathized with the Allied cause. From the beginning of the struggle both sides had tried to influence public opinion in all neutral countries, but especially in the United States. In 1914 the contesting governments had tried, through the publication of Blue Books, Red Books, Orange Books, and so on, to justify their participation in the war before their peoples and their neighbors. Propagandists, representing the interests of each belligerent power, used printing presses, photographs, post-cards, motion pictures, schools, and churches to impress upon their compatriots and upon the neutrals the nobility of their country's war aims and the perversity and barbarism of the enemy. Both sides tried especially to influence public opinion in the United States. Germany by 1916 was doing everything in her power to keep the United States out of the war, while Allied propagandists strove desperately to bring that country into the struggle on their side. Control by the Allies of the various means of communication — the cables, for example, — enabled them to surpass the Germans in this unscrupulous business. Long lists of "atrocities," asserted to have been committed by the Germans (later proved to be fictitious) were printed in the pro-Ally press throughout America. Cartoons also were published, picturing the Germans as barbarians — cruel, savage Huns. Following the fall of their autocratic ally, Russia, in the Revolution of 1917, the Allies proceeded to stress the evils of despotism. In fact the people of

*Unrestricted use
of submarine*

*Propaganda
and the War*

the whole world were told that the Allies were fighting German militarism, imperialism, and autocracy, in order to make the world "safe for democracy"

Despite this propaganda President Wilson and the American people as a whole tried, during the first two and a half years of the war, to maintain a policy of neutrality. At the same time the President endeavored to find a basis of peace upon which the warring peoples could agree. His efforts in this direction, however, were futile. The Allies, insisting that they were fighting a battle which was defensive and just, resented Wilson's attempt to intervene, and even accused him of pro-Germanism. The Central Powers, equally convinced that right was their side, scorned all peace proposals, at least until the fall of 1916.

*President Wilson
and the War*

Aroused by the opposition to his peace endeavors, President Wilson tended to regard the belligerents as "naughty school boys." He resented keenly their refusal to accept his offer of mediation, and determined to do everything in his power to keep the United States from being involved in the conflict. Re-elected President in November, 1916, on the claim that he had kept America out of the war, Wilson, as late as January, 1917, still hoped, at least officially, that his country would never participate in this terrible struggle.

The announcement of the German submarine campaign, a few weeks later, and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March, 1917, forced the President's hand. By that time both Wilson and the American public realized that German provocations left the United States with no recourse save war. Finally conquering his hesitations, Wilson, during the first week of April, recommended that his country declare war, and on April 6, 1917, the United States entered the struggle against Germany. The United States was not prepared to play an important part in the military phase of the conflict. Until 1918, therefore, her help was largely limited to the moral and economic spheres.

*Intervention of
the United States*

Actually, the United States had been furnishing the Allies financial help long before she entered the war. From the very beginning of the struggle she sold munitions and other goods to them. Unable to pay cash for their purchases the Allies in 1915 decided to float a huge loan in the United States. Many influential Americans, including William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, opposed this loan, claiming that it might involve the United States in the conflict. Despite this opposition, international banking houses, particularly the House of Morgan, succeeded in disposing of the bonds to American citizens. By 1917 the situation, however, had become so critical that American bankers found it difficult to sell Allied bonds in the United States. Conscious of this situation, bankers, industrialists, and certain others were inclined towards American intervention in the war in order to assure an Allied victory, necessary to safeguard their economic interests. The press, controlled by them, immediately inaugu-

Economic reasons

rated a bitter campaign against Germany—a campaign which did much to reconcile the American public to war

Following its declaration of war, the American government placed its financial and economic strength behind the Allies American bonds (Liberty bonds) were sold to millions of patriotic citizens and a large part of the proceeds were loaned to Great Britain, France, and the other associated powers

While the United States was preparing to assist the Allies, Russia, overtaken by revolution, withdrew from the struggle Corrupt, inefficient, and

The Russian Revolution

short-sighted, the tsarist government was unable to defeat the highly industrialized and well organized German Empire In March, 1917, Russian soldiers and civilians, aroused by repeated defeats, governmental inefficiency, the breakdown of transportation, and scarcity of food, revolted Thereupon there was established a provisional government, with first, a liberal nobleman, Prince Lvov, and later, a Menshevist leader, Kerensky, as chief executive The new government tried to continue the war, but the exhaustion of Russia, morally and physically, and the demands of the peasants and workers for lands and peace led to the overthrow of this moderately socialist government and the withdrawal of Russia from the war The Bolshevik government which came into power in the fall of 1917 opened negotiations with the Central Powers, and on March 3, 1918, signed a peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk By this settlement Russia surrendered to the Central Powers the Ukraine, Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Estonia, Livonia, Finland, and the Åland Islands The districts of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum were conceded to Turkey In addition, Russia had to pay an indemnity and furnish her late enemies with certain raw materials

The withdrawal of autocratic Russia from the war enabled the Allies to liberalize the expression of their war aims They therefore permitted President

The Fourteen Points

Wilson, as their spokesman, to announce that the object of the war was to emancipate oppressed peoples, to preserve democracy, and to abolish war On January 8, 1918, the means of achieving these objectives were defined by President Wilson in his Fourteen Points Briefly, they were (1) abolition of secret diplomacy; (2) freedom of the seas, (3) removal of economic barriers, (4) reduction of armaments, (5) adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the people concerned, (6) help to Russia in the rehabilitation of her national life, (7) restoration of Belgium, (8) evacuation of France and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to that country, (9) readjustment of Italy's frontiers, (10) autonomy for subject nationalities in the Dual Monarchy, (11) restoration of the Balkan states, (12) self-government for subject peoples in the Ottoman Empire and freedom of the Dardanelles for all ships; (13) an independent Poland with access to the sea; and (14) a League of Nations. But the Allies accepted these terms only in part Thoroughly incompatible with Wilson's Fourteen Points were the secret treaties among the Allies which provided for the par-

tion of the German colonies in Africa, French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, Russia's annexation of Constantinople, cessions of lands not predominantly Italian to Italy, division of Germany's holdings in the Far East, virtual political and economic partition of Turkey

Although distrustful of Wilson's lack of realism, the Allies welcomed his plan to put the United States on a war footing. Given dictatorial powers by Congress, the President conscripted men, built boats, and organized industry, transportation, and agriculture, for the prosecution of the war. Over twenty-one billion dollars were raised by the sale of Liberty bonds, to carry on the struggle. The navy was given the task of guarding ocean lines so that troops and supplies could be transported to the battle front.

Thanks to the British and American moves the German submarine campaign by the fall of 1917 had proved to be a failure. By weapons of offense against the submarine, such as the mine, the depth charge, and the airplane, and by agencies of the defense, such as the convoy system, the barrage, and the camouflaged ship, the Allies were able to cut shipping losses, which, in the spring, had soared to appalling heights.

*Failure of
submarine
campaign*

By the spring of 1918 large American forces under General Pershing were in France, ready for action, the submarine policy of Germany, terribly injurious at first, was breaking down, and Germany, desperate as a result of these developments, had decided to stake all her hopes on a final drive on the Western Front.

Certain tendencies in 1917 encouraged the Germans in their expectation of victory. During that year the Allies had failed to dent the German front. In the summer war weariness developed in every country, but particularly in Great Britain, France, and Italy. These developments, together with the breach made by Teutonic soldiers in the Italian lines at Caporetto and the consequent invasion of northern Italy by the Austrians in the fall of 1917, strengthened the German military authorities in their determination to make one last bid for victory. Actually, however, the dangers of collapse, due to war weariness, were pretty well dissipated by the end of 1917.

Defeatism

Nevertheless, conditions in the early spring of 1918 seemed to favor the Germans. The United States did not yet have many troops ready for action, while Germany, thanks to the withdrawal of Russia, was able to move the bulk of her forces from the Eastern to the Western Front. Once again the Teutonic forces in the west outnumbered those of the Allies.

*Preparation
for final blow*

General Ludendorff, Germany's outstanding military strategist, was largely responsible for the military preparations and plans which resulted in this last gigantic assault. Over a half million men and many guns were transferred from east to west, and a scheme of attack was decided upon whereby the

artillery was to constitute a vast battering ram, to be accompanied by a novel attack, called infiltration, whereby the German troops would sift into the Allied lines and undermine them. After considerable discussion, the military leaders determined to advance first on the St. Quentin's sector, the point where the French and British forces joined. The tendency on the part of the French to cover Paris, and the British to concentrate in front of their bases, the channel ports, made this sector especially vulnerable, for if a breach could be made in the lines, the two Allies would retreat in divergent directions, thus creating a widening gap between them. Moreover, if Amiens, a railroad center, could be captured, the main transportation lines connecting London and Paris would be cut. Then the British troops could be rolled back to the coast, while the French armies could be surrounded and forced to surrender.

On March 21, 1918, the Germans inaugurated this attack. The British Left, greatly outnumbered, was forced back and lost contact with the French.

German attacks of 1918 Military mistakes on the part of the German commanders, delay on account of pillage, and the late, but effective aid of the French enabled the British finally to check the German attack. Although the Teutons had advanced nearly thirty-five miles and had badly dented the Allied lines, inflicting tremendous casualties, they failed to reach their main objective—the unhinging of the Allied front. Aroused by this lack of co-operation on the part of the British and the French forces, the Allied leaders, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Pétain, Foch, Haig, Pershing, and others, met in April, 1918, and, in an attempt to create unity, appointed Foch commander-in-chief of the Allied armies.

In April and May the Germans made two more attempts to break through the Allied lines. On April ninth they tried, unsuccessfully, to reach the channel ports by attacking the British between La Bassée and Armentières. Despite heavy losses, as a result of the assault, Ludendorff continued his "peace drive" by attacking the French line between Soissons and Reims. By May 31 the Germans had created a large triangular salient in this sector which had Soissons, Reims, and Château-Thierry as its three corners. Here they were checked by French troops ably supported by American forces. Unless they converted the Amiens and Château-Thierry salients into one, the Germans at this time were in danger of being enveloped in either salient by Allied troops. Aware of this danger, Ludendorff tried to join these salients by attacking the Allies on a twelve-mile front, reaching from Montdidier to Noyon (June 9–15, 1918). Again the French and American troops stopped this drive, after the Germans had advanced about six miles.

By July, 1918 the tide of battle had turned. Checked in an attempt to defeat the Italians (June 17), broken in spirit, confronted by grave economic problems and nationalist unrest, the Dual Monarchy practically withdrew from the war. Meanwhile, the Germans made a

final desperate attempt to enlarge the Château-Thierry salient American, Italian, and French troops stopped their advance and prevented them from capturing Reims and breaking the line. Now the initiative changed hands. With thousands of American troops being sent into the battle front (there were over a million American soldiers in the field before the war came to an end) the Allies proceeded to wipe out the Château-Thierry and Amiens salients, to cross the Somme, and to force a general German retreat. Ludendorff, realizing that he lacked sufficient reserves to win the war, advised a settlement by peace negotiations.

In September the cause of the Central Powers started to crumble. Austria asked all nations involved in the war to send representatives to a "confidential and non-binding discussion on basic principles." This suggestion was ignored by the Allies. Two weeks later (September 30) Bulgaria signed an armistice with the Allies, *Collapse of Germany's Allies* giving the latter the right to cross her territory in order to attack Turkey or invade the Dual Monarchy. Turkey now realized that she could not oppose this European invasion. Deprived of Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, and Aleppo as a result of British and Arab advances in Asia Minor, and fearing the loss of Mosul, the oil region of Mesopotamia, and of Adrianople in Thrace, the Turks withdrew from the war (October 30, 1918). Austria-Hungary next decided to sue for peace. Deserted by her Balkan allies, confronted by internal unrest, and facing an invasion via the Balkans, she capitulated, signing an armistice on November 3, 1918.

Germany could not continue the war alone. Her armies, depleted of their reserves, lacking adequate food and equipment, and more important, upset in their morale, could not stem the tide of Allied attacks which were launched along the entire Western Front from the channel to the Vosges Mountains. By October 1 the kaiser was urged by both Ludendorff and von Hindenburg to ask for terms of peace. Thereupon he sent a note to President Wilson, appealing for the end of hostilities and announcing Germany's readiness to accept the Fourteen Points. Meanwhile, the Allies were forcing the Germans out of France and Belgium. Over a million American troops were engaged in an offensive between the Argonne Forest and the river Meuse, which resulted in the collapse of the German line and the capture of Sedan itself.

By November the Germans realized that they would have to capitulate. The collapse of the Dual Monarchy and the fact that the Allied armies could now cross this country to attack Germany from the south, made the continuation of the war impracticable. Further, mutinies *The Armistice* in the navy, the establishment of a republic in Bavaria, and the flight of the kaiser to Holland—all symptoms of an impending revolution in Germany—compelled Berlin to sue for an armistice. A temporary government under the liberal Prince Max was forced to give way to a socialist ministry under Friedrich Ebert, a saddle maker. On November 5, 1918, this government was

offered an armistice by France, Belgium, and Luxemburg that provided for the evacuation of German forces within two weeks, and the withdrawal of German soldiers from all territory west of the Rhine within a month. The terms of the armistice also stated that the Allies were to occupy the west bank of the Rhine and the chief crossings, Germany was to renounce all treaties with Russia, she was to surrender to the Allies, submarines, warships, 5,000 locomotives, 5,000 motor lorries, and 150,000 railway cars, and finally, she was to permit the continuance of the Allied economic blockade. Unable to prolong the struggle, the German government accepted these severe terms, and, at 11 A. M., November 11, 1918, firing ceased for the first time in four years. The war was over.

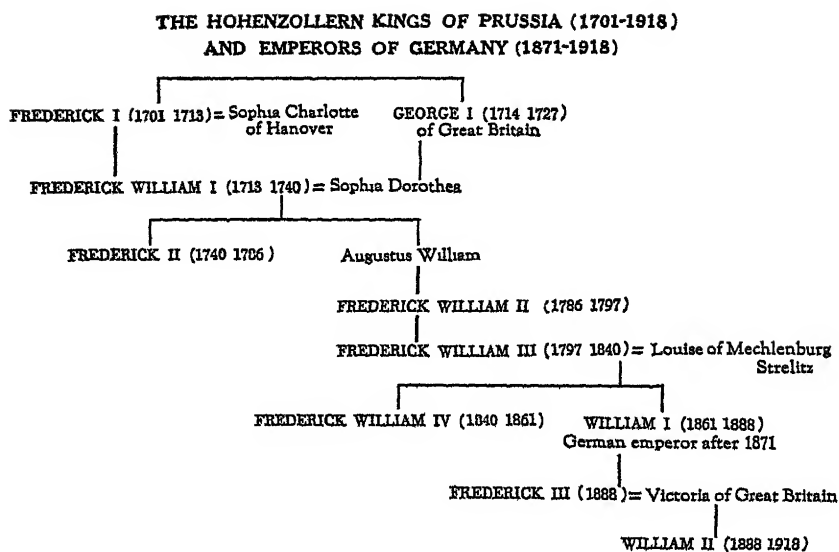
The signing of the armistice ushered in a new stage in European history as the powers endeavored to wipe out the losses contracted as a result of this four-year slaughter. Most of the bills, however, could not be paid. Life and health could not be restored to the ten million soldiers who were killed on the field of battle, and to the millions more whose lives were shortened or ruined as a result of the war. Nor could pensions and bonuses make up for the sufferings of the millions of wounded soldiers, orphans, and widows.

Most of the economic costs of the war could not be paid. Of the \$337,846,000,000, which Professor Bogart estimated in 1919 was the total cost of the war,

Cost of the War the natural resources which went into the production of munitions and machines of war were completely wasted. This wastage alone amounted to over \$186,000,000,000. Moreover property losses (\$29,960,000,000), losses to shipping (\$6,800,000,000) and production losses through diverted and non-economic production (\$45,000,000,000) — all constituted losses of things which were actually consumed during the war, and, as such, constituted a deliberate waste of man's economic inheritance. In addition, there were other costs, such as interest on loans, retirement of loans, and pensions.

But these expenses were only a part of the real costs of the war. Writing in 1919, Professor Bogart brought out this point very well when he said,

The figures are incomprehensible and appalling, yet even those do not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic well-being, ethics, morality or other phases of human relationships and activities which have been disorganized and injured. It is evident from the present disturbances in Europe that the real costs cannot be measured by direct money outlays of the belligerents in the five years of its duration, but that the very breakdown of modern economic life might be the price exacted.



CHAPTER LXXII

PEACE SETTLEMENTS, 1919-1920

When the Germans surrendered by accepting the armistice, it was evident that an era in the history of Western civilization had come to an end, and that the leaders of the victorious powers must assemble and prepare the way for the new order. This new order was to *Idealists* ensure an enduring peace—a peace which, according to President Wilson, was “to be planted upon the tested foundation of political liberty.” Never before had the masses of people of the world entertained such great hopes as when their diplomatic representatives gathered at Paris to make the world “safe for democracy.”

The great champion of the idealists in 1919 was President Wilson. People believed that he had the good of mankind at heart, and after the war they were confident that he would in some way bring about the great reforms of which he had spoken with such bewitching eloquence. Few realized, however, the serious obstacles that stood in the way of his idealistic program. The consummation of Wilson's aims required the solution of problems that had baffled mankind for ages. Moreover, the peace program of the American President, vaguely expressed and indefinite as to specific settlements, neglected the special desires and practical needs of the victorious states. The interests of the Allies, as expressed in the secret treaties and elsewhere, were bound to clash with the higher aims set forth in the Fourteen Points. Apparently not impressed by his idealism, the principal Allied leaders, in view of the passions of war which were still at a crest among them and the people they represented, determined to arrive at a settlement designed to secure a lasting peace through the advancement of their interests and the drastic punishment of the foe.

The leading statesmen at the Congress of Paris, which met on January 18, 1919, were President Wilson of the United States, Georges Clemenceau of France, David Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Vittorio *Diplomats* Orlando of Italy. Unlike the independent diplomats, Metternich and Castlereagh, at Vienna, these statesmen had to account for their actions to populaces which were over-nationalized, self-conscious, and press-ridden. Obsessed by hate of Germany, millions of Allied peoples demanded a crushing punishment for her and a peace of vengeance.

Under the circumstances it was difficult for diplomatists to achieve an everlasting, a harsh, and at the same time a compromise peace which would

be fair to all parties. Three forces explain to some extent why they adopted some degree of moderation in their treatment of Germany, namely, the conflict of interests between Great Britain and France, the desire to conciliate the United States, and the fear of Bolshevik Russia. Despite the bitter anti-German feeling in Great Britain, Lloyd George opposed Clemenceau's desire to ruin completely his Teuton neighbor. The British premier knew that his country's interests lay in an economic recovery of Germany rather than in her destruction as an important state. Both Lloyd George and Clemenceau realized that their countries needed financial aid from the United States for reconstruction, and that they must not alienate their American associate. Moreover, they hoped to obtain easy terms of settlement, if not cancellation of the war debts due the United States. Therefore they felt it desirable to make certain concessions to Wilson's idealistic program.

Fear of the spread of communism also caused these statesmen to adopt a moderate policy. They believed that Bolshevism was accepted only when the alternative was despair, and they therefore rejected many extreme proposals which might have caused Germany to embrace the radical movement emanating from Russia.

Although these four men dominated the Peace Conference, about seventy representatives from all the belligerent states, save the defeated powers, were there. In addition, a host of experts, secretaries, reporters, motion-picture men, professors, and representatives of various causes were in Paris during the conference. Delegates representing insurgent elements within the defeated countries were especially active. Representatives of the Poles, the Czechs, the Jugo-Slavs, the Baltic peoples, the Arabs, the Irish, and the Jewish advocates of a Zionist home in Palestine—all fought vigorously at the conference in behalf of their respective peoples.

To prevent the meeting from degenerating into a meaningless Babel in which "these delegates would talk themselves and the world to death," the representatives of the great powers took control into their own hands. All important matters were assigned to a Council of Ten, consisting of the two chief delegates respectively of France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Japan.

Before the conference met President Wilson realized that he might have difficulty in attaining a just and moderate peace in accordance with his famous Fourteen Points. Although his associates from other countries maintained occasionally that their real object was the establishment of a new world order of democracy, peace, and security, in reality they planned to advance the interests of their respective countries. Individually, and sometimes collectively, they insisted that Germany must be punished, that Great Britain must continue to rule the seas, that Italy must

*Problems
and policies*

*Other
representatives
at Paris*

Council of Ten

Secret treaties

dominate the Adriatic Sea, that France must obtain Alsace-Lorraine and perhaps the left bank of the Rhine, and that Japan must replace Germany in Shantung. Agreements concerning some of these aspirations had been incorporated in secret treaties arranged during the war. When Wilson, insisting on covenants openly arrived at, claimed that he was not aware of the secret agreements, diplomats and men of the world were frankly skeptical. As a matter of fact, he had heard of them and was in a position to get full information on them before he came to Paris.

Leader of the opposition to Wilsonian idealism was Georges Clemenceau, France's famous war minister. He was interested chiefly in the establishment of French security and in the destruction of Germany as a great power. Openly hostile to the Fourteen Points, he had *Clemenceau* declared "The American President has Fourteen commandments, while God himself had only ten." Nevertheless, he was not nearly as stubborn in his determination to advance the interests of France as was the French President and ardent nationalist, Raymond Poincaré. Frequently Clemenceau did have to make concessions, which he justified by saying "What can a man do when he is sitting between Jesus Christ (Wilson) and Napoleon Bonaparte (Lloyd George)?"

Lloyd George, like the French statesmen, played an important rôle in sabotaging Wilson's program. Thoroughly loyal to the British Empire, he labored at the conference to acquire for his country the German colonies in Africa, and in the Pacific, the rich oil regions *Lloyd George* in Arabia and Mesopotamia, a protectorate over Egypt, and supremacy in Persia. Although he opposed the ruination of Germany through excessive cession of territory to France, he welcomed the destruction of Germany as Great Britain's naval and commercial rival. A practical idealist, he only disapproved of that part of Wilson's program that threatened to hinder British interests. Consequently, in the discussions in which the three decided the fate of the world, he usually occupied a position midway between Clemenceau, the arch nationalist, and Wilson, the doctrinaire internationalist.

Primarily interested in a just and lasting peace rather than in immediate objectives, the American from the beginning of the conference insisted that his fourteenth point—that providing for the League of Nations—take precedence over everything else. He feared that he might be forced to accept certain Allied demands which would be unjust to the Central Powers; but he felt that these would be rectified later by the League of Nations. In short, conceiving of the League as a sort of trellis *Wilson and the League* upon which international good-will might climb, he believed that present deviations from the Fourteen Points might be necessary but that in the future the League would correct any injustices.

Clemenceau, and to a lesser degree, Lloyd George, although hostile to the League of Nations and highly impatient at the delay required for drafting

its Covenant, permitted Wilson to make his Fourteenth Point the first order of business. After nearly a month of discussion, the Covenant of the League was finally accepted on April 28. Somewhat earlier the President had sailed for America in order to perform his official duties and also to assure himself of American backing of the League.

Before Wilson left Paris, Clemenceau and Lloyd George had jockeyed him out of his key position in the conference. They did so because they were convinced of his inability to direct its policies. High frigid aloofness, his way of treating his collaborators with what a journalist called the "glacial geniality of a headmaster" receiving his assistants on the first day of a new term, his ~~ignorance of the realities~~ of the European situation, his slowness of mind and contempt of compromise, made it unlikely that anything would ever be settled while he was in command of the situation. Both Lloyd George and

Need for speedy settlement

Clemenceau, believing that a speedy settlement was imperative, were desirous of realizing the practical aims of their respective countries. The outbreak of twenty-three little wars in various parts of the world, the spread of influenza everywhere, the existence of famine in Russia, Germany, Austria, and Hungary (largely the result of the Allied blockade to keep out food supplies), and the growing menace of the communist movement spreading from Russia into Hungary and into Germany — all of these developments threatened to result in a general political and social upheaval in Europe, an upheaval which might deprive the victors of the spoils of war.

To avoid such a contingency and to expedite a settlement, the French and British premiers reduced the Council of Ten to the Council of Four. Wilson,

Council of Four

Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando. Thus, when President Wilson returned to Paris he was confronted by three heads of powerful states, tied by secret treaties which partitioned enemy territories among them. It is true that Lloyd George backed Wilson in his opposition to Clemenceau's plan to crush the Teutons completely. But the clever and unscrupulous "Tiger," knowing that the American Congress would not support a League unless a clause was inserted into the Covenant ratifying the Monroe Doctrine, had actually forced Wilson to acquiesce in a severe humiliation of Germany as the price of French approval. The American president was prepared to make almost any concessions and sacrifices rather than jeopardize the League project.

Before the final peace settlements were agreed upon, Orlando of Italy precipitated a crisis which nearly broke up the conference. Demanding greater concessions around the Adriatic than those promised during the war by the Allies, he encountered unexpectedly stiff opposition from Wilson. The immediate crisis centered around the city of Fiume, the cession of

Fiume

which was requested by Italian diplomats. This demand was opposed by Wilson, who maintained that Fiume, the hinterland of which

was Slavic, should not be included in an Italian state. As Wilson showed no sign of relenting on this issue, Orlando left the congress in anger and returned to Rome (April, 1919). Two weeks later, fearing that his absence might cause Italian interests to suffer, he returned to Paris. The peace conference, unable to adjust the conflicting claims over Fiume, adjourned without settling the matter. In September, 1919, Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian nationalist poet-aviator, and a group of followers precipitated another crisis by seizing the city. A solution of the Dalmatian problem was left to Italy and Yugoslavia to work out by direct negotiations. At first, the Rome government, refusing to approve this illegal act, signed an agreement with Yugoslavia whereby the independence of the free state of Fiume was recognized. In 1924 Mussolini, however, repudiating this arrangement, obtained possession of the city for Italy. By a treaty with Yugoslavia the city proper was given to Italy, and Port Baros and a fifty year lease on one of the three basins of Fiume harbor were granted to Yugoslavia.

On May 7, 1919 the treaty was handed to the German delegates, who were brought before their victors in the Trianon Palace like prisoners in the dock. Clemenceau first delivered a short speech in which he practically accused Germany of being solely responsible for the war. *Versailles Treaty* Then the leader of the German delegation, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, a liberal aristocrat of wide culture, replied

We are asked to assume the sole guilt of the war. Such a confession from my lips would be a lie. We have no intention of absolving Germany from all responsibility for the war . . . but we expressly contend that Germany, whose people was convinced that it was fighting a defensive war, should not be saddled with that responsibility.

Public opinion among our foes debates on the crimes committed by Germany during the conflict . . . Crimes in terms of war may be unpardonable, but they are committed in the heat of the contest. The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants, who have died of this blockade since the 11th of November, were killed in cold blood after the victory had been won. Think of that when you speak of crime and punishment.

This speech angered the Allies. They were insulted because the German delegate spoke seated, which they interpreted as an act of defiance. Further, they considered his remarks as an impertinence.

When the German representative had finished speaking, the white-bound book containing the four hundred odd clauses of the Treaty of Versailles was handed to him and the meeting came to an end. At last *Terms of Treaty* the Germans learned officially the terms of peace. By this treaty Germany was to lose one-eighth of her land and one-tenth of her European subjects. Alsace-Lorraine was to be surrendered to France without a plebiscite; three small districts were to be ceded to Belgium, Memel, a Baltic port, which eventually became an independent unit within Lithuania, was

handed over to an Allied Commission, areas taken from Poland were returned to Poland, thus reestablishing the corridor of alien territory which was closed by the first and second partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, Danzig, the important seaport in the corridor, was declared a free port and placed under an Allied commission, and, finally, the Saar Valley, a German coal-mining district with a population of about 500,000 Germans, was placed under an international commission for fifteen years. It was to be exploited for the benefit of France in compensation for the destruction by the retreating Germans of her own coal mines. In 1935, as a result of a plebiscite held in this region, the citizens voted to return to Germany. Following a financial settlement whereby Germany, according to the original agreement, repurchased from France the actual mines, the Saar again became an integral part of the German Reich.

In addition to these territorial cessions Germany was forced to permit plebiscites in upper Silesia and in parts of Prussia and Schleswig. As a result of these elections, North Schleswig was returned to Denmark.

Plebiscites

In upper Silesia and part of East Prussia, however, the majority of the people declared themselves for Germany. Nevertheless, there were large blocks of Polish inhabitants in these districts. Therefore they were partitioned, Poland receiving the portions which contained the most valuable economic resources. Germany refused to recognize the validity of this transaction consummated finally by the League of Nations. Assenting to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine on her Western Front, she never became reconciled to the cessions of territory to Poland.

Germany also suffered colonial losses. All of her colonies and overseas possessions were ceded to the League of Nations, which distributed them in the

form of mandates to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the three British dominions of New Zealand, Australia, and South

German colonies

Africa. They were to be administered by those powers until such of them as were thought to be competent could become independent. The other colonies were to remain indefinitely under the trusteeship of the mandatory states. All German possessions and concessions in China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, Egypt, and Turkey, were transferred to the victorious Allies. In central Africa the native peoples were entrusted to Great Britain, France, and Belgium, South West Africa and German holdings in the Pacific were distributed among Great Britain, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan. In all cases, however, the welfare of the native populations was to be the chief consideration, and the League remained the guardian of their interests and was to supervise the mandatory powers.

Germany was deprived of a large part of her economic resources, her merchant marine, and even control of her navigable rivers. In addition, the Allies assessed her an unspecified sum — called reparations — to be paid the Allies for the damage done to the civilian populations of the victorious countries.

By May, 1921, she was required to hand over about five billion dollars on account, the total amount to be paid ultimately, however, was not specified but was left to a Reparation Committee of the Allies which was to be independent of the League of Nations. The Committee was empowered to accept goods as well as gold from Germany. Machinery, live stock, tools, equipment, and natural products were consequently to be turned over to the Allies as part payments. Should Germany fail to meet these obligations, the Reparation Commission could offer recommendations as to the proper course to be taken. Moreover, as a guarantee for the execution of these terms, the German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridge-heads, were to be occupied by Allied and associated troops for a period of fifteen years. *Reparations*

In order to forestall a repudiation of the settlement by Germany, she was ordered to reduce her army to 100,000 men and to abolish conscription. The high-seas fleet was to be surrendered to Great Britain. Actually it had been scuttled by orders of the German Admiral a few days before. Germany was asked to sign on the "dotted line." In signing she admitted her sole guilt for the war by accepting the following article in the treaty: "The Allied and Associate governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allies and Associate governments and their nationals have been subject as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies." *Military conscription*

Dismayed by the severity of the treaty, the Germans asserted that the Allies had repudiated their promise that the Fourteen Points would serve as the basis of settlement. The Allies ignored these protests, for the most part, consenting only to a few minor changes. Facing revolution at home and unable to offer military resistance to the Allies, Germany signed on June 28, 1919, the fifth anniversary of the Sarajevo assassination which had been the signal for the war. This ceremony, which marked the fall of the German Empire, was held in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles where Bismarck in 1871 had proclaimed the founding of the German Empire. *Acceptance of Treaty*

The peace treaties with Austria and Hungary represented attempts to carry out the Wilsonian principle of self-determination for subject peoples. At the conclusion of the War the Dual Monarchy, a multinational state, had fallen apart into its component sectors. The settlement of Paris legalized the arrangements, which for the most part, had already come about. Austria, according to the treaty of St. Germain (September, 1919), ceded the Trentino and upper Adige, Trieste, and surrounding territories to Italy, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Dalmation coast and Islands to Yugoslavia—the new composite Slav state on her southern border, Bohemia, Moravia, and most Austrian Silesia to Czechoslovakia—. *St. Germain*

a recently formed state on her northern frontier, Galicia to Poland, and Bukovina to Rumania. As a result of these territorial cessions Austria was cut down from a proud monarchy of 116,000 square miles with about thirty million people, to a poverty stricken republic of 32,000 square miles and six million people, two million of whom lived in Vienna. Included in these territorial transfers were four million Germans who were handed over to Czechoslovakia and Italy.

Like Germany, Austria was disarmed and forced to pay reparations. Her army was reduced to 30,000 men, she was not permitted to possess air forces, and she was forced to accept drastic limitations on munitions and armaments. The economic provisions of the treaty were similar to those of Versailles. She also was required not to practice economic discrimination against Allied nationals.

Hungary, too, suffered great losses. By the Treaty of Trianon (June, 1920) she was reduced from a territory of over 126,000 square miles, inhabited by 21 million people to a small land of 36,000 square miles, inhabited by eight million people. Transylvania and the Banat were surrendered to Rumania, Croatia to Yugoslavia, and the Slovak provinces to Czechoslovakia. A reparations bill of two hundred million crowns was presented to Hungary by the Allies, and her army was reduced to thirty-five thousand men.

Bulgaria and Turkey, too, were severely punished for their participation in the war. By the Treaty of Neuilly (November, 1919) Bulgaria was forced by the Allies to cede all of her coast lands to Greece and some valuable strategical territory to Yugoslavia. She, like the other defeated states, was expected to pay heavy reparations, to reduce her army to twenty thousand men, and to abolish conscription.

The Treaty of Sèvres, including the Tripartite Agreement (August, 1920), which closed the war between Turkey and the Allies, partitioned the Ottoman Empire politically and economically. In 1920 the Allies saw an opportunity to exploit the rich empire of the sultan. Therefore they dictated a treaty which deprived Turkey of all her European possessions (Constantinople and the Straits and all but a remnant of her Asiatic territories in Anatolia). In addition to these territorial gains, the victorious European powers were given valuable financial and political rights in what was left of Turkey, and she was required to pay old debts and war costs.

Although the sultan accepted these harsh terms, loyal Turks in Anatolia refused to consent to political disintegration and economic bondage. A nationalist party, with a very able military man — Kemal Pasha — as its leader, came into existence. Taking advantage of serious divisions between the Allies, he repelled a Greek invasion of Asia Minor, and, in 1923, forced the Allies to agree to a revision of the peace treaty. According to the terms of the new settlement — the Treaty of Lau-

sanne — Turkey regained Constantinople and part of Thrace, including Adrianople, and all of Asia Minor (Anatolia) and Armenia. Turkey's military and naval forces suffered no restrictions, she was released from reparation payments, and the capitulations were abandoned. Her empire was not regained, however. Syria remained in the hands of France, and Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt in those of Great Britain.

Having weakened their late opponents, the Allies sponsored a line of buffer states ranging from Finland in the north to Yugoslavia in the south, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. These states, established on the basis of the principle of national self-determination, served as a barrier to the spread of Bolshevism from Russia into the defeated countries. Also, as beneficiaries of the Peace of Paris, they, like France and England, would be inclined to favor the territorial *status quo*, as of 1919.

*Creation of
buffer states*

In addition to these settlements with the five defeated powers, Minorities' treaties were prepared by the Allies. By these agreements the various national and religious minorities in the Balkans and the newly created states were protected. They were guaranteed public and private worship, civil and political liberty, and the use of their own languages and schools. Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were required to sign these agreements. All disputes involving minorities were to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the League stood as the guarantor of their freedom from persecution.

*Minorities'
Treaty*

Although President Wilson played an important part in the preparation of the peace settlements, the Senate of the United States failed to ratify them. Certain features of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the acquisition of the German concessions on the Shantung Peninsula by Japan were especially objectionable to the United States. Wilson, however, stubbornly refused to accept any changes in the Covenant, maintaining that it should be accepted by the United States without reservations. Refusing to do so, Congress declared the war terminated on July 2, 1921 and signed a special treaty with Germany. In the settlement the American government accepted most of the changes made at Paris, but refused to include the League of Nations Covenant, and those clauses dealing with the territorial changes in Europe, the transfer of German concessions in the Far East, and labor clauses. Similar settlements were arranged with Austria and Hungary, but not with Bulgaria and Turkey, as the United States had never formally been at war with those nations.

*Treaties of the
United States*

The Allies soon discovered that these peace settlements were not lasting contributions to peace and stability. In their attempts to cripple the power of Germany by depriving her of her colonies, by reducing her territorial limits, and by ruining her economically, they prepared the way for the eventual rise of a Nazi Germany, powerful enough

Results of treaties

to threaten the new *status quo*. Nor did the Allies solve completely or satisfactorily the problem of nationality. They dismantled Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, in order to emancipate the Slavs, Arabs, and other peoples, but in so doing they left millions of Germans, Magyars, Bulgarians, and Turks under alien rule. Thenceforth these groups constituted dissatisfied minorities.

Liberal views were only partially applied. The defeated powers were disarmed in practice, but the victorious and neutral states adopted disarmament only in principle. Attempts were made to improve international labor conditions, but no concerted effort was initiated to restore economic relations through the abolition of tariff barriers.

In their desire to reach certain national objectives, the Allies found it difficult to co-operate in a sincere attempt to create a political and social order satisfactory to all powers. France concentrated upon the political and economic destruction of her historic rival, Germany. Italy was interested chiefly in her desire to gain control of the Adriatic and thus dominate the gateway trade into the Balkans. Great Britain, having obtained important oil lands in the Near East and some German colonies in Africa and Oceania, favored a partial recovery of Germany and Soviet Russia in order to recover her trade with them. Despite the drastic peace terms (perhaps not as severe, however, as those which a victorious Germany might have imposed upon a defeated enemy), the Allies were as fearful of a German recovery in 1919 as the Allies of 1815 were of a French revival.

The Allied statesmen made no constructive attempt to bring about an economic rehabilitation of Central Europe. Instead, they levied heavy reparations on their starving, prostrate, disintegrated foes. As a result, a few years after these financial judgments were imposed, the Allies were forced to lend money to Austria and Hungary in order to prevent their complete collapse. Germany, on the other hand, tried half-heartedly to meet the financial exactions of the Allies. She made certain initial payments on a reparations bill, which, in 1921, was assessed at \$33,000,000,000 (this amount was reduced by one third in 1922), but by 1923 she claimed that she was unable to meet certain heavy payments. Determined to carry out the terms of the reparations agreement, Poincaré, premier of France, in 1923 had French troops occupy the industrial heart of Germany, the Ruhr. The Germans in that district adopted a policy of passive resistance, refusing to work for the French or to consider the French plan to detach the Rhineland from Germany.

Both Germany and France suffered as a result of this invasion and the economic impasse which followed. In Germany, passive resistance, in view of the resultant industrial stagnation and the cost of supporting the people in the Ruhr, helped to bring about the complete collapse of the mark.¹ The French franc also declined in 1923-1924 as

¹ See pp. 1136, 1137.

a result of this invasion, falling from about 7½ cents to a little less than 5 cents. Financial difficulties in both countries, as a result of the economic conflict in the Ruhr, finally led to the development of a more conciliatory attitude in Paris and Berlin.

In November, 1923, the Allies decided to attempt a definitive and satisfactory settlement of the reparation question. Two committees were selected to solve the problem. One, with an American banker, Charles G. Dawes, as chairman, was to study the means of balancing the *Dawes Plan* German budget and of stabilizing the currency, the other, under the direction of an English financier, Reginald McKenna, was to consider methods for the return of German capital which had left the country, in order to avoid a chaotic economic situation there and to escape heavy taxation. As a result of their investigations the committees adopted a solution, called the Dawes Plan, which was accepted by the Allies in 1924. According to this scheme the annual payments from Germany were reduced, subject to fluctuations in the future in accordance with an index of prosperity. A special bank, under joint Allied-German control, was created to regulate German currency. To put this plan into operation a loan of \$200,000,000 was to be floated in the foreign market.

Inasmuch as the Dawes Plan condemned Germany to pay virtually her whole economic surplus every year to her conquerors, it did not last. By 1928 the Allies, realizing that the Germans could not conform to the schedule set up in 1924, consented to arrange a new settlement. A committee under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, an American business executive, was appointed to investigate the situation. As a result of its investigations the Young Plan was evolved. In this plan the total *Young Plan* reparation figure was set at \$18,032,500,000, with specified payments extending over a period of fifty-nine years. This new schedule of payments went into effect November 1, 1929, and remained in operation a little less than two years.

By 1931 the world depression, resulting in bank failures and financial chaos everywhere, made it impossible for Germany to negotiate further loans, and to meet reparation payments. To avoid a complete economic collapse in that country, President Hoover, in June, 1931, proposed a one-year moratorium of all payments on inter-governmental debts, reparations, and relief debts. Heeding this suggestion, the Allies, after some hesitation by France, assented. On June 16, 1932, the great powers met with Germany in an international conference at Lausanne, at which time they agreed to cancel all reparation obligations. In exchange for this concession, Germany was to pay a lump sum of \$714,500,000 to the Allies. The Lausanne Agreement, however, was contingent upon the drastic reduction or cancellation of war debts owed by the Allied powers to the United States. The overthrow of the German Republic and the establishment in 1933 of a National Socialist government under

Hitler, one of the chief aims of which was the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, was followed by the open repudiation of reparations. Thenceforth, the reparation question ceased to exist as a live issue.

Perhaps one should not be too critical in his estimate of the peace treaties. Certainly it has always been in the logic of history and of human nature that

defeated powers have usually paid some price to the victors.
Spoils to the victors It might have been more diplomatic in the long run if the

Allies had limited their demands to the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine, some territorial rectifications for Italy, and miscellaneous other minor adjustments. But it was too much to expect that nations which had gone through a terrible ordeal such as the World War would display such generosity. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando reflected the wishes of democratic states which found it virtually impossible to view the problem of securing a just and lasting peace dispassionately and objectively. Nor could the people of the United States understand all the vital issues. American opinion was inclined to become too indignant over the parts of the peace settlements of which it did not approve, and too enthusiastic over the sections which pleased it.

Collectively, the peace settlements presented a curious composite of idealism and practical politics—a sort of blend of diplomatic utopia and *Real-*

politik. In the first place, they defined national self-determination as a guiding principle of the European-state system, and did take important steps towards the reshaping of Europe on that basis. The diplomats at Paris did make serious errors, but the more idealistic of them felt that the League of Nations would eventually make the necessary readjustments. In the second place, the settlements did endeavor to promote the cause of peace through the creation of the League. Long before the World War started, at the Hague Conference of 1899, a Court of Arbitration had been established with the purpose of offering nations an opportunity to settle their disputes without resort to war. But it was not until the League had been established that co-operative machinery became a real force in international affairs.

This League of Nations, largely the work of President Wilson, has been the object of much controversy. Its supporters have regarded it as the instru-

ment which would end all war, its enemies have considered it as a device of the armed victorious states, especially France, whereby they guarded their spoils by maintaining the *status quo*.

The League of Nations From the first the Covenant of the League encountered criticism. In the United States apprehension was felt lest it restrict American foreign policy, especially in regard to the Monroe Doctrine. As stated before, the United States refused to sanction the League, signing a separate peace with Germany largely on that account. In Japan the League was never popular. Unsuccessful in their attempts to include in the Covenant a statement of "the principle of the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals," the Japanese

entered the League with marked lack of enthusiasm. Despite a certain amount of hostility, over fifty nations joined the organization. They pledged themselves to promote international co-operation and peace by the acceptance of obligations to abstain from war against members of the League of Nations.

The Covenant was the constitution of that international body. Subject to amendment by the Council and the Assembly, it laid down general principles for the solution of any problem which might arise.

Thereby, it provided elasticity in interpretation and in method of treatment. *The Covenant*
The regular machinery for the operation of the League consisted of three organs: an Assembly, a Council, and a Secretariat. The Assembly, representing all states and meeting annually in Geneva, was the legislative body of the League. It could discuss all questions lying within the League's jurisdiction or affecting world peace, and it determined membership in the League itself and in some of its other organs. A Council, representing the great powers, especially, and meeting four times a year, was the executive of the League. The scope of its activities was identical with that of the Assembly, but its functions, involving the initiation and direction of policy, were more specific. Finally, there was a permanent Secretariat in residence all of the year at Geneva. It consisted of experts who gathered and made available information of all types.

In addition to these organizations there was the Permanent Court of International Justice. Its function was to arbitrate in the international disputes and its jurisdiction was of two types: voluntary and compulsory. *Court of International Justice*
Parties to the disputes had the right to accept or reject its judgments unless they had bound themselves by special arrangement to stand by its verdicts concerning matters involving international law and the interpretation of treaties. Side by side with these various organizations which composed the League, but not officially a part of it, was the International Labor Organization, containing worker's and employer's delegates from all nations represented in the League. Its function was to improve labor conditions and to serve as an international clearing house in regard to such matters.

After the treaties were signed the League was soon involved in a great variety of matters rising out of the peace settlements. It undertook the supervision, in conjunction with the mandatory powers, of the German colonies and Turkish territories which had been transferred from the defeated powers to the Allies. By virtue of *Activities of League*
the Minorities treaties, discussed heretofore,¹ it also tried to protect national, linguistic, and religious minorities which were to be found in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Greece.

But the League did not restrict its activities to political affairs, or problems rising out of the peace treaties. It was also concerned with such matters

¹ See p. 1105

as the codification of International Law, preparations for disarmament conferences, economic affairs, health, social, and humanitarian enterprises, and the promotion of internationalism in the intellectual field

The most important activity of the League was in the realm of international arbitration and conciliation. It lacked the prestige and authority to enforce its decisions, partly due to the fact that such important nations as the United States, Germany, and Russia were not charter members. Therefore it was defied successfully by great powers a number of times. It could order an economic boycott of an offending state, or it could recommend the use of military forces or other sanctions against the wayward country, but it could not compel enforcement of these decrees. Without armed troops at its disposal, it lacked executive power.

In its attempts to censure transgressing members, the League resorted, hesitatingly and sparingly, to the use of sanctions. In 1931-1933, for example, it tried to exert pressure against Japan, because of her aggression in China. Ignoring the League's remonstrances, Japan continued her conquest, set up the puppet state of Manchoukuo in Manchuria, and resigned from the League. In 1933, Germany, denied arms equality, quit the disarmament conference and the League, and violated the terms of the Versailles Treaty by proceeding to rearm. In 1935, the League condemned Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. This time the international body employed the economic boycott to stop Italy's aggression. Over fifty states excluded all essential Italian imports and refused to sell that country raw materials needed for war. But the nations failed to enforce these sanctions by a naval blockade of the Italian coast, nor could they get all the world to join them in the boycott. Italy, thereupon, ignored the League's efforts and continued the war until Ethiopia was conquered. In 1936 the League found Germany guilty of violating the terms of the Treaty of Versailles when German troops occupied the Rhineland. Disregarding the League's censure, Germany kept her soldiers in this region.

Despite the failures which later overtook it, the League had settled a number of controversial matters. In 1920, for example, it arbitrated the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Islands. Also, after much difficulty, it prevented Poland and Lithuania from going to war over a boundary dispute. Between 1920 and 1922 it managed to settle difficulties between Germany and Poland over upper Silesia. It also helped to avert armed conflicts growing out of disagreements concerning Albania's frontiers, the Anglo-Turkish dispute over Mosul, and a Greco-Bulgar quarrel.

After 1931 the revival of the imperialist, nationalist, and militarist rivalries in Europe and in Asia demonstrated the failure of the League as a force of arbitration and conciliation. Lacking real authority and prestige, it became merely a tool of the Allied powers who tried to maintain their interests

*Failures of
League*

*Achievements
of League*

through the preservation of the *status quo* based on strict treaty enforcement by the League. As a result, many people throughout the world tended to regard that organization as a failure. In their opinion its inability to promote successfully the cause of disarmament and to solve important international disputes was bound to bring about its complete collapse.

But these people ignored certain important contributions of the League. They did not appreciate its services in the fight against white slavery and the opium traffic, they failed to realize that through its publica-
tions it had enlightened millions upon world problems, and they seemed unaware of the fact that the League had played
*Persistence of
International
Ideal*
an important rôle in the promotion of the Red Cross, in the war against disease, and in the improvement of labor conditions. As a forum of world opinion, it afforded the benefits of publicity and parliamentary methods in international affairs. Despite these achievements the triumph of international ideals seemed improbable in view of the conflict of interests and the persistence of nationalistic and imperialistic traditions. However, public opinion may some day concede that a genuinely functioning League of Nations would have been the only Post-War body capable of solving the economic, social, and political problems which afflicted mankind. It may even assert that the League was the only constructive idea which rose out of the World War.

CHAPTER LXXIII

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT POST-WAR RUSSIA

The World War tested rigidly the internal political and social cohesion of nearly every participating nation. Most countries retained at least the framework of their long-established institutions, but several, particularly Russia and the Fascist powers, as a result of acute problems which arose during or after the War, adopted radical innovations.

In Russia the changes were most drastic. At the outbreak of the War that great empire was in a state of unrest. Less than ten years before (1905), a revolution had resulted in the establishment of a feeble parliamentary régime, controlled by reactionary forces and opposed by a revolutionary movement among the masses. Despite this economic and political discontent, the Russian people rallied to the support of "Holy Russia." It was hoped by many that a democratic empire would emerge from the War which would liberate the Slavs and dominate the Straits. With patriotic enthusiasm, the bulk of the people rallied to the national cause in 1914.

Military failures, economic difficulties, and corruption in the government soon revived the revolutionary movement in more virulent form. In 1915 serious defeats, heavy losses of men in battles (4 million men are estimated to have been killed between 1914 and 1917), and an appalling shortage of ammunition discouraged both soldiers and citizens. Meanwhile, the dislocation of agriculture, the emergence of industrial problems, and the collapse of the transportation system put a terrible strain on the Russian people. Despite a tremendous demand for food, peasants were unable to transport and sell their crops. Military conscription deprived them of much-needed workers. As a result they were forced in 1914 to decrease their sowing areas. Industrial problems promoted unrest among the proletarians. In order to increase the meager supply of munitions for the armies, industrial leaders forced their employees to work long hours in unsanitary factories for low wages. These conditions, together with high prices, encouraged strikes and riots. Out of this unrest rose a bitter antagonism on the part of the workers toward the autocratic government which consistently supported the oppressive factory owners.

In addition to this agrarian and proletarian unrest, there developed a pronounced opposition on the part of patriotic Russians, representing all

classes, to the corruption and the incompetency of the tsarist government during the War. It was generally believed that the country was full of traitors holding important political positions. Many corrupt bureaucrats were appointed by Tsar Nicholas II, who disregarded *Nicholas II* the suggestion that he select patriotic and liberal Russians—men who had the confidence of the people. As a result, many aristocrats became convinced that the tsar was incapable of governing during this critical period.

Nicholas II ignored the development of this opposition. Interested in family life and indifferent to state affairs, he relied on the advice of his foolish and superstitious wife who, in turn, was under the influence of a dissolute but cunning Siberian monk, Rasputin. The latter used his all-powerful influence to have responsible officials and commanders dismissed, and saw to it that they were replaced by his own creatures. He literally captured the imperial family and the government. All who opposed him were crushed.

By 1916 patriotic Russians of all classes realized that Rasputin was one of the most dangerous men in the empire. But his assassination in December, 1916, by certain aristocrats failed to improve political conditions in Russia. The tsar refused to make concessions to the Duma and appointed a mad man, Protopopov, a protégé of Rasputin, as his Minister of the Interior. Thus, there was no improvement in the imperial administration. Corruption, inefficiency, and treason, continued to flourish in a government that was no longer able to command the support of the nation.

The disintegration of the army and navy in the early months of 1917 precipitated the revolution. Defeats, poor leadership, and insufficient food had destroyed the morale of the soldiers and had caused them to accept revolutionary propaganda. Insubordination was *The Russian Revolution* frequent, and the excessive brutality of the officers merely increased the discontent. By January 1, 1917, over 1,200,000 men had deserted the Russian armies. Most of the remaining troops were restless and ripe for revolt. On March 8, 1917, disorderly masses demanding food appeared on the streets of Petrograd. Looting, and rioting occurred. Fraternization began between the crowds and the soldiers of the garrison. The seriousness of the situation dawned upon government officials when a company of soldiers of the garrison refused to fire upon the rioters. Asked by the tsar to dissolve, the fourth Duma ignored his request and, instead, created a provisional committee which it invested with vast powers to restore law and order. Meanwhile the insurrectionists had formed a Petrograd Soviet, a revolutionary council of soldiers and workers. This body, after some hesitation, decided to cooperate with the Duma in establishing a national provisional government. In the meantime, the tsar, returning from the front and deserted by his troops, abdicated in favor of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael. A few days later the Grand Duke wisely surrendered all claims to authority. Thereafter,

supreme power was vested in a provisional government until a constitutional assembly could be elected to prepare the way for a new order

This provisional government consisted chiefly of bourgeois representatives, first Prince Lvov, a liberal noble, and later Kerensky, a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, who was backed by the moderate Social-
The Provisional government 1st group (the Mensheviks). It also included Paul Miliukov, an historian and parliamentarian, as foreign minister. Advocates of bourgeois liberalism, these ministers planned to establish in Russia a constitutional government and a individualistic social order. At the same time, they intended to continue the War against the Central Powers.

Liberal reforms were rapidly introduced by the Provisional Government. Freedom of the press, speech, and assembly were announced, a constituent assembly was called, a general amnesty for all political prisoners was proclaimed, and thousands of exiles were permitted to return to Russia. In addition to these reforms, arbitrary arrests and oppression of subject nationalities were abandoned, Finland was guaranteed her constitution, and Poland was promised independence.

Serious problems soon brought about the collapse of this Provisional régime. To re-establish political and economic stability in chaotic Russia, and at the same time to continue the war was almost impossible.
Kerensky Incapable of handling the situation, Prince Lvov in July, 1917, resigned as prime minister and was succeeded by Kerensky, a theatrical poseur. Although he favored the establishment of a socialist state, he was willing to cooperate with the bourgeoisie in a program to create a constitutional government and to fight the War to a victorious conclusion.

Opposition on the part of both extreme conservatives and radicals, especially the Bolsheviks, brought about the downfall of Kerensky in November, 1917. After the March revolt the exponents of communism
Bolshevism became more and more active in Russia. The leader of this Bolshevik movement was Lenin, a revolutionary exile who had returned to Russia when the Provisional Government had promised to pardon all political offenders. This uncompromising radical immediately denounced the bourgeois government and began to propagandize the masses with his doctrines. In contrast to the orthodox Marxian Mensheviks who favored the interpolation of a bourgeois democracy between semi-feudal Russia and a socialist régime, Lenin and his Bolshevik followers desired to dispense with the capitalistic state and to proceed directly to the creation of a communist order. "The enlightened workers of revolutionary Russia," Lenin stated, "did not know that the Tsar was the head of the *ruling class*, namely, the class of large landowners, who by a thousand ties, were already bound up with the big bourgeoisie who were always willing to defend their monopoly, privileges, and profits by every violent means." While trying to continue the War, to preserve private property, and to establish a legal constitutional government,

the Provisional Assembly was constantly embarrassed by the growing influence of these Bolsheviks Soviets of workers and soldiers, especially the one in Petrograd, succumbing to Lenin's propaganda, demanded the withdrawal of Russia from the War, the division of land among the peasants, the control of factories by the workers, and the distribution of food. Aided by a number of ardent radicals, especially one, Leon Trotsky, another revolutionary exile who had returned to Russia in 1917, Lenin soon succeeded in winning over large numbers of dissatisfied workers, soldiers, sailors, peasants, the unemployed, and political extremists by making reckless promises of peace, bread, and land. These discontented elements, for the most part, were not especially interested in the theories underlying communism, but they did want better conditions. Therefore they welcomed Lenin's promise to rescue the propertyless man from the bourgeois dictatorship through a program involving the confiscation of private property, the nationalization of industry, and a world-wide attack on capitalism.

These Bolsheviks, a minority political group, came to power largely because of the lack of unity among the various monarchist, bourgeois, and moderate elements. Taking advantage of this circumstance and the growing economic unrest, the communists, by means of efficient organization and able leadership, gained control of the soviet organizations, representing the soldiers, sailors, peasants, and workers. Prior to this time the Mensheviks had been the dominant group in the town soviets, but, as economic conditions grew worse and the demand for peace increased, the Bolshevik element in these councils exerted an increasing influence. Under the direction of the able administrator, Trotsky, the Bolsheviks in September and October gained control of the Petrograd Soviet and prepared for the anticipated revolution.

In November these restless elements were able to bring about the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of a Bolshevik dictatorship. The final defeats of the Russian troops on the Eastern Front had prepared the way for this *coup d'état*. Taking advantage of this setback, the Bolsheviks, claiming that Kerensky had betrayed the socialist cause, that he was ignoring the welfare of the masses, and that he was carrying out the capitalistic and imperialistic desires of the Russian bourgeoisie, demanded the overthrow of his government. An unsuccessful attempt on the part of conservatives — monarchists and bourgeois aristocrats — under General Kornilov to capture the city of Petrograd, helped to bring matters to a head. In November the Bolsheviks seized control of Petrograd and forced the Provisional Government into flight. Lenin, who had been driven into hiding by the Kerensky Government, made a dramatic appearance before the meeting of the Congress of Soviets and secured the support of that body. A Soviet of the Peoples Commissars, of which Lenin was the chairman and Trotsky the Commissar for Foreign

*Establishment of
a communist
régime*

Affairs, was established. By January, 1918, the Bolsheviks, still a minority, finally had control of the government of Russia.

Once in power, the Bolsheviks proceeded to destroy all opposition and to inaugurate a communist régime. Aristocrats, military leaders, and the middle classes lost their property, their positions, and their citizenship. The upper classes and the bourgeoisie became the victims of a vengeful proletarian class. Thousands were killed, exiled to Siberia, or forced to flee Russia. Most of those who remained, without property or positions, lived in poverty and obscurity. A few possessed of technical skill and willing to conform to the new order, were given positions as bank employees, engineers, and technicians. The former upper and middle classes ceased to exist as such in Russia.

*The proletarian
purge*

As a result of this revolution the royal family was practically wiped out. Under arrest near Petrograd since March, 1917, they were later sent to Siberia. In July, 1918, the local soviet, where they were prisoners, fearing that they would be rescued by the White Army¹ of Admiral Kolchak which was advancing in their direction, ordered them shot.

The Bolshevik government now proceeded to fulfill its promises of land, national self-determination, and peace to the Russian people. Land was transferred from the great proprietors to the peasants, the right of self-determination on the part of such provinces as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, the Siberian Confederation, and the Transcaucasian Federal Republic, was conceded by Lenin. Definite recognition, however, was frequently denied these states unless they were dominated by the local Bolshevik elements.

*National self-
determination*

In December, 1917, peace negotiations were opened with the Central Powers. At the meeting of the German and Russian representatives, the former insisted on the cession by Russia of the Baltic provinces and Poland. Refusing to accept these terms, Trotsky told the Germans that Russia was withdrawing from the War, but that she would not sign the peace treaty. The German armies immediately resumed their advance and forced Trotsky and his colleagues to submit.

On March 3, 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded between Russia and Germany. By the terms of this settlement Russia gave the Central Powers the right to determine the future status of Poland, Courland, and Lithuania. She also promised to evacuate Finland, the Åland Islands, Estonia, Livonia, and the Ukraine, to recognize a treaty between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, to cede Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to Turkey; and to terminate Bolshevik propaganda in territories of the Central Powers or those concerned in the treaty. In August, 1918, Russia was forced to sign supplementary agreements with

Brest-Litovsk

¹ A counter-revolutionary group organized by the adherents of the monarchy and backed by certain capitalist powers.

Germany granting that country favorable commercial relations and an indemnity. In return for these harsh terms, which isolated Russia from western Europe, that country received peace.

Taking advantage of this boon, the Bolsheviks proceeded to combat the various counter-revolutionary movements which had sprung up in Russia during 1918-1919. White armies and leaders had set up independent and rival governments in the neighborhood of Archangel and Murmansk, in the Baltic provinces, and in remote Siberia. By 1919 these White armies were aided by the Allies, who were vexed by the withdrawal of Russia from the War, by Russia's repudiation of the enormous debt she owed the Allies (especially France), by the Bolshevik denunciation of Allied imperialism, by the Bolshevik opposition to world capitalism, and by the fear that Germany would secure access to Russian resources. Therefore, Allied troops occupied certain ports and established an effective blockade of Bolshevik Russia.

*Opposition to
Bolshevism*

Despite this growing opposition, the Bolsheviks were not discouraged. Two instruments — the Cheka, a police and spy organization created for the purpose of terrifying opponents of the new régime, and the Red Army — were established. The army was reorganized by Trotsky, who infused into it a crusader's zeal. With the aid of the Cheka, the Bolshevik army instigated a reign of terror characterized by thousands of arrests, imprisonments, exiles, and executions. Supported by the peasants, who feared that a White victory would result in the return of their newly acquired lands to the great proprietors, the Red Army was able to defeat the reactionary movements. With the expulsion from the Crimea of the last White troops under General Wrangel (November, 1920) the counter-revolution as a military movement was suppressed.

While White armies, aided by the Allies, were trying to overthrow the Bolsheviks, the latter were attempting to establish a new political and social order. In July, 1918, the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets drafted the constitution which created the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R S F S R). Henceforth the government rested on the dictatorship of the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, and the sailors. All classes possessing privileges, such as the old landowners, tsarist bureaucrats, and the bourgeoisie, were debarred from suffrage and were deprived of property and positions. All land was nationalized and given to the people; banks were nationalized, much of the old taxation was abolished, labor was established on a different footing, and free and universal education for workers and poor peasants was to be provided.

The new order

Urban and rural soviets obtained control of local governments and sent deputies to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Since they were the strongholds of communism, the urban districts were given greater political representation than the rural units in the all-powerful Congress.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets was the body in which supreme authority in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was theoretically vested. Originally, it was to be convoked semi-annually, but, actually, it met only once a year after 1921. An All-Russian Central Executive Committee, elected by the Congress, exercised real executive and legislative authority. It met four times yearly, convoked the All-Russian Congress, appointed a cabinet (the Council of Commissars), and performed the executive functions of the state. Whenever the All-Russian Executive Committee was not in session, a body called the Praesidium carried on its work.

This political structure applied only to Russia proper. With the suppression of the White régimes, however, the Bolsheviks succeeded in regaining all of the territory which comprised the old Russian Empire with the exception of Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic Provinces. In 1922 the various independent governments which had been set up in these territories established political structures identical with that of the RSFSR and joined Soviet Russia in a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR).

The USSR adopted governmental machinery which rather paralleled that of the RSFSR. It consisted of a Union Congress of Soviets, a Union Central Executive Committee, and a Union Council of Commissars, and, save for local government, it exercised a virtual monopoly of power. It had jurisdiction over foreign affairs, commerce, labor legislation, education, public health, and the armed forces of the Union.

Supreme in the Soviet governmental system was the Communist Party. This organization consisted of some 38,000 local groups called *cells*. Every year the latter sent representatives to a party congress which in turn selected a Central Executive Committee for the party. This all-powerful administrative body chose a political bureau of nine members who determined government policies and actually ruled Russia.

Consisting of about a million members (about 2½ million in 1936), the Communist Party became the only legal party in Russia. Through a well-disciplined organization it controlled the machinery of government, education, the press, speech, and the drama. Boys and girls were formed into Communist youth societies and taught Marxian concepts. A very efficient police organization, the G.P.U., replacing the Cheka in 1922, obliterated all counter-revolutionary movements by a systematic repression. Moreover, the Russian communists gained virtual control of the international radical society, called the Comintern.¹

Until his death in 1924, Lenin dominated the Communist Party. Pos-

¹ This organization is not to be confused with the Communist Party of the USSR. It is a distinct and separate power, lying outside of the jurisdiction of the Soviet government, and (in theory at least) is controlled by an elected group of delegates from the Communist Parties of each country, meeting every two,

sessing tremendous will and determination, remarkable executive ability, and unquestionable integrity, he, more than any other individual, *Lenin* was responsible for the establishment of the Communist State in Russia. For the present, a classless state was to be created, but eventually, after having served its purpose as an instrument for the destruction of classes by the Bolshevik dictators, it would give way to the machinery of a homogeneous communist society as foreseen by Marx and Engels. Under Lenin's leadership, the Soviet Government fulfilled its immediate rôle by destroying capitalism as well as tsarist survivals, and undertook social and economic experiments which were far more revolutionary than were their political reforms.

According to Lenin, bourgeois-capitalism was largely responsible for the existing economic evils, such as imperialistic wars, unemployment, and the exploitation of wage-earners by the employers. Once capitalism could be destroyed, he said, the workers of the world would live at peace with one another, and would cooperate in creating a planned economy wherein all would work for the benefit of society as a whole.

To attain this new social order in Russia, Lenin and his followers attempted to make all means of production, distribution, and exchange in Russia part of a system which would guarantee to every man the essentials of life and the principles of justice. He tried to achieve these aims by nationalizing the land, forests, natural resources, all means of production, transportation, trade, banking, and insurance. Profits were to be completely abolished. Men were to work according to their abilities and share according to their needs. A classless society would thus supplant the bourgeois system of landlords, capitalists, and wage-earners.

But this Bolshevik attempt to nationalize Russia's industrial and agrarian life precipitated a terrible economic depression. This was the result of the War, of revolution, of internal disorganization, of a strict Allied blockade, and of a lack of machinery, of capital with *The Russian depression* which to purchase goods abroad, of skilled labor, and of technical and managerial leadership. Workers soon discovered that they could not run the factories without the aid of managers, technicians, and capital. By June, 1918, industrial conditions were so bad that the government had to place industry under state control.¹ Forming a Supreme Economic Council,

¹ As opposed to the alternative of self-governing workshops

four, or seven years. It was established in 1919 to take over the duties of the defunct Second International "by laying the foundation of a common fighting organ," which would be a uniting link and "methodically lead the movement for the Communist International which subordinates the interests of the movement in every separate country to the common interests of the revolution on an international scale." Its logical center was in Russia, since this was the only country which as yet had experienced "the revolution."

it tried to supply the workers with needed raw materials, food, and technical leadership. Despite these measures, production fell off alarmingly.

Agriculture, as well as industry, collapsed. The agrarian depression began during the War, but was accentuated by the Bolshevik attempt to nationalize the land. The peasants, who were at heart capitalists, opposed the government's policy of nationalization and refused to surrender surplus products to the state. Unable to give the peasants clothing, machinery, and other desired goods in return for their foodstuffs, the government tried to confiscate the peasants' grain. The peasants thereupon instituted a policy of passive resistance, raising only enough grain for themselves and causing thereby a steady decline in the harvests of 1919, 1920, and 1921. In 1921 there was a severe drought followed by a terrible famine. Both farmers and city workers by now were discouraged, and in many places revolts occurred.

As a result of this situation, Lenin, quickly realizing that Russia was not ready for a communist society, was forced to abandon pure communism and to institute a New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), a partial return to capitalism. A fixed tax was substituted for the grain levy, small traders and business-men were permitted to establish small stores and factories and to compete with state-owned stores, consumer's cooperatives, and industries, under certain restrictions a money economy was established and concessions of foreign capitalists were guaranteed against nationalization. Russia's economic life became thenceforth a mixture of capitalism, state socialism, and communism.

The results of the N.E.P. were on the whole gratifying. Peasants who were able to work, to earn profits, and to retain their lands became less hostile to the government. Successful farmers, called *Kulaks*, and constituting not more than 3 percent of the population, enlarged their holdings and increased their profits. The Soviet authorities, distrustful of these petty capitalists, imposed heavy taxes on them in 1928 and greatly reduced their influence. After that date the Russian government practically exterminated the *Kulak*.

Less than three years after the introduction of the N.E.P. Lenin died (1924). His successor was not the eloquent and brilliant Trotsky, but the phlegmatic Stalin. The former was a better organizer and fomenter of revolution than he was a politician. Therefore, it was on Stalin, the Georgian, that the mantle of the great dictator fell. Shrewd, quiet, ruthless, he had held many positions under Lenin, who had regarded him as an efficient, but not a brilliant, man. Despite his intellectual limitations, Stalin was clever enough to oppose Trotsky's attempts to sponsor world revolution. In 1926-1927 an open revolt instigated by Trotsky and another leader, Zinoviev, against Stalin's program and authority in the political bureau of the government furnished Stalin with an opportunity of exiling them and executing many of his enemies.

"While the revolutionary planet," wrote Levine in his biography, *Stalin*, "continued to shoot off meteors, to scatter stars and lights in its wake, Trotsky had his name blazoned forth and that of Stalin was wrapped in darkness. When all the fireworks of the revolution had been shot, all the rainbows cast, and the body that is Soviet Russia settled down to the prosaic, tenacious, hard process of integration, then it was found that its center was — Stalin."

After Trotsky's overthrow, Stalin adopted many of his rival's policies. Abandoning in 1928 the NEP, the new dictator curtailed private commerce, opposed the *Kulaks*, extended collectivization¹ of the peasants, and introduced the famous Five Year Plan. The last-named project was designed to promote Russia's industrial growth so that after five years she could supply her domestic needs and acquire a surplus for export. This plan, which was inaugurated in 1928, aimed to increase enormously the output of coal, iron ore, steel, petroleum, electric power, and grains. Agricultural machinery, automobiles, and other manufactured products were to be produced in great factories. It also aimed at a cultural transformation of Russian life through the development of railways and highways, the improvement of housing conditions, the creation of technical schools, the reduction of illiteracy, and the encouragement of music, literature, and art in all villages.

*The Five
Year Plans*

The Five Year Plan was only a partial success. Production of oil, agricultural machinery, autos, tractors, sugar, coal, and peat was tremendously increased, progress in electrification, railway construction, the iron, steel, and textile industries, and the building of great dams and giant industrial plants exceeded expectations, and, owing to agricultural improvements, the increase of grain production was sufficient to enable Russia to dump her surpluses on the world market by 1931. Collectivization of the farms and of domestic trade, also, progressed. By 1933 less than 40 percent of the cultivation was on non-collective farms and but 5 percent of the retail trade was in private hands.

Nevertheless, complete success was not realized. Production costs were too high, and the desired increase of productivity of labor was not achieved. Moreover, scarcity of technicians and skilled labor, lack of effective discipline in the factories, backwardness of transportation facilities, inadequacy of food supplies, and the lack of liquid capital destroyed the balance of the scheme. To finance this program Russia was compelled to adopt a pay-as-you-go policy, exporting enough food and textiles to pay for the machinery and other essentials she obtained from foreign lands. This circumstance caused the execution of the plan to be an almost intolerable burden to millions of people.

¹ i.e., the combining of small farms into large units which could be cultivated as units under the unified management and direction of state officials. This method was expected to achieve greater efficiency and increased productivity. See pp 1122, 1123.

who, in order to help the government purchase machinery, were forced to go without food. Despite these handicaps, by 1933 the country had made remarkable progress in the direction of large-scale industrialism.

In 1933, Stalin inaugurated a second Five Year Plan. Claiming success for the first, he announced that the new one "would change the country from one with the technique of the Middle Ages to one of contemporary technique", would greatly expand transportation facilities, would improve agricultural methods, and would increase tremendously the output of manufactured goods, war materials, and foodstuffs. Thenceforth, he claimed, the common people of Russia would be brought into a position to enjoy the highest standard of living in the world.

Japanese conquests in northern China and the rise of Hitler in Germany, however, forced Stalin to modify his policy. During the first two years of

*Problem of
national defense*

the second Plan there was a marked increase in national income and in the output of consumption goods. By 1935, however, the aggressive attitude on the part of these powerful anti-communist states made it necessary for Stalin to devote a considerable part of Russia's socialized wealth to the task of strengthening her national defenses. Meanwhile, the rapid improvement in the standard of living did not materialize. Prices of foodstuffs and of clothing remained beyond the reach of the worker. This improvement, however, the government still insisted, would occur.

Many Soviet wage-earners were less optimistic. They saw developing in Russia a new class system whereby the governmental officials (generally mem-

*Opposition to
Stalin*

bers of the Communist Party), and the specialists, such as scientists, engineers, and technicians, enjoyed higher standards of living than the proletarians and the peasants. Believing that the government was rapidly adopting the garments of capitalism, they fought, for example, the movement inaugurated by a Russian worker, named Stakhanov, for improving industrial output by a greater division of labor and more effective planning. But their opposition to the government was about as futile as that of the private farmers, the *Kulaks*.

Desirous of eliminating these wealthy farmers completely, Stalin and the Communist Party in 1928 came out in favor of the collectivization of all

*Collectivization
of agriculture*

agriculture. State farms, each consisting of from 100,000 to 200,000 acres run by a government-appointed director who hired labor at fixed wages, were maintained. But the collective farm became the most popular and most productive unit. Under this system the peasants pooled their land, machinery, draft-animals, and seed, while they retained the private ownership of their homes, personal possessions, gardens, and a certain number of chickens, cows, and other live-stock. With the government they shared in the income of the collective farm. Owing to cooperation in working, buying, and selling, these collectives, encouraged

by the state, expanded their production of agricultural goods and, at the same time, increased the incomes of the peasants. As a result of this efficient system of mass production, the *Kulaks*, unable to compete, and persecuted by the authorities, were practically destroyed. Later they were forcibly "liquidated" by expulsion from their lands.

By 1936 Stalin, feeling that the social and economic transformation was proceeding satisfactorily towards a classless society, had promulgated a new constitution. Therein, Stalin and his colleagues stated that a socialist system of economy existed in Russia, a system largely based upon ownership of property and of the means of production by the state or by cooperative groups. With this economic set-up, the government, however, recognized as legal the existence of the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on individual labor and excluding the exploitation of the labor of others. In other words, the Soviet Union by 1936 permitted its citizens to own savings, homes, and household and personal objects, and to inherit private property. This departure from pure communism was further revealed by the declaration that in the USSR "socialism was being realized. 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" Apparently the earlier communist doctrine that each should work according to his ability and receive according to his needs had been abandoned.

*The Soviet
Constitution*

In addition to these statements of Soviet Russia's economic creed, the Constitution changed the machinery of the government in such a way as to give more popular control of the political machinery. Every citizen at least eighteen years of age was given the right to elect and be elected irrespective of nationality, creed, educational background, residential qualifications, social origins, property status, and past activities. The secret ballot was adopted and the earlier system of indirect representation was abolished in favor of the direct election to the Council of the Union and the Council of the Nationalities in all political units. This confidence in the people on the part of the government was justified in the elections held in 1937. A citizenry loyal to their ideals unanimously re-elected Stalin and other leaders.

The Bolshevik Revolution resulted in drastic social as well as political and economic changes in Russia. Education was taken over by the government and devoted to the task of destroying illiteracy and converting the people, especially the younger generation, to communist principles. By the end of the First Five Year Plan (1933)

*Social changes
in Russia*

illiteracy, except among the older generation, was practically eliminated and the people seemed to have been effectively communized. Thereupon the work in the public schools was changed so as to include more factual information and less political and social philosophy. Books and newspapers were plentiful and cheap in price. With the development of foreign opposition to Russia, the principle of nationalism intruded itself into the Communist Utopia. The

doctrine of patriotism came to be emphasized in the schools, and the great rulers of Russia, such as Peter the Great and Catherine II, were extolled in books and in motion pictures

Deprived of its control over education and of its property, the Greek Orthodox Church suffered a tremendous blow at the hands of the Bolsheviks. For centuries an integral part of the Old Régime, it was completely eliminated. Atheism became practically a state dogma, and all other religions were regarded as manifestations of capitalism. Although the government finally abandoned its policy of religious oppression and announced one of toleration toward all faiths, in no way did it regard the church as an essential element in communist social activity.

Family life was greatly modified as a result of the communist opposition to religion and private property. Communist society, rather than family life, was emphasized by the Bolsheviks. Influenced by this idea, women were encouraged to obtain positions, and their responsibilities in the home were lightened by state nurses, community kitchens, and modern apartments. At first, marriage and divorce were made easy. Later, the government tended to tighten the divorce laws and, like the bourgeois state, placed more emphasis upon the home.

In his attempt to Westernize communism, Stalin changed his policies with regard to the intellectuals. At first, they were resented in communist Russia. Many, by pledging their loyalty to the new order, managed to save their lives or to escape exile. But they were forced to occupy low social positions and were distrusted by most communists. After 1931, however, Stalin, as a part of his endeavor to make communism more realistic in practice, greatly improved the lot of the intellectuals. Teachers, engineers, and technical experts obtained wage increases and their children were no longer denied privileges granted to other children. Eventually the intellectuals occupied a high position in the communist class hierarchy.

Stalin favored not only the scientific intellectuals, but the artistic leaders as well. Under his patronage, artists, according to the communists, tried to evolve a cultural life that would be of real value to world civilization. Russian music was revived, and motion pictures, literature, the drama, and history were used not only to interpret the revolutionary past in terms of the class struggle, but also to extol the greatness of Russia and her leaders.

In foreign affairs Russia regained her position as a great power. For a number of years after the revolution she was virtually ostracized. Irrate because of Russia's repudiation of foreign debts, afraid of communist propaganda, and hopeful of a White victory in Russia, European powers refused to recognize her. Until 1921 only the four Baltic countries—Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, and Estonia—had official diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. In that year, Great Britain, to ex-

pand her trade, entered into a provisional commercial treaty with Russia. Similar agreements were made about the same time with Germany, Austria, Italy, and Norway. A year later Russian delegates took part in the international conference concerning inter-governmental debts which met at Genoa. The meeting was a failure, but Russia came away with a treaty of amity with Germany.

By 1933 Russia had not only secured recognition and made commercial treaties with practically every major country save the United States, but had also signed non-aggression pacts with Turkey, Germany, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Persia, Finland, Poland, France, and Italy. In 1933 the clever Russian diplomat, Maxim Litvinov, achieved the crowning victory in his plan to restore friendly relations with all leading powers, when he got the outstanding apostle of capitalism, the United States, to recognize Soviet Russia.

The rise of Hitler in Germany (1933) accelerated Russia's rapprochement with the Western powers. Alarmed at Hitler's intense hatred of Soviet Russia, Litvinov signed a non-aggression treaty with France (1932) and similar pacts with Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Finland, and Italy (1932-1933). With the enthusiastic support of France, Russia in 1934 became a member of the League of Nations with a permanent seat in the Council. Meanwhile Hitler's flamboyant threats, his desire to conquer rich Russian territory in the Ukraine (as outlined in *Mein Kampf*), and his definite determination to overturn the League of Nations, had borne fruit. In 1935, Russia and France entered into a mutual assistance pact, in case of aggression by a third power, which had as one of its chief objectives the maintenance of the *status quo*.

Russia and rise of Hitler

While France was bringing Russia into the Allied camp, a have-not nation, Japan, moved towards Nazi Germany. Determined to dominate China to the exclusion of western Powers, Japan joined Hitler in the war on communism in general and Communist China in particular.

Russia and Japan

Facing an enemy in the East as well as the West, Stalin adopted a very realistic internal and foreign policy. Conforming to the methods characteristic of dictators, he decided to eliminate all malcontents—those who accepted Trotsky's thesis that Stalin had betrayed the revolution, those who were critical of the government because industrial production in many branches had failed to increase at the rate predicted, and those who, by sabotage and intrigue with Russia's enemies—Germany and Japan—were trying to check this economic development. As a result of these purges, many important governmental officials, communist leaders, and high ranking officers in the army were imprisoned or executed.

Russian purges

While engaged in this attempt to remove all disloyal persons, Stalin also inaugurated a policy of greater preparedness. Thanks to this policy, the

Russian navy, army, and air service were greatly increased and strengthened. Compulsory military service was adopted, the pay of soldiers increased, graded ranks were re-established among the officers. In order to infuse the soldiers and sailors with the proper form of patriotism, instruction was given them in communist ideas. This instruction, the government hoped, would cause them to look upon war as a crusade to end war, to abolish the profit system, and to enable men elsewhere to share the alleged benefits of communism.

*Preparedness
in Russia*

Skeptical of the feasibility of a world revolution against capitalism, Stalin was content to preserve communism in Russia. He asserted that if he could carry out Lenin's plans in his country, whereby a people could be made prosperous and happy through the abolition of the profit system, the introduction of a planned economy, and the attainment of real social equality, the rest of the world would imitate Russia voluntarily. Meanwhile, Trotsky, an exile in Mexico, still insisted that communism could never be successful until it had swept the world. He was convinced that the next world war would culminate in a universal revolution and in a communist millennium.

CHAPTER LXXIV

THE RISE OF NATIONALIST DICTATORS POST-WAR ITALY AND GERMANY

As the result of an unsleeping resentment against the terms of the peace treaties and an intense fear of communism, nationalist dictators appeared in Italy, Germany, and elsewhere. These strong men, especially Mussolini and Hitler, seemed at first to be the defenders of capitalism—the economic *status quo*. They inaugurated great programs of political and economic reform, but at the same time they permitted property to remain in private hands and the profit system to continue. Gradually their attitude towards capitalism changed. Constantly forced to expand and to intensify their policies of regulating and of regimenting the life of the people, they introduced into their countries régimes which in certain respects were more characteristic of Russian communism than of bourgeois capitalism. *Dictators in post-War Europe*

The first of the important post-War dictators was Benito Mussolini (1883–) founder of Italian Fascism. An ardent socialist before the World War he, as editor of *Avanti*, a socialist newspaper, violently advocated Italian neutrality and favored a social revolution. *Mussolini* Suddenly, he changed his beliefs, and became an enthusiastic patriot, urging Italian intervention in the war. Repudiated by the socialists he entered the Italian army as a private. In the spring of 1917 he was wounded and exempted from further military service. Thereupon, as owner and editor of a daily paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, he used his journalistic talent to sustain the Italian morale during the dreary months of war that remained.

After the war Mussolini organized a group of one hundred and fifty men known as the *Fascisti*. Consisting chiefly of ex-service men, nationalists, and former socialists, this organization adopted the fasces of the Roman lictors—signifying royal authority over life and limb—and prepared to check the spread of communism, to promote national unity, and to make Italy a great world power. Dynamic, brilliant, and ruthless, Mussolini possessed the qualities of character which enabled him to carry out this program. He understood people and knew how to appeal to their emotions. *

Like its leader, Fascism was essentially a response to a particular set of circumstances. Though it had developed a certain quasi-philosophical flavor, unlike Bolshevism it was not at first based on any well-defined theory of the social order. It was the answer to disunion and disorganization in Italy and

was in a sense a counter-challenge of communism. Post-War depression, economic discontent, political vacillation, had brought Italy immediately after the war to the verge of a communist revolution. In this emergency Mussolini, the former socialist and by this time the leader of a capitalist counter-movement, put himself at the head of thousands of Fascist volunteers who marched on Rome (1922) and established a dictatorship.

It was as a nationalist that Mussolini made his strongest appeal to the Italian people. The nation, according to his Fascist ideology, was not merely the sum total of living individuals, nor the instrument of parties for their own ends, "but an organism comprising the unlimited series of generations of which individuals are merely transient elements, it is the synthesis of all the material and non-material values of the race." Claiming that the individual could not advance unless he moved shoulder to shoulder with others, he announced his determination to substitute obedience for liberty. Italy, and thereby every Italian, could achieve real greatness only through the repudiation of democratic rule and the establishment of Fascist dictatorship composed of the enlightened few who would serve in the name of all the classes and individuals who collectively constituted the nation.

Having adopted this Fascist concept of the state, Mussolini proceeded to get rid of all "disloyal" groups and individuals who opposed his will. Armed with guns, cudgels, and castor oil, his followers, wearing black shirts, attacked communists, socialists, members of trade unions, Freemasons, and other enemies of the Fascist program. A strict censorship of the press, of speech, of assembly, and of education was established. All organizations, societies, groups, and individuals who opposed these policies, were ruthlessly crushed. Meanwhile the world was given to understand that the Fascists were engaged primarily in the task of removing from Italy the threat of communism.

The government, unstable, weak, and inefficient, offered slight opposition to the Fascist domination. Unsatisfactory peace terms, tremendous debts, currency inflation, an unbalanced budget, internal disorders, and imperialist failures had discredited the parliamentary system of government in Italy. By 1922 thousands of landowners, employers, professional men and small-business men and intelligentsia, had joined the Fascist party believing that it would restore law and order, purify the state, destroy radicalism, and strengthen the nation.

Backed by these influential elements of society, Mussolini received from the Italian parliament virtual dictatorial powers (1922). Then he proceeded to reorganize the government. Administrative offices and parliament were brought completely under his control (1922-1924) and municipal governments were abolished by governmental acts (1925-1926). Officials, called *Podestas*, appointed by the central authorities at Rome, took charge of all cities and towns, save the "Eternal

Fascism

The Fascist Government

City," which was already under the rule of a governor appointed by the state. Meanwhile Mussolini freed himself from dependence upon parliament and made himself responsible to the figure-head king whose authority was purely nominal. Control of the military, naval, and air forces was placed in his hands.

In order that his supremacy be insured Mussolini fashioned his Fascist Party into a highly centralized and hierarchical organization with nearly two million members. It was really a state within a state. At its top was the Fascist Grand Council, presided over by Mus- *The Fascist Party* solini, *Il Duce* (the Leader). Inasmuch as he could appoint the members of this Council, Mussolini controlled the majority. Thus he was able to initiate, coordinate, and direct all party activities. In short, as head of the Italian government and as leader of the Fascist Party, Mussolini was able to unite the policies of government and party, and thereby to dominate completely the state.¹

Various organizations and officials in the Fascist Party carried out Mussolini's will. There was a National Directorate, wielding executive power (in addition to the National Council that exercised political and administrative control). There was also a General Secretariat and a secretary-general of the Fascists. In the various provinces there were secretaries, councils, and directorates, similar to the national bodies. Both national and provincial secretaries were practically appointed by Mussolini. At the base of this centralized organization were ten thousand local *fasci*, called cells. Their secretaries were appointed by the provincial secretaries. Desirous of winning over the youth, Mussolini created a number of auxiliary organizations for boys ranging from eight to twenty-one years, the *Balilla*, the *Avanguardia*, and the *Giovani Fascisti*, and the *Piccole Italiane* and the *Giovane Italiane*, for girls.

In a sense the Fascist militia became a national guard. Its officers were recruited from the national army, its members took the oath of allegiance to the king and received half-pay while on duty. Subject to call, this militia was used primarily to maintain law and order after Mussolini's accession to power.

Caesarism was extended to the economic as well as to the political sphere of Italian activity. Determined to preserve the capitalistic system, Mussolini proposed a plan of cooperation between capital and labor. Both industrialists and workers were to be encouraged by the state. Their organizations, called syndicates, were to be recognized and collective bargaining was to be permitted under official auspices. Strikes, however, were abolished. Disputes had to be taken to the government's labor court from which there was no appeal. In 1926, Mussolini decided to regiment both employers and employees.

¹ The electoral reform bill of 1923 helped to make the state more totalitarian by conceding a two-thirds majority in the Chamber of Deputies to the political party under this system, inevitably the Fascists, which got the largest number of votes.

by creating in Italy six (later reduced to four) national confederations of employers, seven (later reduced to four) of employees, and later on one of the intellectuals under the direct control of the state. By this act *Il Duce* brought economic problems, especially the matter of wages, hours of labor, and working conditions under his supervision. In 1928 he linked this syndicalist system more closely with the Fascist party by granting to the syndicates of employers and employees the right to submit candidates for the Chamber of Deputies. By the electoral law of 1928, Mussolini abolished democratic suffrage. Four hundred candidates were carefully selected by Mussolini's Fascist Grand Council and then the voters were asked to accept or reject the lot as a whole. Actually, therefore, the deputies were appointed by the Grand Council whose choices were merely ratified by the people.

By 1934 Mussolini definitely completed his plan to create a corporate state when he announced that the legislative power of the Chamber of Deputies would eventually be transferred to the National Assembly of Corporations. This latter organization was formally established in 1934. It was composed of the representatives of employers, employees, and technicians in the twenty-two divisions of Italy's productive life. Theoretically each corporation of employees and employers manages its own affairs, it is charged with the task of lowering costs of production, and maintaining fair wages, profits, and prices, also its representatives in the National Assembly of Corporations may suggest and vote upon governmental legislation. Actually, all decisions of Corporations and of the National Assembly are subject to the review of the Grand Council and of *Il Duce*.

According to Mussolini this corporative system would bring about the complete collaboration of all classes for the welfare of the state. In defending this plan *Il Duce* asserted that the people wanted, not liberty, but railways, houses, bridges, roads, light and other economic improvements which would result in a higher standard of living. The Fascist state, in adopting this vast scheme of economic reform, planned to realize this popular desire.

In 1929, Mussolini strengthened his cause by a settlement with the pope. In the Lateran Treaty he healed the long quarrel with the church by giving the pope sovereign rights, diplomatic honors, and a financial indemnity. By this act he made it possible for the Italians to be both Fascist and Catholic.

In its attempt to refashion the agrarian, industrial, and cultural life of Italy, the government encountered grave obstacles. Lack of capital perhaps was the most important difficulty. By drastic economies Mussolini was able to reduce the national deficit, but at no time did he possess sufficient funds to subsidize adequately this economic program. The government also faced the problems of overpopulation and lack of certain essential natural resources, such as coal, iron ore,

*The Corporative
State*

*The Lateran
Treaty*

*Problems con-
fronting Mussolini*

and oil Under these conditions the Fascist economic program seemed destined to fail

Conscious of these problems and deficiencies Mussolini decided to solve them through the revival of imperialism He realized, however, that before Italy could obtain markets, raw materials, and outlets for her surplus population, she must be strong enough to impose her will upon resentful rivals Therefore he begged all Italian mothers to assist in the patriotic duty of increasing the already dense population At the same time he devoted his energies to the task of developing Italy's available resources Announcing loudly his determination to make his country eventually self-sustaining, to eliminate unemployment, to augment Italy's productive capacity, and to increase greatly her military and naval power, Mussolini first plunged into his so-called "Battle of Agriculture" By fostering improvements in irrigation and fertilization of the soil, by subsidizing large grain growers, and by bestowing medals of distinction on successful farmers, he greatly stimulated agricultural production, especially of wheat

Revival of imperialism

Despite the tremendous financial cost of this economic program, Mussolini also tried to improve conditions in the fields of industry and transportation, and by so doing to eliminate unemployment He inaugurated a vast project of public works, of reforestation, of marsh drainage, of railway and highway improvements, of ship-building, and of hydro-electric development Large sums of government money were devoted to the production of rayon and silk, to the expansion of the merchant marine, and to the building of a powerful army and navy

Domestic reforms

Prior to 1931, Mussolini achieved considerable success in his attempt to promote agriculture and industry, and at the same time to balance the budget In fact Italy, in 1929-1930, had a budget surplus of several million liras After 1931 the budget was badly out of balance The national debt increased tremendously In view of the paucity of information obtainable from Fascist Italy, it is difficult to determine to what extent governmental spending solved the problem of unemployment Many remained out of work and those who obtained jobs had to accept low wages, in view of high prices and increased taxes

Many critics of the corporate state maintained that the Italian masses would not continue to endure the lowering of their living standards. Good patriots, they had thus far submitted to Mussolini's leadership in this campaign to build a bigger and a better Italy They did not question *Il Duce's* patriotism Moreover, they admitted that in many ways he had contributed to their welfare By means of unemployment and industrial insurance he had given them a degree of economic security In his war upon disease and slums he had promoted their health and comfort Through his generous support of education he had taught many of them to read and write They even accepted his plan of creating a totalitarian state by directing their hours of relaxation through

the promotion of music, drama, and other cultural pursuits. But this loyalty was bound in time to demand a substantial reward. "Could Mussolini then be able to hand over to his people the gift he wanted above everything else to give them — the loot of empire?"

II Duce's foreign policy has been chiefly concerned with the carrying out of Italy's imperial ambitions. "The tendency towards imperialism," declared Mussolini, "is one of the elementary trends of human nature, an expression of the will to power. So long as man lives, he is an imperialist, when he is dead, for him imperialism is over." Another time he said, "Italy has need of expansion, and expand she will, despite the selfish embargo placed on her ambitions by the older colonizing Powers of the Peace Conference."

*Mussolini's
foreign policy*

Determined to obtain for Italy a real place in the sun, Mussolini first turned to the East. By the Treaty of Lausanne between Turkey and the Allies (1923) Italian ownership of the Dodecanese Islands was recognized. In the following year, Italy by a treaty with Yugoslavia obtained control of the important Adriatic city of Fiume.

Desirous of strengthening his position in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean regions, Mussolini between 1924 and 1930 arranged conciliation and arbitration agreements with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Austria. Meanwhile Albania, despite the opposition of Yugoslavia and France, was made an Italian protectorate (1926-1927). In 1939, Mussolini annexed Albania making it a part of the Italian empire.

Nevertheless, Mussolini maintained that his numerous conciliation and arbitration treaties, his adherence to the Locarno and Paris agreements, and his willingness to participate in a disarmament movement, proved that his policies were pacific. To give further evidence of his honorable intentions *II Duce* in 1933 expressed a desire to cooperate with France who opposed his designs in the Adriatic and his demands for naval parity. He also proposed that Germany, France, Great Britain, and Italy sign a Four Power Pact whereby they agreed to maintain a policy of peaceful cooperation for ten years. Inasmuch as his scheme envisaged a revision of the peace treaties and the re-arming of the defeated powers it did not win the enthusiastic support of France. But when the scheme was changed so as to provide that any revision of the peace treaties and existing boundaries must be in accordance with the League Covenant, France accepted the plan. In July, 1933, the pact was signed by the representatives of the four great powers.

The acceptance of the agreement was a diplomatic victory for its sponsor, Mussolini. Germany was grateful because of his stand in favor of a revision of the peace treaties; and France, realizing that she now had a powerful neighbor across the Rhine (Germany), expressed a vague sympathy for Italy's imperialistic aspirations in North Africa.

Attempting to take advantage of this diplomatic success, and convinced that British isolation and French fear of Germany would nullify their opposition, Mussolini, a year later (1934), decided to inaugurate an aggressive imperialist policy in Ethiopia. By means of this adventure *Ethiopia* Mussolini hoped to eliminate the social discontent which existed in Italy as a result of high prices, low wages, and unemployment. Moved by patriotic fervor the Italian people, he believed, would forget about their domestic troubles and support him in his attempt to avenge the defeat of the Italian forces at Adowa in 1896, and to re-establish a Mediterranean empire providing raw materials and opportunities for investment and colonization. Accordingly he sent his legions into the ancient land of the King of Kings under the pretext of settling Italo-Ethiopian border disorders.

In making war on this semi-civilized country, Mussolini disregarded an agreement arranged in 1906 by Great Britain, France, and Italy (in which they recognized Ethiopia's independence), the membership of the latter in the League of Nations, and a treaty of friendship between Italy and Ethiopia in which they agreed to submit their controversies to arbitration (1928). On the other hand, Mussolini justified his intervention by claiming that the Allies had recognized Italian rights in Ethiopia during the war, but had inaugurated policies of economic expansion in Ethiopia despite their promise to the contrary. Therefore Italy's aggression was thought of by the Italians as being defensive.

Encouraged by Great Britain and France, Ethiopia appealed to the League to stop Italian intervention, but to no avail. Mussolini, refusing to recognize the League's right to interfere, proceeded to conquer a large part of this country. Meanwhile the League, unable to obtain the complete cooperation of Great Britain and France, offered ineffective opposition to Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. Inasmuch as this Italian adventure threatened the imperialist interests of England—the Suez Canal, for example—more than those of France, the British lion did resort to all methods short of war to check the Italian advance. After devoting much time to futile discussion, the League, in response to British demands, finally decided to resort to a financial and economic boycott of Italy (November, 1935). Although this boycott hampered Fascist efficiency, it did not check the advance of the Italian forces in Africa. After seven months of warfare, the main objective of the Italian campaign was reached. Addis-Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, was occupied (May 5, 1936), the emperor of the country, Haile Selassie, was in flight, and Ethiopia was formally declared part of the Italian colonial empire. Thus, except for Liberia, the last independent African state had lost its independence.

As a result of this conquest, Mussolini strengthened his popularity in Italy and the League of Nations lost much of its prestige in the world. For a time the League continued the economic sanctions against Italy, stubbornly maintaining that this country had gone to war in disregard of her League obliga-

tions On July 15, 1936, however, that body finally suspended these sanctions Italy, it appeared, had defeated the League

Disregarding this capitulation, many states, especially Great Britain, refused to recognize Italy's conquest of Ethiopia Thereupon, Mussolini, determined to strengthen his position in the Mediterranean, extended *de jure* recognition to the Insurgent government in Spain which had been set up by General Franco at Burgos (November, 1936) As a counter challenge to the anti-fascist help for the loyalist cause in Spain from many foreign countries (especially Russia), he permitted Italian "volunteers," airplanes, and submarines to go to the Insurgent cause Nazi Germany also decided to back the nationalist movement¹

Mussolini and Spain

After the World War, Germany, like Italy, faced an economic collapse and revolutionary chaos In November, 1918, as the military defeat of Germany was becoming apparent, revolution broke out in various parts of the country It began in the High Seas fleet which had spent the last two years of the war cooped up and inactive in the Kiel Canal Alarmed by these revolts and by the increase of popular opposition, all the kings and princes, including the kaiser, abdicated or fled Within a week there was not a monarch left in Germany The catastrophe had not only overthrown the reigning dynasties, but had paralyzed temporarily the reactionary and conservative elements of society Only the Social Democrats, numerically the largest party in Germany, were prepared to assume the rôle of leadership at this critical time They accepted this task and created the German Republic

Germany after the War

Although the Social Democrats advocated the establishment of a socialist state in theory, the majority of them favored in practice the creation of a liberal bourgeois republic Representing the moderate trade unions, rather than the rank and file of German workers, they opposed vigorously the attempts of the communists to establish a proletarian state In 1918-1919, a successful communist revolution seemed possible The old ruling groups, rendered helpless by the national collapse, stood by while independent socialists and other extremists (called Spartacists),² led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, placed firearms in the hands of the proletariat, raised red flags in numerous cities and organized soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants' deputies But the radical uprising was suppressed and Liebknecht and Luxemburg were assassinated Thus the Social Democrats, in restoring law and order, saved Germany for the industrialists and the junkers, and by so doing prepared the way unintentionally for the rise of Hitler

Communism in Germany

After the suppression of radicalism the provisional government, dominated

¹ For discussion of international aspects of the Spanish Civil War see pp. 1182-1185

² They took their name from Spartacus, leader of a slave revolt in ancient Rome

by the Social Democrats, scheduled an election on the basis of universal suffrage of a National Assembly which was to draw up a constitution for the new German Republic. By this time the bourgeoisie had recovered courage. Consequently they were able in the elections to obtain control of the National Assembly. In addition to large delegations of socialist and of bourgeois parties there were also in this assembly smaller groups representing the monarchy, the industrialists, and the Catholics.

These delegates, meeting at Weimar, shrine of German liberalism, on February 6, 1919, drew up and adopted the German Republican Constitution. The Weimar Constitution established a framework of government on the basis of the classic principle of liberalism. It *Establishment of German Republic* created a democratic government which consisted of a bicameral parliament, a president, a cabinet, and an advisory national economic council. It also contained a bill of rights, which guaranteed freedom of speech, press, and assembly, but which imposed limitations on personal and property rights in the interest of social welfare. On February 11 the moderate socialist leader, Ebert, as head of the provisional government, signed the document. The National Assembly then moved to Berlin and acted as a *Reichstag* until the new government was formally established (June 6, 1920). Meanwhile various attempts on the part of reactionaries as well as radicals to overturn the new republic were suppressed. A plan, apparently supported by French officials, to detach the Rhineland from Germany and set up an independent state also failed dismally. By 1924 these disintegrating movements seemed to have been driven underground and the unity of the Republic appeared secure.

The establishment of this democracy delivered the German bourgeoisie from the menace of communism. Even with the ballot in the hands of the proletariat, the property owners could and did manage to retain a large share of political control. This power, secured directly through the ballot and indirectly through the acceptance of many middle-class views by the moderate elements in the Social Democratic Party, safeguarded the rights of property and prevented the socialization of commerce and industry.

Certain obstacles stood in the way of the Republic. From the first a large group of German patriots of all classes identified the greatness of Germany with the Hohenzollern empire, and tended in their thinking to link democracy with defeat and revolution. This latent *Problems confronting republic* hostility to the republic might have been overcome if Germany could have experienced in the early post-War period an era of prosperity and national recovery. But such a revival was made unlikely largely because of the failure to tax adequately the wealthy industrialists, the extravagant waste of money on public works, and the harsh treatment accorded Germany by the victorious Allies. Not only was Germany humiliated and enslaved by the military and economic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, but also she had to suffer diplomatic slights from her late enemies. These conditions

undermined the never-very-great prestige of the Republic, especially during the years prior to the Locarno Pacts (1925)

Despite these obstacles the democratic government tried to restore Germany. Reactionary and radical uprisings were crushed, and an attempt was made to re-establish commerce and industry. But the cabinet, a coalition of socialists, democrats, and centrists, was unable to guide the country to a real recovery. Germany simply could not meet the reparation payments to the Allies and at the same time re-establish normal economic conditions. Most of her markets, especially in France and the United States, were practically destroyed by the erection of tariff barriers. This loss of foreign markets and the poverty of the domestic markets so reduced economic activity in Germany that reparations had to be paid out of the capital of the country.

The government also had to deal with a perplexing problem of currency. Inflation began during the World War when the imperial government, unwilling to resort to heavy taxation to pay the cost of the struggle, proceeded to inflate its currency. Confronted by the problems of unemployment, need of food and raw materials, and the necessity of making reparation payments, the post-war government, now under the control of Wilhelm Cuno and other supposed experts, decided to inflate the currency still further rather than to tax business heavily. The result of this policy was the steady depreciation of the mark. In 1921 the mark, which before the war had been worth twenty-five cents, had declined to sixty to the dollar. Continued deficits in the national budget which resulted from this depreciation led to further inflation. By November, 1922, a dollar would purchase over seven thousand marks. In 1923, Germany was in a dilemma. Unable to meet the heavy reparation payments demanded by the Allied Commission, the Germans were forced to submit to the occupation of their great industrial region, the Ruhr, by French and Belgian troops. The policy of passive resistance, to which the government resorted, completely disorganized the financial and economic structure of the republic. The mark immediately started to tumble down the toboggan slide. Quoted at 14,000 to a dollar when the Ruhr occupation began, in the spring of 1923 it declined from 160,000 to 1,100,000 to the dollar during July, and by the end of the year stood at 4,000,000,000,000 to the dollar.

The collapse of the mark completely dislocated German economic and social life. Savings, pensions, and insurance were destroyed, and mortgages, bonds, and notes were paid off with worthless currency, thus transferring wealth from the creditor to the debtor class. Inability of wages to keep pace with the sinking mark resulted in a decline in the standard of living. All incentive to thrift was destroyed. The chief aim of most Germans was to transfer currency into tangibles. This, in turn, produced an artificial industrial boom.

Undoubtedly the most disastrous consequence of the currency debacle was the destruction of a great part of the prosperous bourgeois class. These unfortunate people, with fixed incomes derived from interest, rents, and even such flexible sources as fees, salaries, and profits, found it very difficult to keep up with the rapid and continuous rise in prices. Savings lost practically all of their values, pensioners and rentiers starved, families, formerly well situated, had to eat plain foods and discharge their servants. In fact, thousands of men, women, and children were forced to depend upon charity for their existence. Many middle-class persons found themselves pushed into the ranks of the proletariat.

Decline of the bourgeoisie

Industrial and financial tycoons, farmers, and workers, on the other hand, were not hit so hard. During the war Big Business had made great profits. In the period of post-war inflation, plutocrats were able to use this wealth to improve their positions by getting rid of bonded debts and expanding their properties or acquiring additional holdings at bargain prices. Many small businessmen and farmers also managed to survive inflation by holding on to their stores and farms. Even the wage-earner was paid enough to insure a bare living.

During this critical period, Stresemann, an industrialist and head of the upper bourgeois People's Party which favored the monarchical form of government, assumed an important rôle in the German Cabinet.

Stresemann

As chancellor, in 1922, he put down reactionary and radical opposition, aiming his heaviest blows at the left which he regarded as the most dangerous foe of the bourgeois republic. As foreign minister (1923-1929) he tried to bring Germany out of her economic and diplomatic isolation. He strengthened the friendly relations with Soviet Russia which had been established by the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), he helped to obtain the acceptance of the Dawes Plan by the Reichstag,¹ and in 1925, in cooperation with Briand the great statesman of France, he succeeded in bringing about the adoption of the Locarno Treaties whereby Germany accepted the new frontiers in the west and agreed to submit to arbitration disputes over the eastern frontier. According to the terms of the settlement, Great Britain and Italy promised to support either France or Germany against aggression from the other. Impressed by Stresemann's friendly policy, the former Allies in 1926 admitted Germany into the League of Nations.

Between 1924 and 1929 Germany experienced a superficial recovery. Under the direction of the plutocrats, the extensive loans from foreign bankers were devoted to the creation of vertical trusts, to the development of mass production, to the promotion of industrial efficiency, and to the establishment of pensions and unemployment doles. Commercial expansion also was facilitated through treaties concluded with all of the important powers.

Economic recovery

¹ Agreed upon in the spring of 1924, the Plan lowered the annual payments of German reparations. See p 1107.

This economic development was accompanied by a resurgence of patriotism. Following the death of Ebert in 1925, the first president of the German republic, the monarchists and other reactionaries persuaded *Von Hindenburg* the German war hero, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, to run for this office. Patriots rallied to his support, and as a result, the left-wingers were defeated as a monarchist was elected president of the republic. But contrary to fears abroad that Hindenburg's election presaged a reactionary development, he took the oath to the constitution and, for nine years, served as the ostensible head of the government.

In 1929, Germany's rapid economic revival was halted and her democratic government faced an uncertain future. The beginning of a world depression made it impossible for Germany to continue floating the *Germany and world depression* foreign loans which had facilitated her recovery, high tariff walls, raised by other countries, prevented further extension of her commerce, and a rapid fall in wages and agricultural prices brought about a decline of purchasing power in the domestic market. By 1929 a reduction in industrial activity resulted in a steady rise in unemployment.

Despite the lightening of the reparation burden by the Young Plan,¹ economic conditions grew steadily worse. In 1930-1931 the situation in Germany became so bad that the former Allies first declared a moratorium for one year of reparation payments and intergovernmental debts, and later (1932) consented to an almost complete cancellation of reparation payments.

By this time, however, the German Republic was virtually doomed. Industry continued to decline, unemployment to expand, wages to fall, and taxes to rise. By 1932 nine-tenths of the German people were barely *Discontent in Germany* existing on low wages or salaries, and society was being proletarianized. Discontent spread to all classes. Communists, socialists, and workers' unions were suspicious of one another. Industrialists, bankers, and great landowners (Junkers) bitterly denounced the republican government, claiming that it was protecting the workers by providing pensions, doles, apartment houses, and other luxuries at the expense of the property owners. The little businessmen, on the other hand, maintained that the government was aiding Big Business in its attempt to gain complete control of industry. Unable to check the advance of monopoly rule and yet unwilling to join the proletariat, the bourgeoisie faced extinction.

Fear of communism, on the part of reactionaries, conservatives, and erstwhile liberals and moderates, finally paved the way for the downfall of the German Republic. By 1932 certain German Aryans² were developing real hostility to the Jewish people who, though comprising one per cent of the entire population, were said to control many of the large banks, the great

¹ See p. 1107.

² Aryan is really a linguistic term, but it is used in Germany to imply racial purity, i.e., descent from Aryan ancestry.

industries, the big department stores, and the professions. But the rapid spread of communism amongst the workers and even the petty bourgeoisie created the real panic among the propertied classes. As taxes mounted, they tended to accept the ideas expressed by the Nazis (National Socialists) that the Jews and the Marxists were the suspicious characters in Germany's political woodpile. According to the Nazis, these radicals and aliens were intent merely upon their own selfish gains, and, in time, were determined to take over the country. All classes—businessmen, farmers, and workers—would suffer should these subversive groups achieve this aim.

As nationalist discontent and hatred of alien groups increased, certain little businessmen began to cluster around a leader who had newly risen from their midst. This messiah—Adolph Hitler—was born in Austria (1889), and was the son of a humble customs inspector *Rise of Hitler* of the Dual Monarchy. As a mere youth he had gone to Vienna to study architecture but had not been very successful. Shortly before the outbreak of the World War, Hitler, having developed a strong hatred of Marxian socialism and semiticism, left this "racial Babylon" of Vienna and went to Munich where he obtained a job as a house painter. During the war, which he welcomed fervently, he served in the German army as a private and later as a sergeant, winning the Iron Cross for bravery in combat. After the struggle he organized a National Socialist German Workers' Party and, in 1920, announced a program of twenty-five points, similar in many respects to the platform of Italian Fascism.

In 1923, Hitler, Ludendorff, and others engaged in an attempt at Munich to overthrow the existing régime. Invading a beer hall on November 9, 1923, the Austrian orator announced his determination to "clear out the Jewish-Marxist pigsty in Berlin." Police dispersed the parade of the Nationalist Socialists, as they now called themselves, the next day, and Hitler was given a light jail sentence. During his prison term of only a few months he wrote part of his volume of memoirs, entitled *Mein Kampf* (My Fight). Following his release, Hitler proceeded to organize his followers, adopting the swastika, and creating a semi-military force of over a half-million "brown shirts," or shock troops. This preliminary work soon bore fruit. In 1929-1930, the depression hit Germany, and Hitler with a well-organized group of followers and a program that appealed to all classes became a new savior for millions of people.

Hitler possessed many of the personal qualities essential for a dictator. *Der Führer* (The Leader), as he came to be called, combined the talents of a demagogue with those of a statesman. "He is," wrote Henri Lichtenberger in his *The Third Reich*, "a popular orator of the first order. . . . He has also the undeniable gifts of seduction; he knows how to tame men and allure women. He is a man of iron will and tireless activity. And he possesses also the flair of the born politician, that intuition which permits him to sense

the confused aspirations of the crowd, to discern how the wind is blowing, and to divine what should be and could be done at each particular moment Hitler's appeal to the masses is further enhanced by the fact that he is 'a man of the people' "

Keenly cognizant of the many conflicting elements and tendencies which existed in Germany, Hitler proceeded to win the masses over to the Nazi cause. In doing so, he announced a militant and nationalistic program which was opposed alike to communism and democracy and was designed to re-establish internal order and prosperity, and to regain external prestige for Germany. This platform appealed to most discontented groups. Industrialists and landowners were won over by his condemnation of socialism and communism, the middle classes were attracted by his opposition to Big Business, as represented by large department and chain stores, and by his intense patriotism, and the proletarians were converted by his denunciation of Jewish capitalism and his promises of social and economic reforms. Patriotic Germans of all parties accepted with enthusiasm Hitler's promise (found in *Mein Kampf*), to free Germany from the shackles of the Treaty of Versailles. They visualized the restoration of Germany's international prestige through the repudiation of the thesis of German war guilt, the refusal to make further reparation payments, a drastic revision of the Polish corridor and other adjustments on the eastern frontier, the return of the German colonies, the long-desired *Anschluss* with Austria, and the right of all Germans to unite and to arm.

Unable to reach these objectives, and on the verge of a revolution as a result of the depression, the republic gradually sank into oblivion. In March, 1930, Heinrich Brüning, the centrist leader, became head of a new cabinet. During the next two years he tried to maintain the republican form of government. But, with the proletariat unenthusiastic over his program, with the middle classes accepting Hitler's leadership, and with the aristocratic and plutocratic classes flirting with reaction and with the Nazi party, Brüning and his colleagues saw the republic's supports crumble away one after another.

By the spring of 1932 German democracy was vanishing. In the elections of April 24 to the Diet, the Nazi group became the dominant organization in Prussia and the second largest party in Bavaria. Although Brüning retained considerable support in the *Reichstag*, President Hindenburg (recently re-elected President) was forced by reactionary intrigue to dismiss Brüning and to place the government in the hands of a group of reactionary nationalists first under von Papen and then under von Schleicher. Centrists, Nazis, and junkers now engaged in a struggle for power. Meanwhile, a split within the ranks of the ruling clique enabled Hitler to enter the government. Determined to overthrow his rival, von Schleicher, who had displaced him as Chancellor in December, 1932, von Papen, a superficial conservative intriguer, arranged a

*The end of
the republic*

deal with Hitler, whereby certain great bankers and steel magnates (Fritz Thyssen, Hugenberg, and others) would support a Nazi-nationalist government with Hitler as chancellor, von Papen as vice-chancellor, and Hugenberg as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Thus with a majority of the cabinet non-Nazi, it was assumed that Hitler would be easily managed by his feudal colleagues. Hitler accepted the post of chancellor, and on January 30, 1933, was in a position to launch his drive for supreme power.

As chancellor, Hitler proceeded to make himself the undisputed dictator — *Der Fuhrer* — of Germany. Backed by the little businessmen and peasants, he liquidated the socialists, the communists, and the trade unions by dissolving and outlawing their party organizations, and by punishing their leaders. On March 12, the black-red-gold republican flag was discarded and the black-white-red flag of the empire and the swastika banner of the Nazis were substituted. In 1935, the latter became the official flag of the Third Reich. With the support of Hugenberg's Nationalists, the Nazis in March, 1933, forced the *Reichstag* to pass an Enabling Act which gave the cabinet dictatorial authority, thus driving the last nail into the coffin of the republic.

*Establishment of
Nazi dictatorship*

Having taken over supreme power in the cabinet Hitler proceeded to put down all opposition. In June, he suppressed the Social Democratic Party. Meanwhile, with the aid of Goebbels, his Minister of Propaganda and Goering, the Prussian Premier, Hitler overpowered the Nationalist parties and placed a majority of Nazis in the cabinet. In July he signed a concordat with the pope and dissolved the Center and Bavarian parties, announcing that the Nazi organization was the only legal political group in Germany. Thus Hitler within a few months had established a dictatorship.

Property owners contributed to this Nazi triumph. Many Germans of the small bourgeois classes, having lost confidence in the republic, supported the National-Socialists. Junkers, industrialists, and bankers threw the resources of the National Federation of German Employers Association, the National Federation of German Industry, the National Chamber of Commerce, and the *Herren Klub* behind Hitler's program. They favored especially his plan to suppress radicalism and to discipline the working-man.

As a substitute for the old political state Hitler, according to Brady's *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, then proceeded to apply to the nation at large "the rules, the behavior patterns and the points of view of the autocratically governed business enterprise, nothing more — with this exception, that it adds thereto power to enforce complete uniformity with its point of view on the part of all members of the community regardless of class, station, or interest."

In order to carry out this nationalist-capitalist revolution, Hitler destroyed all opposition. Freedom of speech, assembly, and the press vanished; Jews were persecuted and discriminated against in the professions and in business;

republican clubs were dissolved, and thousands of enemies of the Nazi state were confined in concentration camps, i.e., places where anti-Nazis were concentrated and kept under guard

Hitler's purge

In the spring of 1934, however, dissension developed within the Nazi ranks. A number of leaders from the left wing of the party wanted Hitler to suppress the industrialists and the junkers as he had the Marxists and liberals. Instead, Hitler announced that the revolution was over and that he would crush any attempt to overthrow the present order. Despite this warning certain leaders of the Storm Troopers¹ opposed Hitler's will. As a result *Der Fuhrer* flew to Munich and ordered Rohm, Heines, and others killed. In Berlin, Goering arrested and shot other enemies of Hitler. Squads of Storm Troopers and the Gestapo (secret police) participated in the purge.

While he was liquidating all opposition to and in the Nazi party, Hitler created a totalitarian state. Leadership was made a principle of political and social organization. According to Herr Goering, "Authority goes from top to bottom, but Responsibility always from bottom to top. Der Fuhrer carries the final responsibility as he carries it before his God and his people. His will is law." Regents, representing *Der Fuhrer's* will, were appointed in each of the component states, save Prussia where Hitler assumed the position of regent. Upon the death of President Hindenburg, 1934, a further step in the direction of totalitarianism was taken when the Reich cabinet decided to unite in Hitler the offices of president and chancellor. Meanwhile all popular government, state and local, was abolished, and sovereign rights of the states were transferred to the central government. The Reich was thus transformed from a federal into a centralized and unified state.

Having established his political supremacy Hitler determined to nationalize and coordinate the economic and cultural life of Germany. Labor was deprived of its right to organize unions, to bargain collectively, to picket, and to strike. Employers' associations were also abolished. In the place of these groups was formed a German Labor Front, comprising both employers and employees. In order to control this Front Hitler divided the Reich into thirteen districts and appointed in each one a Trustee of Labor board. This organization had the right to fix wages, to settle labor disputes, and to dismiss followers and leaders. Its decisions could be appealed to State Honor Courts, but such action was rare.

The Labor Front

Agriculture as well as industry was coordinated. At first the government helped some of the peasants by placing them on lands formerly possessed by junkers and by granting them credit. To keep the peasant farms from being split into small holdings, the government also created hereditary peasant farms. Inasmuch as these holdings could not be mortgaged, the owners found it difficult to borrow

Coordination of agriculture

¹ Members of the official Nazi party militia

the money necessary for their operation. Steadily, the new régime, in its attempt to make Germany self-sufficing, brought agriculture more and more under state control. The objective of this policy was to raise the standard of living and to increase the production of foodstuffs so as to make Germany practically a self-sufficing nation. To this end, the government not only aided the farmer in the reclamation of waste land, but supervised practically every phase of agricultural life. As a result of this policy agricultural production, according to Nazi statistics, rose from 8.7 milliard *reichsmarks* in 1932 to 12 milliard *reichsmarks* in 1937.

German cultural and moral life was also coordinated. As head of the Ministry of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment, Dr. Julius Goebbels regimented public opinion. All types of expression — news-
papers, theatres, motion pictures, music, and the arts — were controlled by this ministry with the purpose of fusing
Cultural and moral coordination
German emotional, moral, and intellectual life into a uniform spiritual mould. Education was overhauled by the Ministry of Education with the purpose of producing youths who would be strong, obedient, and loyal soldiers of the Third Reich. Service of six months in the labor camps and several years in the military were required of all young boys. Labor camps, at first not compulsory, were established for Nazi girls. In these camps they were trained to become mothers and workers, but in the home.

Hitler tried to regiment the church as well as the state. Under the direction of Goering the Protestant churches were to be organized along totalitarian lines in accordance with Nazi principles. The Church Synod was to be controlled by the German Christians — those sub-
scribing to a German Nazi church. Certain extremists proposed that the Holy Bible at this time be purged of everything un-German. Thus the new Christian church would be able to exalt pagan virility and hardihood, rather than piety and humility.
Religious conditions

Powerful Protestant opposition, however, confronted the Nazis in their attempt to regiment the church. And while Hitler succeeded in bringing that institution under his control, many churchmen consistently refused to subscribe to the neo-paganism of the Nazis.

Catholics also fought Hitler's attempt to subordinate the church to the state. In 1933 he tried to arrange a settlement with the pope, negotiating a concordat whereby the Vatican relinquished the right of Catholic organizations in Germany to engage in political activities. Hitler, in return, promised not to interfere with Catholic educational, cultural, and youth organizations as long as they did not meddle in politics. But the terms of this settlement were not observed. Determined to obtain complete control of German youth, Hitler, in 1936, denounced the Catholic youth movement, charging its leaders with illegal association with communists. Meanwhile the church proceeded to criticize severely Hitler's racial ideology and his sterilization laws whereby

physical and mental misfits were to be sterilized. In 1937 another crisis between church and state arose when Hitler, accusing the Catholic teachers of immorality, determined to abolish certain Catholic schools in Bavaria.

In his attempt to re-establish unity, *Der Führer* embarked on a crusade to bring about racial purification. Jews and other non-Germanic elements which endangered, as he claimed, the purity of the "Aryan" race were ruthlessly suppressed. In September, 1935, the Nazi Reichstag met at Nuremberg in conjunction with the "Congress of Freedom" of the Nazi party. Here the swastika flag was made the sole official banner of the Reich, new laws deprived all Jews of citizenship, and marriages between Jews and gentiles were forbidden. As a result of this policy, over 100,000 Jews fled, hundreds committed suicide, and virtually all Jews suffered personal humiliations, impoverishment, and political oppression.

Disregarding a certain amount of hostility to his political, economic, religious, and racial policies, Hitler insisted that his National Socialist program had but one aim — the creation of a great Germany. "Fundamentally," he said, "our National-Socialist programme replaces the liberalistic conception of the individual and the Marxist conception of humanity at large by the conception of a nation bound by breeding to a common soil — it is the grandest and thereby the most sacred task of man to preserve his kind as devised by God and propagated by breeding." With pride he called attention to the fact that "Countless sons of workmen and peasants are today in leading positions in the Nazi state," and claimed that the Nazi program "looks towards the whole people and never towards a single class. The purpose of the National-Socialist revolution is not to deprive a privileged class of its rights for all future, but to raise a class without rights to equality." In advocating this Hitler claimed that he was carrying out the will of the people as expressed by its party — the Nazis.

While professing to know little about economic theory, Hitler, from the very beginning of his rule in 1933, introduced drastic economic changes. In outlining his program he definitely described such phrases as "economic freedom" and "rugged individualism" as of no importance. Instead, he declared that it was the duty of the state to direct the available working power for the purposes of a useful production. "The community of the nation does not live by the fictitious value of money," he said, "but by the real production which in its turn only gives value to money. This production is the real cover of currency, and not a bank or safe full of gold!"

In a speech before the German *Reichstag* (February, 1938) Hitler proclaimed the success of his economic policies particularly the Four-Year Plan announced in 1936. After calling attention to his "powerful peace-time army"

he stated that under National Socialism agriculture, industry, and commerce had experienced remarkable expansion. Presenting statistics to prove that industrial production had practically doubled between 1932 and 1937, that foreign trade had experienced a modest expansion, that production as a whole had increased, and that unemployment had practically disappeared, Hitler proudly stated that this economic advance had been made without foreign assistance and was due solely to the nation's own efforts under its own leadership. He claimed that only through production and expansion—not higher wages and shorter hours—could the German standard of living be raised, and again stated that Germany's future rested solely in the "orbit of her wisdom and energy," not in "salvation in the form of any kind of aid from outside, whether of a political, economic, or financial nature." Nevertheless, Hitler, despite his quest of autarchy (national economic self-sufficiency), was forced to admit the vital need for increased foreign trade and expanding markets abroad.

The Four-Year Plan

Hitler, like Mussolini, actually did not believe in a complete self-enclosed economic system. Wherever possible, he invaded the markets of the world. His economic diplomacy, unlike England's, was conducted on a bilateral *quid pro quo* basis with goods exchanged for goods (the barter system). Money was still useful, but to Germany as well as Italy, it was ultimately less necessary than military might to seize raw materials. Thus Hitler devoted a large part of his capital, his man power, and his raw materials to a rearmament program. As a result, this increased production and trade did not benefit the masses, inasmuch as they were forced to go without necessities in order to support military preparations. They also had to submit to long hours of labor and to heavy taxation without receiving the compensation of higher wages.

The economic situation

On the other hand, the great industrialists in Germany at first prospered as a result of this economic expansion. Their incomes were increased and no special taxes were levied upon them. Thus they alone were able to enjoy higher incomes and a higher standard of living as a result of Hitler's system of economic planning.

Constantly fearing the development of unrest among the masses, Hitler, like Mussolini, was forced to introduce policies designed to curb not only the profits and the power of Big Business, but also to stimulate German patriotism. He was obliged to identify himself with the most extravagant expectations of nationalistic fanaticism as a means of sustaining popular enthusiasm. Thus it was in the field of diplomacy that Hitler was able to win his most notable victories and to gain from the Germans their most ardent support.

After 1919 the Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to follow a well-defined foreign policy, regardless of the political or economic complexion of the gov-

ernment in power Hitler, unlike his predecessors, was determined not only to oppose reparation payments, but also to achieve equality in the rights of armament, to recover the lost provinces and colonies, and to restore Germany's international prestige In attempting to reach these ends, Hitler abandoned the earlier policy of conciliation and bargaining and resorted to one of repudiation, defiance, and force

*Hitler's
foreign policy*

In 1933, he began his policy of repudiation by withdrawing from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations Two years later he obtained the endorsement of the people of the Saar when they voted to return to Germany He also added to his popularity by subjecting the city of Danzig to Nazi control in defiance of the League But he won his greatest diplomatic victory that year when he repudiated the disarmament clauses of the peace treaty and announced that Germany intended to establish universal military conscription so as rebuild her powerful army Great Britain, France, and Italy protested through the League of Nations, but Hitler secured a tacit acceptance of Great Britain to certain aspects of German rearmament, by signing a treaty with that country whereby Germany agreed to build a fleet only thirty-five per cent as large as the British On July 1, 1935, he went a step further in repudiating the Versailles Treaty by re-establishing the German General Military Staff

*Defiance of
Versailles Treaty*

In 1936, Hitler achieved a most important diplomatic victory Professing to be angry as a result of the creation of another Dual Alliance between Russia and France, he occupied the Rhineland region which had been demilitarized by the Treaty of Versailles France and Belgium at once sent vigorous protest to Hitler, but lacking the enthusiastic support of Italy and Great Britain who were quarreling at that time over Ethiopia, they failed to act

By 1938, Hitler seemed determined not only to change completely the verdict of Versailles, but also to carry out certain foreign policies which were largely the result of his Nazi ideology and of the economic needs of Germany These ambitions he revealed in his famous book, *Mein Kampf* In that work he proclaimed his intention of building a "Great" Germany through the annexation of Austria, the annihilation of French hegemony in Europe, the abolition of communism as a threat to Europe, and the national, territorial, and economic expansion of Germany to the East — the Baltic states, the Ukraine, and the Balkans "If I had the Ural mountains, Siberia, and the Ukraine," he shouted, "Germany, under Nationalist-Socialist leadership, would swim in plenty" In 1938, Hitler proceeded to carry out part of his plan to enlarge Germany by bringing about a union with Austria and by dismembering Czechoslovakia, which he added to the Reich in two bites — the first in September, 1938,

*Building of a
"Great Germany"*

and the second in March, 1939¹ In the latter month he also secured Memel from Lithuania as the result of diplomatic coercion By this expansion Hitler not only raised his personal prestige immensely among his fellow Germans, but he elevated Germany to the first rank among the continental powers

¹ See pp 1167-1171

CHAPTER LXXV

POST-WAR DEMOCRACIES FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

France was largely responsible for the turns which the political and diplomatic development of Central and Eastern Europe took after the World War. Maneuvering to obtain security for herself, France helped wreck most of Wilson's Fourteen Points, handicapped Germany by saddling her with reparations and by invading the Ruhr, and built up a series of alliances which were vaguely suggestive of those created by Bismarck.

In establishing her diplomatic hegemony in Europe, France felt that she was preserving something of real value to the world—her civilization.

France's mission Chief heir to a political and social order in which there was harmony between man and his surroundings and a just balance between Greek and Roman culture, between Humanistic intellectual inquiry and Catholic faith, between deep family loyalty and staunch individualism, and between agriculture, commerce, and industry, she believed that God and mankind expected her at least to maintain intact the territory which had served as the cradle of her culture.

No people were more patriotic than the 42,000,000 Frenchmen. However they might bicker over political and economic matters, they knew no right, left, and center when the fundamental interests of their beloved nation were menaced. They loved wholeheartedly the 213,000 square miles of black loam and green fields, of snow-peaked mountains and semi-tropical beaches that constituted France. Though she possessed an overseas empire twenty-two times her own size, France proper was not quite as large as the states of New Mexico and Arizona. Geographically, the country was a crossroads of the great trade-routes from Great Britain to the Mediterranean, and from the Western world to the heart of Europe. This strategic location helped her to become powerful and prosperous, but it also bound up her fate inextricably with that of neighboring nations.

Post-War France A traveller journeying through France on the eve of the World War would have seen not only exquisite palaces and cathedrals, but also a land as intensively cultivated as a private vegetable garden, with forty-one percent of its area devoted to crops. Six of every ten Frenchmen lived in little communities of fewer than two thousand people. While mass production was mechanizing Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, France remained essentially a land of individuals, of small landowners, and of small bourgeois shopkeepers. It had some enormous industries, but they were not so characteristic

of the country as were its flourishing little enterprises. It was the world's principal source of hand-made luxury goods, the chief wine-producing country, the fashion and art capital of the world.

During the World War, France, like most of the belligerent powers, was under a virtual dictatorship — a dictatorship that tremendously changed the make-up of the nation. Industries were merged and mechanized. Therefore, at the close of the struggle France had many loosely organized trusts. The little businesses still existed and agriculture went on much as before, but control of mines, iron and steel works, utilities, insurance companies, railroads, and brokerage houses was concentrated by a mesh of interlocking directorates in about two hundred corporations.

When, in the post-war period, an American talked about "the 60 families," he frequently was unable to name the particular individuals who controlled the economic life of his country, but when a Frenchman discussed "the 200 families," he meant something very specific — the 200 principal shareholders in the Bank of France.

*The Bank
of France*

Though it handled the state funds, the Bank of France was a private institution. Until it was partially nationalized by Léon Blum, the socialist premier, in 1936, its administrative council (only the top 200 shareholders) had the right to vote for twelve of the eighteen bank regents. These regencies were handed down from father to son. At one time twelve regents held 150 chairmanships in 95 corporations controlling sixty percent of French industry. By refusing to support government bond issues, by exporting capital, and by using the controlled Parisian press to undermine business confidence, the Bank could break ministers and influence legislation.

While French finance was controlled by the Bank, French politics were directed generally by the middle classes. These people were the weather-vanes of France. When times were good they voted for the party in power. When there was unrest in the land, the shopkeeper and the small farmer turned a little radical — not very radical, because no French party is so red as its name — but radical enough to swing the political center of gravity in the Chamber of Deputies to the Left. The bourgeois Frenchman — so the axiom goes — "wore his heart on the Left but his pocket book on the Right."

Politics in France

During the World War party strife was dropped and France was ruled by a bloc known as the *Union Sacrée*. In 1919, however, the union split into two large coalitions — the National Bloc, made up of conservatives and moderates, and the Left Bloc, consisting of Radical Socialists and other Leftist groups. The extremists, royalist on the Right, and some socialists and communists on the Left, remained outside the two blocs. After the elections of November, 1919, the National Bloc controlled the French government. Dominated by Big Business, this coalition, unable to get Great Britain and the United States to guarantee

*Big business
in saddle*

French immunity from another German invasion, created one of the most powerful military forces in Europe. While engaged in the military as well as in the economic reconstruction of France, this conservative government created the French system of alliances with Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. This diplomatic brotherhood was designed to maintain the *status quo* in Europe through treaty enforcement, and to isolate Bolshevik Russia. Even the League of Nations, under the influence of French policies, became a staunch defender of the French system of alliances.

Outstanding exponents of France's economic as well as political hegemony were her great industrialists. They wanted to obtain control of the iron and potash of Lorraine and the coke and coal of the Saar and the Ruhr. Frustrated in their attempt to gain the Ruhr and the Rhineland by the Treaty of Versailles, they determined to achieve their ambitions by pulling political wires. The National Bloc favored the interests of the Schneider-Creusot firm and other powerful industrial organizations, and under the able leadership of Raymond Poincaré, did everything in its power to aid Big Business. Influential in the government from 1919 to 1924, Poincaré backed French financiers in their plans to exploit the economic resources of central and southeastern Europe. French banks were established in the Little Entente states of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, as well as in Poland, Austria, and Hungary, loans were offered Poland and Yugoslavia for the purchase of munitions and other supplies, and in 1923, as stated before,¹ French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr.

But Poincaré and the wealthy elements he represented over-reached themselves. The masses who, of course, were expected to pay the heavy cost of these undertakings, became nervous and restless, especially when the franc experienced a rapid decline. Consisting of small, independent industrialists, rentiers, peasant proprietors, and civil servants, they forced Poincaré to resign and elected a moderate and conciliatory government headed by the Radical-Socialist, Herriot. He inaugurated a milder policy toward Germany, recognized the Russian government, and promoted the cause of peace by trying to make the League of Nations an effective instrument for the prevention of future wars. As a result of this policy, France withdrew her troops from the Ruhr, accepted the Dawes Plan, and signed the Locarno Pacts.²

The main domestic problem of the Left Bloc—financial stability—was obvious but difficult to solve. During the War, the French government, instead of taxing its people, had borrowed money at home, from Great Britain, and from the United States. After the struggle the government was forced to abandon this financial policy. Meanwhile, the public debt was tremendously increased as a result of the costs of the post-War reconstruction of devastated

¹ See pp 1106–1107, 1136

² See pp 1135–1136

areas in France and the occupation of the Ruhr. The National Bloc, through miscellaneous types of loans and tax increases, tried unsuccessfully to solve the financial problem. Then the Left Bloc came into power, but it preferred inflation to tax increases, and jeopardized the franc, which now had fallen to slightly over two cents. Thereupon the people forced this Left Bloc out of office, again entrusting their future to Poincaré and a National Union ministry in 1926.

In office, Poincaré vigorously tackled the financial question. Determined not to deprive Big Business of its hard-earned surplus, he placed the real burden of taxes on the thrifty middle classes. Income taxes were raised, indirect taxes were greatly expanded, salaries in the civil service were reduced. By these measures Poincaré

The financial problem

balanced the budget and stabilized the franc at around four cents (as compared with about twenty cents before the War). By devaluating the franc, he deprived all owners of bonds—the middle classes and peasants for the most part—of four-fifths of their income and capital, and at the same time he relieved the government of four-fifths of its capital charges. Grateful indeed were the industrialists. Aided by cheap money, they were able to undersell their competitors in the markets of the world and to expand their enterprises at home and abroad.

Until 1931, France seemed to be the soundest state in Europe. She was able at least to feed and to employ her numerically stationary population, to increase her gold reserve, and to expand production. In foreign affairs she also exerted tremendous influence. Having concluded alliances with Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, she arranged treaties with Rumania and Yugoslavia, and contemplated, in the late 'twenties, the formation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the League of Nations. It was hoped that the Locarno treaties which virtually froze the diplomatic scene in western Europe as it was in 1925, and the Pact of Paris which outlawed war in 1929, would constitute the nucleus of an international system absolutely committed to the *status quo*.

The French people, however, were unable to bear the costs of this ambitious project. In its determination to enlarge the army, to strengthen the frontier fortifications (for example, the great Maginot Line facing Germany), to occupy the Ruhr, and to furnish vast loans to the allies of France for military purposes, the French government dissipated its resources. Currency inflation, accentuated as a result of these expenditures, reduced the standard of living and prepared the way for French involvement in the world depression.

Especially severe were the hardships suffered by the small property owners and professional men. Many, unable to carry on their enterprises or to live on incomes derived from their professions, were forced into the ranks of the proletariat. Facing complete extinction and economic enslavement, a great number of Frenchmen enlisted

Decline of the bourgeoisie

under the banners of Fascism and Communism. Most of them, however, remained loyal to the bourgeois republic, supporting the moderate parties in their attempt to avert revolution by timely reforms.

Despite the demoralizing effects of the depression, the French endeavored to weather the storm without resorting to violent measures. Through the government, they tried to save themselves by isolating France from the less prosperous parts of the world. Higher tariffs and a system of quotas were designed to protect French industries and agriculture by keeping the products of other nations out of the country. Attempting to retain the support of the peasant, the government placed French agriculture in a very strong position by giving the farmer a highly protected home market. The working classes, in whom lay the potential danger of revolution, were also helped through a program of state assistance to domestic industry and through governmental aid in the form of additional social legislation.

This situation could not endure indefinitely. France soon discovered that she could not cut herself off from the outside world, she was bound to be influenced by conditions elsewhere. As the economic situation grew worse, the protective defenses started to crack. Confronted by the problem of high taxes and unemployment, the peasants and urban workers, and members of the bourgeoisie, began to manifest dissatisfaction, despite the efforts that the Chamber of Deputies had made to retain their support.

A period of legislative demoralization now followed (1932-1934). Unwilling to accept the demand of the conservative parties, representing Big Business, that the budget be balanced by a reduction in the cost of government, a majority of the ministries — radical socialists, socialists, and communists — let expenditures increase and permitted the budget to remain unbalanced. In a vain attempt to obtain decisive action, cabinets were overthrown with unusual rapidity.

By 1934 some Frenchmen predicted a complete financial collapse and prepared to face revolution. The Stavisky pawnshop scandal, involving high French officials, brought matters to a head. Claiming that Stavisky, who had robbed the people of millions of francs through the sale of worthless bonds, was aided by government officials, people demanded a parliamentary investigation. The refusal of the Radical-Socialist leader, Chautemps, to order such an investigation increased the opposition to the government. An explosion of popular discontent, known as "the Stavisky riots," now followed.

Though it is fairly well established that the Stavisky riots began as a Royalist and Fascist demonstration, many young communists joined in the fighting, in the belief that the revolution had come. Nearly all of the 102 Parisian newspapers also attacked the Radical Socialist, Daladier — then serving his first premiership —

Attempts to re-gain prosperity

The depression

Stavisky scandal

Government of the Right

with a ferocity unparalleled even in the abusive French press. Though he had a vote of confidence in the Chamber, Daladier gave way to the attacks and resigned. Seventy-year-old Gaston Doumergue, ex-President of France, was brought from his flower garden to head a national union government, which had a strongly Rightist flavor.

Doumergue tried to balance the budget by reducing governmental expenses. Despite this economy, prices continued to rise, the currency threatened to become more and more unstable, the national debt actually absorbed about half of the national income. Disregarding these problems for the time being, the aged premier tried to strengthen his position by constituent reforms, realizing that so long as he was dependent on various political groups he could not carry out a constructive economic policy. This proposed political reorganization brought about his downfall. Accused of dictatorial ambitions, he resigned in November, 1934. A young representative of Big Business, Flandin, became head of a new Right government. Promising a policy of action, he soon discovered that he could do little unless he was granted additional political power. Parliament, however, refused to give him the authority and, accordingly, he resigned.

On June 7, 1935, Pierre Laval, another bourgeois leader, was appointed premier. Granted parliamentary permission to reduce governmental expenses he proceeded to lower salaries of public officials, pensions, and interest on governmental securities. In an attempt to end the depression he also increased the income tax, established a tax on munitions, arbitrarily reducing the cost of living. Despite these measures economic recovery did not occur.

Fear of a further devaluation of the franc to restore industry and trade now caused many Frenchmen, especially investors, to lose faith in the government. Fascist leaders, agitating for the overthrow of parliamentary government, manoeuvred for the support of these dissatisfied elements, promising prosperity and security once the government were taken out of the hands of the corrupt republicans and the unpatriotic radicals.

Certain men realized that these Stavisky riots, social discontent, and Fascism were direct threats to constitutional, democratic government. One of them was Léon Blum, an able Socialist leader, an intellectual, and a Jew, another was Léon Jouhaux, head of five million strongly organized factory workers. Six days after the Stavisky riots Jouhaux had called out one million workers in a brief, orderly, general strike as a gesture of labor unity. Meanwhile Blum worked to unite all elements which had reason to hate Fascism — the Communist party under Maurice Thorez at the extreme Left, the Radical Socialist party of the bourgeois center, and the Socialists, and the Federation of Labor. Thus was formed the Popular Front. This group, in the elections of May, 1936, succeeded in winning a thumping victory. The Socialists, with 146 seats, became the largest party in the Chamber, and France acquired a Socialist premier — Blum.

The new government concentrated upon the solution of internal problems. A wave of strikes was settled when Blum got the employers to accept the workers' demands for shorter hours, vacations, and higher pay. Then he turned on the Fascists, suppressing the *Croix de Feu* organization which was led by Colonel de la Rocque. In an attempt to revive industry and commerce so that the employers could pay higher wages, Blum in the fall of 1936 devalued the franc about thirty percent. At the same time pay cuts of government employees were restored, the allowances given soldiers increased, the coal industry reorganized, relief was provided for farmers and small businessmen who needed credit, the public-works program was expanded, and, finally, the Bank of France was reorganized so as to deprive the 200 stockholders of direct power.

These governmental measures did not solve the internal problems confronting the Popular Front government. In 1937 there was social unrest in France. Workers struck as a result of trouble over the application of the forty-hour week, Communists and Fascists engaged in riots, industry and commerce, despite the devaluation of the franc, failed to improve. Towards the close of his first year as premier, Blum was forced out of office when Parliament refused to grant his request for additional authority to deal with the financial problem. A new Popular Front ministry with the Radical Socialist, Chautemps, as premier, took over the reigns of government.

The Chautemps government tried earnestly to maintain domestic calm. Social legislation, such as the forty-hour week law, was modified, with the purpose of abolishing all changes which inflicted unnecessary hardships on the employers. In the spring of 1938, Chautemps, despite his moderate policies, was forced to resign over the usual questions of social and financial legislation. He was succeeded by Blum, who, after remaining in office about a month, was overthrown for the second time when he tried to solve the financial problem by announcing a capital-tax plan.

Many Frenchmen of the middle classes were perfectly willing to vote the Socialist ticket because they felt that, in so doing, they were showing themselves to be advanced thinkers. But when they discovered that the Socialist premier (probably too weak to tax Big Business) planned to tax the capital value of their little houses and gardens, they decided that this was not the kind of socialism they had voted for.

Following the overthrow of Blum, the Radical Socialist leader, Daladier, established a moderate ministry and took over a nation beset with strikes, weak currency, a treasury spending thirty million more a week than it was taking in, Arab revolts in the North African colonies, and the menace of Fascism in Spain. It was a nation haunted by the spectres of revolution and dictatorship, and by the fear of war. French Fascists lacked an effective leader, but had powerful

*Daladier's
moderate
government*

financial backing, many workers were on strike, determined to fight rather than submit to further lowering of their living standards

To meet these critical problems Daladier needed precisely the emergency powers denied previous premiers. He got them. Both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies decided to adjourn and let him govern French finances for three months by decree. Practically a dictator, Daladier proceeded to end the strikes and obtain the support of most Frenchmen by announcing that the first aim of his régime would be to make France secure, and the second would be to strengthen French democracy.

In his attempt to reinforce the position of France in foreign affairs, Daladier faced some very difficult problems. Prior to 1933, France, as stated before, was the dominant nation in Europe. But with the rise of Hitler came the relative decline of France. Grad- *End of French hegemony* ually, Berlin, not Paris, became the center of European politics. French allies in Central Europe — Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia — swung toward Germany. And Czechoslovakia, although still loyal to her ally, was, from the military point of view, more of a liability than an asset. The alliance with Soviet Russia, a constant irritant in French politics, also was of questionable value.

Instead of Germany, it was now France which seemed to be all but encircled. To the east, the Rome-Berlin axis of unfriendly dictators had become a reality. To the northeast, Belgium had renounced her French alliance in favor of strict neutrality. To the south, General Franco, the Spanish Fascist leader, seemed to be winning a war with Italian and German help. Only to the north had France an ally — Great Britain. Determined to retain this friendship, Daladier willingly strengthened the alliance between the two countries by entering into an agreement with Great Britain whereby in the event of a war the military and naval rôles to be played by each state were to be coordinated. At the same time he approved of the Anglo-Italian Mediterranean Pact, and in the Czechoslovakian crisis prepared to follow England's lead.¹

Premier Daladier also attempted to bring France back from the Left to the Center. Upon his return from Munich in the early fall of 1938 he was granted decree powers running until November 15 by the French Chamber. Given virtual dictatorial authority, he proceeded to scrap the forty-hour week law in industries considered vital to national safety, he broke with the communist party, formerly a pillar of the French Popular Front coalition, to the delight of Berlin, he recognized the Italian conquest in Ethiopia, he continued France's policy of non-intervention in Spain, he announced his determination to balance the budget by a policy of economy, and like Britain's Conservative Prime Minister, Chamberlain, he at first tried to court the dictatorial powers.

¹ For additional treatment of French foreign policy see pp. 1169-1171, 1183-1185, 1198-1200.

After the War Great Britain, like France, faced critical internal problems. Unemployment was far worse than it had been before 1914, England had changed from a creditor to a debtor state, taxes were mounting, and industry and commerce were on the decline. For a few years Great Britain did make a temporary recovery. Encouraged by this economic revival, Lloyd George and his coalition government proceeded to restore British currency to the gold standard, to balance the budget, and to refund the enormous debt to the United States. By 1921 the boom had collapsed, largely because of the lack of foreign markets and the serious competition of the United States, Japan, and Germany. As industry and trade declined, a general business depression set in. Many wage-earners, professional men, and small businessmen lost their livelihoods. By 1921 there were more than two million unemployed in England. To take care of these unfortunate people a system of doles (small financial payments made to the unemployed by the state) was inaugurated. This relief measure enabled those out of work to exist, but it increased the tax burden of the propertied classes.

*Great Britain
after War*

In attempting to eliminate the depression, Lloyd George struggled to revive trade. An agreement with Russia was signed in 1921 which provided for the resumption of commerce. Parliament, about the same time, introduced a limited tariff system designed to protect British key industries and workmen from cheap foreign goods.

Determined to re-establish domestic harmony in the British Isles, Lloyd George in 1920 tried to settle the Irish Question. He opposed complete independence, but he was willing to grant the Irish Home Rule with the understanding that Protestant Ulster should not be forced to join the Catholic south. After considerable debate, Parliament finally passed a bill that gave both Catholic Ireland and Ulster Home Rule. Each was to be represented in Parliament and to have independent legislatures. Certain powers and imperial matters were to be handled by the British government. Opposed to this settlement, the *Sinn Féiners* in south Ireland forced the British Parliament in 1921 to grant dominion status to Catholic Ireland.

*The Irish
Question*

Even before this settlement De Valera, leader of the Irish Republican element, engaged in a long struggle to gain complete independence for Ireland. In 1937 the Catholic Irish agitated in behalf of a new constitution in which the whole of Ireland, including Ulster, was declared to be a sovereign independent democratic state, to be known by its old name, Eire. Meanwhile, a trade war with Great Britain, the outgrowth of a land-annuity dispute, continued with disastrous effect on the Free State's economic system. In 1938 this economic trouble between Ireland and England was settled as a result of negotiations between the two governments. The people of Ulster, however, refused to accept De Valera's plea that they "let all former differences now disappear in the common name of 'Irishman.'"

Opposition to the Irish Free State paved the way for the overthrow of Lloyd George's coalition government in 1922. Severe in their criticisms of the Irish settlement and also of the premier's treaty with Russia, the Conservatives finally withdrew their support from the coalition, compelling Lloyd George to resign.

In the elections which followed the Conservatives won a clearcut victory. Under the leadership of Stanley Baldwin, the new Prime Minister, the government tried to revive England's declining trade and industries by a protective tariff. This economic experiment was acceptable to a part of the electorate, but to the majority, which was not ready to abandon free trade, it was anathema. Consequently, in the elections of 1923 the Conservatives were defeated. The Labor Party, with the support of the Liberals, now came into power, with Ramsay MacDonald as the first Labor Prime Minister in British history.

*Election of
Labor
government*

The new ruler of Great Britain decided to follow a moderate domestic policy. Except for his recognition of Soviet Russia, he did nothing to disturb the business classes. Certain taxes and war duties were reduced, and the dole for the unemployed was continued. Government subsidies were given to home-builders. But no attempt was made to introduce far-reaching reforms which could be construed as a prelude to socialism. "Our Labor Government," said MacDonald at the time, "has never had the least inclination to try short cuts to the millennium."

In foreign affairs the Labor Prime Minister played his most important rôle. He helped to prepare the way for the adoption of the Dawes Plan and encouraged the League of Nations in its quest of disarmament and security. To promote friendly relations and to increase trade, he extended *de jure* recognition to Soviet Russia (1924). But this friendliness toward Soviet Red Russia, together with the insignificance of his domestic policy, aroused the opposition of the electorate. In the election which followed, Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government was restored to power.

For five years (1924-1929) Baldwin, with the support of British business groups, governed Great Britain. During this time he sought by various means to bring about an economic recovery. Partial protection was established, the pension system was extended, and local taxes were reduced to help basic industries. But the government had its difficulties, notably with the mining industry, which had been crippled by the falling off of coal exports. In 1925 a strike of the coal miners, who rejected wage cuts, followed in 1926 by a general strike of other workers, were suppressed with the aid of civilian volunteers. Acts then were passed by Parliament making a general strike illegal and limiting in other ways the power of the unions. In 1927 a plan to strengthen the Conservative House of Lords was given up as a result of strong opposition on the part of the Liberals and the Laborites.

*Baldwin's
Conservative
government*

Despite these attempts to aid commerce and industry, the economic situation in England did not improve. Unemployment increased, competition in world markets brought about a steady decline in Great Britain's commerce, and her industry, saddled with out-of-date machinery and still organized along old-fashioned lines, seemed incapable of underselling foreign competitors. Aroused by the failure of the Conservatives to solve England's economic troubles, some of the Liberals, under Lloyd George, urged the adoption by the government of a program of public works. The Laborites under MacDonald, on the other hand, insisted that to conquer the depression, the coal, transport, and power industries must be nationalized. They also advocated social reforms designed to eliminate unemployment by changing the economic and social life of the nation. In foreign affairs both Liberals and Laborites favored free trade, the resumption of relations with Russia, and the evacuation of the German Rhineland by Allied troops.

In the elections which followed in 1929, the Labor Party was victorious, and Ramsay MacDonald again became prime minister. Opposed by the Conservatives and the Liberals, the Labor government was unable to pass socialist legislation. Instead, it tried to improve the international situation by re-establishing relations with Soviet Russia and by encouraging the cause of disarmament.

By the summer of 1931, Ramsay MacDonald was confronted by the world depression. Even more than in the early post-War period, the British people, and particularly the middle classes, felt the effects of a sharp decline in economic activity. As unemployment increased, more and more families became dependent upon charity. Thus the burden on the state became excessive and the drain on finances heavy. Increased governmental expenditures meant new taxes, and these fell with special severity on the unfortunate small business and professional men, who held a large share of the taxable wealth. The result was bourgeois discontent, dissatisfaction with the government, and at least the basis of class antagonism to the workingmen who were supported by unemployment insurance.

Realizing, however, that Great Britain in 1931 was facing a national crisis, the three political parties established a Coalition Cabinet with MacDonald as Prime Minister. For accepting the leadership of a government which was actually dominated by the Conservatives, MacDonald was read out of the Labor Party. In the parliamentary elections held in the same year, the Coalition Ministry secured a vote of confidence as the Conservatives won by a landslide. Determined to bring about recovery within the capitalistic system, the new government inaugurated a program of retrenchment designed to lower the tax burden on the propertied classes. Salaries and the dole were reduced, payments on the war debt owed the United States were postponed indefinitely; expenditures on

education and other social services were cut, and the incomes of the middle classes and workers were thereby diminished

At the same time the government tried to bring about a general business recovery To do this, foreign import trade was stimulated by the abolition of the gold standard Furthermore, a protective policy was adopted At the Ottawa Economic Conference (1932) preferential tariffs were arranged among Great Britain and the Dominions By thus making the empire into a sort of *Zollverein*, foreign trade was decreased and British industry and commerce prospered accordingly

Great Britain's new economic policy was, on the whole, satisfactory Part of the burden of taxation was lifted, the actual cost of living was reduced, and cheapened money enabled many bourgeois householders to pay off their debts and at least hold their heads above water By 1934-1935 many conservative Englishmen believed that prosperity had at last returned

The average citizen was not especially optimistic about the situation The moderate improvement of business and the slight reduction of unemployment which took place between 1932 and 1935 did not prove to him that Great Britain was on the way back to normalcy As *Moderate recovery* evidence of the prevailing uncertainty were the activities by the Liberal statesman, Lloyd George, and the Fascist leader, Sir Oswald Mosley Claiming that the Coalition government was actually retarding industrial recovery, Lloyd George advocated, again, public works and other governmental expenditure as a means of helping the workers, of stimulating industry, and thereby of attaining true recovery Mosley, on the other hand, demanded the creation of a National Industrial Council and the improvement of the home market By 1936 his movement developed an anti-semitic and anti-communist tendency As a result, street fights occurred between the advocates of Fascism and their avowed enemies

Despite the unrest, the government remained in the hands of the Conservatives In 1935, MacDonald voluntarily retired as Prime Minister and Stanley Baldwin became head of a Tory government In the following year King George V died and was succeeded by the popular Prince of Wales, who assumed the title, Edward VIII A few months later the new ruler became involved in a dispute with his ministers, especially Stanley Baldwin, as a result of his determination to marry an American woman, Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson, who at that time was about to obtain a second divorce Unable to secure the approval of his government, Edward, in December, 1936, abdicated voluntarily, and his brother the Duke of York now became king as George VI

Although this matter was attracting the attention of the British people, business conditions, despite many strikes, high taxes, and stiff prices, seemed to be on the upgrade, Unemployment fell, and the budget of 1936-1937 showed a surplus as had several of its immediate predecessors In an effort

to revise one of England's greatest but most depressed industries, the government in 1937 proposed to purchase the coal-mining royalties of over four thousand owners, greatest of whom were the Church of England and several wealthy nobles. With the retirement of Baldwin in 1937 and the accession of another Conservative leader, Neville Chamberlain, as Prime Minister, complications in the field of foreign affairs threatened to delay or even frustrate Great Britain's economic recovery.

These international troubles became especially serious when Italy in 1935 began to conquer the ancient empire of Ethiopia. Immediately, England opposed this Fascist adventure, realizing that it menaced her life line to the Orient. With the half-hearted support of France, who was more interested in Hitler's activities in central Europe and the Rhineland,¹ Great Britain persuaded the League of Nations to adopt economic sanctions against Italy, but this policy proved to be futile.² About the same time the expansion of Japan in North China, a process which had begun in 1931, together with the announced determination of Hitler to revise the peace treaties, forced the British government to act. Announcing a Five Year Armament Plan as a counter challenge to these well prepared have-not powers, Great Britain decided in 1937 to spend some 300,000,000 pounds a year for the next five years on rearmament. Although she intended to borrow at least 80,000,000 pounds of that sum annually, the balance of the money was to be raised by a slight increase in the income tax and the imposition of a National Defense contribution — a kind of excess profit tax to be levied on trades and business enterprises making more than 2,000 pounds a year. This tax, a temporary device, was intended to tap the excessive profit that might be earned by the armament concessions during this period of rearmament.

While arming, Great Britain faced the growing opposition of Italy, Germany, and Japan. By 1939, these nations were in a position to menace her interests in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean, and in the Far East. Chamberlain, who was in power at that time, preferred not to risk a war and tried desperately to satisfy these countries through a policy of conciliatory bargaining. Ardent exponent of the *status quo* he feared that another world war would destroy the capitalist system.

¹ See pp 1132-1133

² See pp 1133-1134

CHAPTER LXXVI

POST-WAR PROBLEMS THE LESSER STATES OF EUROPE

After the World War the small as well as the large capitalistic nations of Europe faced the problems of communism, monopoly-capitalism, and depression. Most of the lesser powers of northern Europe met these difficulties without resorting to drastic changes in their democratic systems, whereas, in Central Europe, in the Balkans, and in the Mediterranean area, a great majority of the states were forced to resort to dictatorial forms of government.

In the states of northern Europe — Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland — the people maintained, and in certain cases extended, the democratic institutions they had before the War. The Scandinavian countries were especially successful *Northern Europe since War* in their attempts to establish economic as well as political reforms. Desirous of aiding the small peasants, who were rapidly losing their property because they were unable to compete with large-scale farming, the governments introduced the tract method of intensive agriculture and furnished financial aid to the small landowner. So successful were these measures that by 1933 ninety-four percent of the farmers in Denmark owned their own land and few possessed holdings of more than 250 acres.

In post-War Sweden the development of controlled capitalism under democratic institutions was particularly noteworthy. In order to help the small businessman by checking the growth of Big Business the government intervened in industry on his behalf. In 1929 the state's investments in Swedish industry amounted to over \$600,000,000. The government operated over one-third of the mines of the country, it managed the telegraph and telephone lines, and it owned over thirty-four percent of *The Middle-Way in Sweden* the electric power. With the extensive profits derived not only from these investments but also from its control of the liquor, tobacco, and match trades, the Swedish monarchy was able to pay part of the costs of government and thereby*reduce taxes considerably.

In addition to this governmental participation in business there developed in Sweden very significant cooperative movements. By 1930, cooperatives owned and operated at least ten percent of Swedish industry, consumers' cooperatives also flourished, and through these organizations the people were able to break the power of three great trusts — the margarine, flour-milling, and electric-bulb combines.

Social reforms in Sweden, and in the other Scandinavian countries, too,

helped to raise the standard of living. Laws limited the employment of women and children, established an eight-hour working day, created a commission to arbitrate strikes, and set up a social insurance system which covered unemployment, accident, sickness, invalidity, and old age. Largely as a result of these economic policies, these northern countries were able to withstand the shock of the world depression far better than any of the other European states.

In Central Europe, the Austrian people attempted to function under a federal republic consisting of two houses, a president, a ministry, universal suffrage, and proportional representation. Their new government, however, was unable to solve the difficult economic and financial problems with which it was confronted. Ruling over a small land-locked country it tried desperately to restore economic order and financial stability. But cut off from markets, raw materials, and foodstuffs, surrounded by hostile neighbors, and obliged to pay reparations and at the same time to support thousands of unemployed persons, it was forced to resort to inflation, and soon found itself on the verge of bankruptcy. Fearing that a social revolution might follow, the Allies, through the League of Nations, went to Austria's assistance. Financial aid was furnished and an economic collapse was thereby averted.

But prosperity did not return to Austria, nor did social discontent disappear. Influenced by this unrest many Austrians, disregarding the firm refusal of the Allies to permit union with Germany in 1931, organized a strong Nazi party which agitated for *Anschluss*. Opposed to this group arose a Fascist organization, the *Heimwehr*, which received its backing from Italy. Committed to the independence of Austria, the eventual restoration of the Habsburg dynasty, and the maintenance of an all-powerful Catholic church, was a third organization—the Christian Socialist Party, led by Engelbert Dollfuss, premier in 1932–1934. Bitterly condemned by all of these groups was the radical Social Democratic party, which, in control of Vienna, had made that city a center of socialistic experimentation. Rents were forced down by law, municipal apartment houses for workmen were built, the municipality obtained control of bus, trolley, and subway lines, and of the water and lighting systems, and the city government even established a municipal brewery, bakery, ice shop, and crematorium. Tax money also was devoted to the building of public swimming pools and playgrounds.

These socialistic policies were bitterly opposed by the conservative peasants, by the wealthy tax payers, by the conservative Catholic Church, and by the Rightist parties. Determined to stamp out this dangerous attack upon private property, Premier Dollfuss permitted the Fascist *Heimwehr*, under the intriguing young aristocrat, Prince von Starhemberg, to attack the socialists. Taking over the city hall in Vienna, Starhemberg turned his machine guns and light artillery first on the

*Overthrow of
socialists*

Viennese municipal buildings, especially the Karl Marx Hof (the largest apartment house in the world) After about four days of sanguinary fighting the socialists were forced to capitulate (February 15, 1934) The Social Democratic party in Austria came to an end, and many of its embittered members became Nazis

Following this victory, Dollfuss established a dictatorship in Austria Already he had created a "Fatherland Front," an organization which, ostensibly non-partisan, was actually dominated by the Christian Socialists In April, 1934, he proclaimed the creation of an Austrian corporative state and forced the parliament to approve a new national constitution and then go out of existence

Meanwhile the activities of the German and Austrian Nazis became more and more menacing Acts of sabotage continued through the spring and summer of 1934 and finally culminated in the Nazi *Putsch* of July 25 Entering the chancellory, wearing *Heimwehr* uniforms, a group of Nazis took possession of this government building, and in the struggle Dollfuss was killed The uprising was put down by the *Heimwehr*, the loyal army, and the police Prince Starhemberg, who had been visiting in Italy, returned to Vienna and became acting chancellor His friend, Mussolini, rushed thousands of troops to the border, determined to prevent a Nazi conquest of Austria On July 28 Kurt Schuschnigg, another Christian Socialist leader, became chancellor An ardent advocate of monarchy and clericalism, he suppressed Nazi activities, deprived the pro-Italian Starhemberg of his political power, disbanded the *Heimwehr* organization, and established friendly relations with Germany and Italy

The evolution of the Nazi-Fascist plan to fight communism and to bring about a revision of the peace treaties led to an Austro-Italian rift In April, 1937, Chancellor Schuschnigg received a very cool reception when he came to Venice on a diplomatic visit The explanation for this indifferent treatment by Italy was announced indirectly by Mussolini when he declared, later on, that he was not especially interested in the problem of Austrian independence Despite this change of attitude, Mussolini permitted his representatives to meet with those of Hungary and Austria in January, 1938, at Budapest At this gathering the delegates agreed to recognize the Franco régime in Spain and to oppose the spread of communism Meanwhile, Schuschnigg favored the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy, although he admitted that this political objective was not immediately attainable

Bent upon suppressing this monarchist movement, Hitler, in February, 1938, had a conference with Schuschnigg and concluded an agreement with him Its full terms were not at first known, but it was followed by a reorganization of the Austrian cabinet to include four pro-Nazi ministers Although no responsible Nazi German had ever said that the Berchtesgaden

Dollfuss

*The Austro
Italian rift*

pact guaranteed Austrian independence, Schuschnigg, in a speech before Parliament, claimed that it did so

In Berlin the Austrian Chancellor's action was promptly termed a betrayal. With Nazi howls rising about him, and with the advice of certain clerical, monarchist, and foreign interests, Schuschnigg resolved in March to clarify the issue by announcing a plebiscite in which Austrians were to vote on the question "Are you in favor of an independent Austria?" Nazi newspapers immediately claimed that the plebiscite would be controlled by Schuschnigg, and German troops began mobilizing at Munich. Within a day about 65,000 soldiers were on the march toward Austria.

Meanwhile, Schuschnigg received two ultimatums from Berlin. Both threatened German armed invasion of Austria unless he cancelled the plebiscite and resigned, the second required that the Austrian Cabinet should become two-thirds Nazi. By the time this second ultimatum had arrived, German troops were reported to be already over the border. Fearful of bloodshed, Schuschnigg ordered that there should be no resistance to the German advance. He radioed his resignation to the Austrian people, saying "I bow to force. I say goodbye with the wish that God will protect Austria."

This resignation was the cue for Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Minister of Interior and an ardent Nazi, to succeed Schuschnigg and to wire Berlin that the German army was needed to avert the threat of civil war in Austria. German troops thereupon completed a virtually bloodless conquest of the little republic.

Five days after Schuschnigg had resigned Hitler entered Vienna, where he had once worked as a day laborer. A million Viennese crowded the curbs to watch him pass, preceded by forty light tanks and followed by three police cars and a long procession of military automobiles. Thousands cheered him wildly during two short speeches. Most of Austria's 6,750,000 citizens seemed to have gone Nazi. At least they accepted Seyss-Inquart's decree that the independent state of Austria no longer existed, and Hitler's boast that this greater Germany was the wish of the German people. "Any attempt to part this people will be in vain! *Steg Heil!* (Hail victory!)"

While most Austrians were preparing to assume the rôle of German citizens, certain leaders of the Fatherland party, and the Jews, were trying to escape from the country. Unable to leave, many committed suicide or submitted to arrest. Meanwhile, Hitler announced that a plebiscite was to be held on April 10, in which Germans and Austrians were to vote on the question of the *Anschluss*. Immediately, a spectacular election campaign was instituted. At Braunau, for example, thirty-year-old Baldur von Shirach, official leader of all German boys and girls between the ages of ten and eighteen, dedicated Adolf Hitler's birthplace as a mecca for young pilgrims, while khaki-uniformed Hitler Youth, ten thousand strong, shouted von Shirach's stanzas.

German intervention in Austria

The Anschluss

Youth! Youth! We are the soldiers of the future
Youth! Youth! Heroes of coming deeds
Ja, by our fists falls whatever stands against us
Fuhrer! Thine we are, we — comrades — are thine

For Hitler, the campaign and the election — in which over ninety-nine per cent of the people of Austria and Germany voted in favor of the *Anschluss* — was a great triumph. Crossing the former Austrian border before the election, he spoke at Graz, where he was received by an unusual roar of applause. Fairly bouncing with pleasure, he saluted and bowed. "Wherever I have gone these last days I have seen happy faces," declared Hitler. "I am very happy." In the final speech of the two-week campaign, Hitler indulged himself in a half-hysterical self-eulogy, shouting "My name will stand forever as the son of this great country, and I believe it was the will of God to send this little boy to Germany to make him the *Fuhrer* of the Reich and to bring Austria back to Germany." After his campaign in Austria he returned to Germany, where at Frankfort he entered the coronation hall of the Holy Roman emperors. Here he was welcomed by the burgomaster as the first real German ruler since medieval times.

With the Treaty of Versailles already torn into tatters, the addition of Austria made continental Germany a larger country than before the World War. Further, the *coup* made the frontiers of Italy and Germany contiguous and permitted greater solidarity in the Rome-Berlin axis. Germany's acquisition of Austria also afforded her the following advantages: (1) It established border contact with Yugoslavia and Hungary, both rich in raw materials, and opened up the Danube River as a German highway for Rumanian oil, (2) it enabled Germany to encircle half of Czechoslovakia, giving the Reich the upper hand over that country. On the other hand, it put Germany in a position to dominate the Danube basin, and, by so doing, to relegate Italy to a minor rôle in central Europe.

Czechoslovakia was a country rich in resources, containing fertile soil, valuable forests, prosperous industries — textile, chemical, metallurgical — and large coal and mineral wealth. It also possessed a heterogeneous collection of nationalities. In the western highlands of the state — the frontier between Czechoslovakia and Germany — lay the Sudeten area, inhabited by over two and a half million German speaking peoples. Below these mountains were the Bohemian plains occupied by the Czechs and Moravians. In the mountains to the east were Slovaks, and beyond them, Ruthenians. Along the Polish and Hungarian frontiers of Czechoslovakia were Polish and Magyar minorities, while scattered throughout the state were small groups of Germans, Jews, Rumanians, and Ruthenians.

Declaring for union with the Czechs (who for centuries had opposed the Habsburg rule), the Slovaks joined the latter in the creation of a Provisional National Assembly at Prague. On November 14, 1918, this body, with the

support of the Allies, proclaimed the establishment of a republic. On February 29, 1920, it adopted a new constitution providing for a parliamentary government, consisting of two popularly elected houses, a president, and a ministry responsible to the chamber. In May of that year Masaryk — Czechoslovakia's leading intellectual and statesman — was elected president, with Eduard Beneš, a brilliant diplomat, serving as minister of foreign affairs.

Establishment of Czechoslovakia Under the guidance of these realistic statesmen, Czechoslovakia gained strength despite many problems. The lack of ethnic unity was an especially difficult one to solve. With a population of about 14 millions living in an area of a little over 54,000 square miles, the Czechoslovakian government faced the hostility of nearly one-third of her population, consisting of Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, Magyars, and Germans. Despite the Minorities' Treaty which the Allies forced Czechoslovakia to sign, guaranteeing the various groups national, religious, and educational rights, friction developed. The large German minority was especially restless. In order to satisfy these groups President Masaryk endeavored to grant some measure of local autonomy to the various elements. These tendencies towards federalism caused the minority problem to abate for the time being. Nevertheless, economic and cultural differences prevented a complete union of the various national groups.

Problems confronting new state Despite this internal difficulty, Czechoslovakia became a prosperous and influential post-War state. Possessing over eighty per cent of the industrial resources of the Austrian Empire, she was in a position to supply her agrarian neighbors, Russia and Hungary, with an abundance of manufactured goods. At the same time, she was able to attain self-sufficiency in agriculture through the development of her valuable farm lands in Slovakia. To encourage production of foodstuffs the government passed reform bills designed to distribute two million acres of land (formerly in the possession of a few secular and religious landowners) among more than 500,000 peasants.

Internal reforms In attempting to break up the great ecclesiastical estates the government incurred the hostility of the Catholic Church. A crisis occurred when the Czechs tried to place that institution under the control of the state. By 1928 both church and state agreed to an arrangement whereby the government, in return for certain control over religious appointments, promised to pay the clergy. Normal diplomatic relations between the Republic and the Vatican were resumed.

The Little Entente The government achieved distinction in its handling of external as well as internal affairs. Under the direction of its able foreign minister, Beneš, Czechoslovakia after the War became the pivotal link between France and the Little Entente states, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. In 1920-1921, these nations en-

tered into a Little Entente, designed to maintain the *status quo* in Central Europe. Three years later (1924) a Franco-Czech agreement made this entente an integral part of the French plan to establish a sanitary cordon of powers (including Poland) between Bolshevik Russia on the one hand, and Germany and the other defeated countries, on the other.

Economic difficulties and Italo-German opposition to French hegemony in the early 'thirties checked France's attempt to enlarge her influence. To avoid a general economic collapse and widespread bankruptcy, representatives of Belgium, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania held a conference. At this meeting France proposed that a Danubian customs' union be created in order to overcome tariffs, political barriers, and other obstacles to trade. She further stated that the rural states should be granted preferential tariffs by their neighbors, and an international loan be floated. Italy and Germany immediately objected to this scheme, realizing that it would greatly strengthen the influence of France in central Europe and in the Balkans. Nevertheless, in September, 1932, the plan, with certain modifications, was adopted, but a close political and economic agreement under the supervision of France was not achieved. In the following year fear of an Italo-Hungarian alliance prompted the members of the Little Entente to create a political and economic *bloc*. As a counter-challenge, Italy in 1934 signed protocols with Austria and Hungary which provided for economic cooperation between those three nations.

*Opposition to
Little Entente*

During the next three years both Germany and Italy strove to strengthen their positions in central Europe. Austria seemed to be the center of their activity. Encouraged by the formation of an Austrian Nazi party, Hitler, as stated before,¹ seemed determined to carry out the *Anschluss*. Mussolini, on the other hand, seemed to favor an independent, but Italian-dominated, Austria.

By the spring of 1937 the strengthening of Italo-German relations created a situation wherein the independence of Czechoslovakia was menaced. Determined to do everything in their power to force the small states of central Europe and the Balkans into the Fascist-Nazi orbit, Italy and Germany proceeded to carry out a plan that they had inaugurated in 1934, namely, of destroying the French system of alliances, resting on Belgium, Poland, and the Little Entente. In doing this they forced both France and Czechoslovakia to establish an alignment with Russia.

*Italo-German
intrigue*

The isolation of Czechoslovakia was one aim of Germany and Italy in central Europe. To reach this objective, Poland was encouraged by them to pursue an independent policy. Also, Yugoslavia and Rumania were asked to free themselves from their bonds with Prague. A crisis arose in March, 1937, when Italy and Yugo-

*Isolation of
Czechoslovakia*

¹ See pp 1146-1147

slavia signed an accord which, although it was technically compatible with Belgrade's obligations as a member of the Little Entente, foreshadowed her detachment from the French bloc. In an attempt to save the Little Entente, Beneš of Czechoslovakia visited Belgrade and tried to get Yugoslavia and, later, Rumania to enter into a mutual assistance pact. Pro-Fascist elements in both countries, however, prevented him from achieving these ends.

Consequently, Czechoslovakia found herself in an increasingly precarious position amidst the web of German and Italian intrigue spun around her. Dependent more and more on her rather uncertain alliances with France and Russia, beset by a growing Nazi movement amongst her German minority, and no longer able to count on the support of her former allies, Rumania and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia by 1938 faced a very uncertain future. The prospect became even more uncertain when Hitler in the spring of that year occupied Austria, and then demanded that all Germans in Czechoslovakia be granted their "just rights."

Under Czechoslovakia the Germans in the Sudeten region had enjoyed considerable self-rule, but, economically, they had not prospered. Their factories had felt the blight of depression, many Sudetens, purchasing German marks in preference to Czech currency, had been wiped out by the terrible German inflation of 1923, and Germany's policy of importing as little as possible had practically ruined the industries of Sudetenland. Consequently, when a Nazi movement, led by Conrad Henlein, a physical training instructor, began to enroll the Germans of Czechoslovakia, its slogan of "bread and work for all Germans" sounded well to the thousands of unemployed men. By the summer of 1938, a well-organized group of Germans were demanding that Czechoslovakia grant them extensive political rights.

Realizing that a controversy between the Sudeten Germans and the Czech government might cause an internal explosion which could conceivably resolve itself into a world war between the Fascist and the Democratic powers, Great Britain, in July, 1938, sent a representative, Viscount Walter Runciman, to Prague. He was to act as mediator between Czechoslovakian officials and the Sudeten German party which demanded self-government for the Germans in Czechoslovakia. In the middle of August Runciman's task was made very difficult when Hitler began the mobilization of 1,300,000 soldiers for summer manoeuvres. British officials were certain that this was an effort to coerce Czechoslovakia into accepting Sudeten demands. Thereafter, London repeatedly warned Berlin that a Czech-Sudeten German war might involve the world. At the same time, in order to remove the cause for such a catastrophe, the British and French governments proceeded to put pressure on Czech officials, urging them to make wide concessions to the Sudeten Germans.

The Sudeten problem

British attempt to mediate

Intervention of Hitler

Intent upon preventing a compromise solution of the Sudeten problem, Adolf Hitler, at Munich on September 12, delivered an inflammatory speech which was the signal for German uprisings throughout Sudetenland. Konrad Henlein, the "little Fuhrer," now declared that Germans in Czechoslovakia wanted to become a part of Germany. Thereupon negotiations between the Germans and the Czechs ceased. "Responsibility for the final break," wrote Lord Runciman, "must in my opinion, rest on Henlein and supporters inside and outside the country who were urging extreme unconstitutional action."

Three days after Hitler's speech, Prime Minister Chamberlain, to forestall a German invasion of Czechoslovakia, flew to Germany and personally visited *Der Fuhrer* at Berchtesgaden. At this meeting the British Premier was told quite bluntly by Hitler that Sudeten Czechoslovakia must be handed over to Germany. Flying back to London, Chamberlain was advised by Lord Runciman that turning Sudetenland over to Germany seemed to be the only solution. Consequently, an Anglo-French plan for the transfer of Czech territory to Germany was quickly prepared.

Having gained the reluctant acceptance by Czechoslovakia of this plan, Chamberlain met Hitler again at Godesburg, a resort town on the Rhine. To the surprise of the British Prime Minister, *Der Fuhrer* brushed aside the Anglo-French plan. In its place, he presented another, demanding the cession of certain Sudeten territory to Germany by October 1, and plebiscites in other districts to determine whether they should remain Czech or become German. These territories, drawn on a map by Hitler's own hand, reached far into Czechoslovakia. Upon his return to England, Chamberlain sent the Godesburg demands to the Czechoslovakian government. These terms were indignantly rejected by the republic, whereupon Great Britain and France committed themselves to aid Czechoslovakia in the event of a German invasion. A world war seemed inevitable.

While practically every important nation in Europe mobilized its armed forces, peace moves continued. Cabling the rulers of many nations, President Franklin D. Roosevelt spared no effort to impress Hitler with the fact that the world wanted negotiations to continue. Chamberlain sent two messages to Mussolini, asking him to persuade Hitler to call a meeting of the great European powers. Following a telephone conversation with Mussolini, *Der Fuhrer* announced that a conference would be convened in Munich, Germany. "It was as if the finger of God had drawn a rainbow across the sky!" exclaimed former Prime Minister Baldwin when he heard how, at the last terrifying moment, Europe had been spared the ravages of war. In Great Britain, in France, in Italy, and in Germany, humble men and women wept tears of thankfulness. With Czechoslovakian territory about to be surrendered, General Syrový, war hero and Premier of that unfortunate country, inter-

preted the sentiments of his people when he declared, pathetically "We have been abandoned"

Meanwhile, three men — Chamberlain of Great Britain, Mussolini of Italy, and Daladier of France — sat down at Munich to reason with Hitler From the beginning all were convinced that Sudetenland should be given to Germany Sole basis of difference, according to Chamberlain, was the manner in which the territory was to be handed over This problem was cleared up in less than nine hours of discussion By the terms of an agreement signed by these four leading statesmen of Europe, the transfer of territory to Germany was to be supervised by an international commission, consisting of a German Foreign Office adviser and of the British, Italian, and Czechoslovakian ambassadors to Berlin Beginning on October 1, German troops were to institute a token occupation of parts of territories which were more than fifty per cent German in population Within ten days the international commission was to decide the boundaries of territories to be occupied unconditionally by German troops By the last of November the commission was to determine when and where plebiscites should be held Final boundaries were to be guaranteed jointly by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany

Seizing an opportune moment, the day after the agreement had been reached, Chamberlain endeavored to improve Anglo-German relations He called upon Hitler and signed a statement with him which declared the two men to be agreed (1) that Anglo-German relations were "of first importance", (2) that the Munich pact was "symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again", and (3) that Anglo-German discussions should continue in order to remove all sources of friction between the two countries

While most of Europe wildly cheered the news from Munich, Czechoslovakia lay humbled by these harsh terms Meanwhile, from four directions, the German soldiers prepared to march into Czechoslovakia On October 1, 1938, Nazi troops crossed the frontier, their voices ringing out in song and their bayonets wreathed in flowers Pretty girls blew them kisses as they passed; dogs and children raced along beside them The swastika flag and stiff-arm Nazi salutes hailed their advance Over the dirt roads huge banners proclaimed "Sudetenland welcomes its liberators," while white border stones were uprooted, customs houses were razed to the ground, and, in western Sudetenland, Hitler made two speeches.

By the middle of October, Germany, with the consent of the commission, had taken over practically all of the lands demanded by Hitler at Godesburg, President Beneš of Czechoslovakia had resigned, the new government had virtually agreed to come under the Nazi orbit Thus, having gained control of this old Bohemian state,

*Dismemberment
of Czechoslovakia*

Hitler decided that further plebiscites were unnecessary. Germany, without a cent of payment, had been able to occupy the powerful Czech military defenses along the frontier, to gain possession of vital segments of cross-country roads and railways, to take over most of the coal which had provided Czechoslovakia with fuel, and to gain at least half of her textile industry (fifth largest in the world). Expecting a Nazi terror in Sudetenland, over 75,000 Czechs, Jews, and Anti-Nazi Germans fled to Prague.

Nor was this loss of territory to Germany all the price Czechoslovakia had to pay. While the German forces were entering Sudetenland, the Czech government allowed the Polish troops to occupy 300 square miles of Czech Silesia, rich in coal and peopled by 100,000 Poles. Later, negotiations were instituted with Hungary, which asked for Czech territories containing over 700,000 Magyars. Unable to reach an agreement, the two nations finally accepted the mediation of Germany and Italy. On November 2, 1938, the latter powers announced a settlement of the Czech-Hungarian minority problem in which the territories inhabited by the Magyars were to be ceded to Hungary.

So vast were the issues broached by the dismembering of Czechoslovakia by the Munich agreement that no man could say with firm assurance whether history would record it as a great step toward peace or toward a world war. According to Hitler, the Sudetenland was the "last territorial demand I will make in Europe." Nevertheless, six months later, in March, 1939, Hitler completed the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by establishing protectorates over Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, and by permitting Hungary to take the Carpatho-Ukraine area at the most easterly tip of the former republic. But in gaining control of this territory *Der Führer* put himself in a position to penetrate the Ukraine and the Balkans. In fact, Bismarck, in the nineteenth century, probably described the real significance of Hitler's *coup* when he said "whoever is master of Bohemia is master of Europe."

*Significance of
Hitler's coup*

The so-called "betrayal" of the Munich agreement enraged Great Britain and France and strained still further their relations with Germany. Chamberlain now unsparringly condemned these acts of aggression in Central Europe, which he said had shattered confidence. Abandoning his program of appeasement, he went back to the policy of collective security, involving political action combined with military preparedness.

Hitler's move to create a greater Germany alarmed a number of European rulers, including Regent Horthy of Hungary. Following the Austro-German union he delivered a radio broadcast, for the first time of his eighteen years of rule. Tactfully referring to the *Anschluss* as "no more than the union of one good old friend with another," Horthy at the same time warned Nazis agitating among Hungary's

*Post-War
Hungary*

500,000 Germans "We have shown before that we are able to rid our nation of trouble-makers I shall not tolerate disturbances"

In many ways the post-War history of Hungary paralleled that of her former associate, Austria. Like the latter, Hungary after the War found herself reduced to the position of a minor power, a small landlocked agrarian country, confronted by unfriendly states and inhabited by a backward and proud aristocracy and by poor and illiterate groups of workers and peasants. Despite these handicaps, the people in 1918 proclaimed a republic and established a provisional government. But the continuation of the Allied blockade and the demobilization of the Magyar armies led to unemployment and famine. Out of this economic distress arose a communist party. This organization, under the leadership of Bela Kun, overthrew the provisional government and established a Soviet state. A red terror directed against the upper classes now followed. This radical régime was soon overthrown by a counter-movement, and a Rumanian army invaded Hungary (1919).

For three months the Rumanian soldiers, disregarding the opposition of the League of Nations, ransacked the country, carrying away millions of dollars worth of machinery, railway equipment, and other property. A few days after these freebooters had left the country, a Magyar White army, led by Admiral Horthy, entered Budapest and assumed control of the state. A White Terror, directed against the communists and the Jews, ensued.

After law and order had been restored, Horthy proceeded to promulgate a monarchical constitution and to establish a dictatorship with himself as regent. Encouraged by this political upheaval, Charles I (IV of Hungary), head of the Habsburg dynasty, tried to regain the throne of Hungary. The opposition of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, however, forced Horthy to expel Charles and to continue his dictatorship.

Although Horthy was regent of Hungary, the real ruler of the country from 1921 to 1931, was Premier Stephen Bethlen. Representing the wealthy landowning classes, this able statesman first succeeded in obtaining Hungary's admission into the League of Nations (1922). He was then able to obtain financial aid for Hungary, and by 1926 to balance the budget. But economic recovery was very slow in that country. Wealth—mostly in the form of land—was concentrated in the hands of a few aristocrats; and while steps were taken to improve the position of the peasant by dividing the large estates, the masses, as a whole, remained landless and poor.

Almost as important as the economic difficulties, was the problem of "unredeemed" Hungary. After the War the Allies transferred land inhabited by thousands of Magyars to neighboring powers, especially Rumania. Awaiting the day of revenge, the proud Magyars were delighted when Mussolini, about 1930, frankly proposed a revision of the Treaty of Trianon in Hungary's behalf. Hungary and Italy now agreed upon a pact of friendship. But

in 1931 Hungary, again on the verge of bankruptcy, was forced to beg the Allies for financial help. France, in return for this aid, made Hungary promise to renounce further revisionist agitation. At the same time, the Magyar state did not renounce its close friendship with Italy. Under the leadership of Julius Gombos, who was Premier from 1932 to 1936, Hungary cultivated a close friendship with Germany as well as Italy, and continued to advocate peaceful treaty revisions. Following the *Anschluss* of Austria and Germany, the new Premier, Kálmán Darányi, representing the wealthy landowners and the bureaucracy, together with Regent Horthy, as stated before, opposed the attempts of a small Nazi group in Hungary to agitate for union with Germany. The Premier was supported in this policy by the chief opposition group, the Independent Agrarian or Small Farmers' Party, who favored a restoration of the Habsburgs as the safest antidote to Nazism.

By August, 1938, Horthy apparently experienced a change of heart. Visiting Germany at that time, he assured the Reich of Hungary's friendship, and, in return, received Germany's promise that Hungary's independence and freedom of action would be completely vouchsafed. In short, Hungary agreed to coordinate her interests and policies with those of Hitler, who was determined to dominate the Danubian area. Hungary thereupon identified herself with the Rome-Berlin axis.

Poland, as well as Hungary, had good reason to fear the spread of Nazism. In possession of part of Upper Silesia, an important German industrial center, and of a large part of West Prussia (the Polish corridor) she seemed destined to be a bitter enemy of her powerful neighbor. Aware of this situation, Poland, after the War, became a member of the French system of alliances designed to maintain the *status quo* in central Europe. Disputes with Russia and Lithuania over boundary limits also caused her to seek security through alliances as well as through the development of powerful armaments.

Internal difficulties forced Poland to convert her post-War republic into a dictatorship. In 1921 a democratic government was created, consisting of two houses, a president, a cabinet, and providing for universal suffrage, with a voting age of twenty-one for the lower house, the *Seym*, and thirty for the upper house, the Senate, and with proportional representation. This government managed to function about five years. In May, 1926, however, Poland's strong man, Marshal Pilsudski, publicly denouncing the government for its weakness and corruption, forced the Premier and President to resign, and installed his friend and supporter, Professor Ignace Moszicki, as President. Later, Pilsudski deprived the *Seym* of its legislative functions and had the President appoint him as Premier. From 1926 until his death nine years later Pilsudski maintained a veiled dictatorship—governing through parliamentary channels.

During Pilsudski's rule most of Poland's grave problems were at least

Post-War
Poland

Dictatorship of
Pilsudski

partly solved Bankruptcy was avoided by financial retrenchments and foreign loans, dissatisfied minorities — Jews, Ruthenians, Germans, and Lithuanians — were partly appeased through the grant of a degree of self-government, and the poor peasants were aided by the enactment of a law expropriating the holdings of certain landowners with financial compensations. Finally, a feeling of security was engendered in Poland through the creation of a powerful army.

In 1933 the signing of the Four Power Pact by France, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain weakened the faith of the Poles in the security offered by their alliance with France. Believing that the big powers were disregarding the interests of the little states, Poland turned to her former enemy, Germany, and entered into a ten year non-aggression pact. This treaty marked the first serious rift in the French system of alliances, it also signified the initial attempt by Hitler to create an European League against communism.¹

Shortly after this important diplomatic break, France lost her hold over Yugoslavia as well as Poland. After the World War, that Balkan kingdom, as a member of the Little Entente, backed France in her attempt to maintain the *status quo*.

At the conclusion of the great struggle, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Macedonians of Serbia and the Dual Monarchy were merged into a constitutional monarchy, called Yugoslavia. These Southern Slavs refused to cooperate. Whereupon the government was greatly weakened as a result of the demands of certain minorities, especially the Croats, to obtain autonomy. Italian opposition to a powerful Slav nation on the Adriatic also hindered Yugoslavia from developing into a strong state. Deprived of control of Fiume and Albania by Italy, she lacked the necessary seaports and railway facilities for satisfactory economic development.²

Confronted by these difficulties, King Alexander I of Yugoslavia tried to satisfy the various minorities by recognizing the equality of three major languages. Nevertheless, he endeavored to "Serbify" the various groups by restricting the formation of political parties and by strengthening the central government. The Croats stubbornly resisted this attempt to unify all groups. On October 9, 1934, this opposition culminated in the assassination of King Alexander I and of Barthou, able French statesman, at Marseilles, France, apparently as the result of a Croatian-Macedonian conspiracy and opposition to Barthou's attempt to strengthen French influence in the Balkans.

Agrarian as well as nationalist difficulties confronted the Yugoslav state. Peasants, constituting about eighty per cent of the population, were not satis-

¹ For further discussion of Poland see pp. 1198-1199.

² In 1923, Yugoslavia and Greece signed a convention whereby the former was given a fifty-year hold on a Salonika free zone. But the Yugoslavs were not satisfied, claiming that the extent of the zone was too small and Greek freight rates on Yugoslav goods were prohibitively high.

fied with the size of their holdings, despite governmental attempts to break up the large estates. Inadequate outlets to the sea, poor internal transportation and communication, inability of the government to develop its limited mineral resources — these were just a few of the problems that beset this virtually bankrupt state.

Facing possible extinction, Yugoslavia tried to strengthen her diplomatic position by establishing friendly relations with her neighbors, although remaining loyal to the Little Entente. In 1937 she signed amicable agreements with Bulgaria and Italy, and a special trade agreement with Germany. She also renewed the pact of 1927 with France, but many people believed that Yugoslavia was drifting from the French bloc into the Italo-German League.

During the 'thirties, Rumania also moved towards the Fascist group. Prior to this time she had been a very staunch member of the Little Entente. As a result of her participation in the War on the Allied side, she had gained over sixty thousand square miles of land formerly belonging to Russia and the Dual Monarchy. *Post War Rumania* Containing over seventeen million inhabitants and enormous oil, coal, and iron resources, this greatly enhanced the potential wealth and power of Rumania, and thereby made her an advocate of the territorial *status quo*.

Internal troubles, such as the domestic affairs of her king, Carol II, the demands of land by a dissatisfied peasantry, heavy debts, very little foreign trade, and large minorities, particularly the Magyars, made it difficult for Rumania to attain prosperity and unity. *King Carol II* Political strife, resulting in riots, disorders, and great demonstrations, tied the hands of the government. With the coming of the world depression in the early 'thirties, cabinets rose and fell almost overnight. Determined to end this internal chaos, an anti-Semitic Fascist organization, called the Iron Guards, was formed. Opposing the Jewish element in Rumania and the government's policy of friendship with France, this group finally forced King Carol on December 28, 1937 to ask Octavian Goga, anti-Semitic, pro-German leader of the National Christian Party, to form a cabinet. Inasmuch as a large majority of the people, including King Carol's mistress, Mme. Magda Lupescu, reputedly of Jewish origin, opposed the Iron Guards, the king in March, 1938, dissolved this government and established a personal dictatorship. Under a new Rumanian constitution, proclaimed by King Carol on February 21, 1938, all political parties were abolished, and the death penalty was provided for anyone violating a decree prohibiting the possession of arms, ammunition, or subversive propaganda.

On April 17, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, leader of the outlawed Fascist Iron Guards, and more than a thousand of his followers were arrested (and killed later while assertedly attempting to escape) on charges of plotting an armed uprising against the dictatorship of the king. Large stores of arms, ammunition, and manifestoes advocating a Fascist *coup* were seized by the govern-

ment In March, 1939, a trade treaty with Germany, negotiated after a week of international panic lest Rumania become another victim of Nazi imperialism, seemed to presage that country's adherence to the Rome-Berlin axis To prevent German domination of Rumania, France also arranged a commercial agreement with that country whereby she promised to double her purchase of Rumanian oil, and to reduce tariffs on Rumanian agricultural products by 60 percent Meanwhile Great Britain prepared to offer Rumania and Poland all the support in its power in the event Germany threatened their independence

Although not directly connected with the Nazi-Fascist bloc, dictatorial governments were established in Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey Upon the abdication of the autocratic King Ferdinand in favor of his son, Boris III, an energetic politician, Alexander Stambolisky became Premier of Bulgaria, ruling from 1919 until 1923

*Post-War
Bulgaria*

Establishing a dictatorship, he introduced repressive measures designed to help the peasants and to crush the upper classes In 1923 the propertied groups brought about his overthrow by a *coup d'état* Repression of the peasants and communists by the bourgeois and landowning classes now followed In the early 'thirties, during the world depression, an attempt on the part of Premier Mushanov to liberalize the government only resulted in the increase of unrest among the peasants and proletariat, many of whom swung towards communism This spread of radicalism forced conservatives to join a Fascist group, which by 1935 was able to gain control of the government

Introducing reforms designed to cut expenses and to eliminate corruption, the Fascist ministry soon aroused the opposition of King Boris, who believed that they planned his overthrow Thereupon he dissolved the Fascist ministry and appointed a new government This new middle-course government soon faced an attempt of the Nationalist-Fascists to force Bulgaria into a war with Greece and Yugoslavia over certain parts of Macedonia The Bulgarian Fascists claimed that these regions were inhabited by Bulgarians and therefore should not belong to Greece and Yugoslavia But the Bulgarian government refused to enter this trap. Instead, it pursued a policy of conciliation with its neighbors, and in February, 1936, it imposed heavy sentences on high officials who were charged with plotting to overthrow the government Meanwhile, King Boris III and his Prime Minister, George Kiosseivanov, strove to avoid extremes of either Right or Left Taking advantage of the diplomatic struggle of the Fascists and Democracies for control of the Balkans, Bulgaria suggested as a price for her support that Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece, return the territories taken from her by the peace treaties at the conclusion of the World War

Of all the Balkan countries Greece perhaps experienced the greatest number of political upheavals Practically forced into the World War on the Allied side in 1917 by her able, aggressive statesman, Venizelos, Greece developed a

desire to participate extensively in the loot of war. But it was not until 1919 that she obtained a real opportunity to enjoy the fruits of the struggle. At that time Greece, with the tacit permission of Great Britain and other Allied powers who opposed Italian acquisition of *Post War Greece* Smyrna, undertook to acquire that city and its hinterland.

In the war which ensued, the Turkish nationalists, encouraged by France and Italy, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Greeks, despite the sympathy of Great Britain for the latter. Forced to withdraw her troops from Asia Minor, Greece agreed, in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), to surrender Eastern Thrace and Smyrna to the Turks. Also, arrangements were made to exchange Greek nationals living in Turkey for Turkish nationals living in Greece.

Dissatisfied as a result of this setback, the Greeks, inflamed by Venizelos, blamed King Constantine, who had been restored in 1920, for all of their troubles. Forcing him to leave the country, they drew up a *Venizelos* constitution, and in 1924 established a republic. Under the leadership of Venizelos this government in 1928 introduced considerable legislation designed to improve social and economic conditions in Greece. Proceeds of foreign loans were devoted to the construction of public works and the development of agriculture, social conditions of the wage-earners were slightly improved by the enactment of a Workman's Insurance Act, commerce was stimulated by the arrangement of treaties with Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Turkey (1929-1930).

Accused of dictatorial methods, Venizelos was forced to relinquish the premiership of Greece in 1933. A swing in the direction of royalism now took place. This movement was encouraged by General Kondylis, a former republican. Becoming Premier in 1935 he held a plebiscite wherein the people voted in favor of a monarchy. As a result of this election, the exiled King George II was restored to the throne.

In 1936, Greece again came under the control of a dictator. Following the deaths of Kondylis, Venizelos, and other political leaders, General John Metaxas, who had become head of the cabinet in April, 1936, determined to fight radicalism and bad economic conditions through the establishment of a dictatorship. Announcing in 1936 that parliamentary government was gone from Greece forever, he tried to increase Greek foreign trade and to establish a corporative state.

But it was in Turkey that probably one of the ablest post-War dictators appeared — Mustapha Kemal. A young officer in the Turkish army, he had in pre-War days opposed the reactionary Turkish government and had participated in the Young Turk Revolution, in 1908. *Post-War Turkey* The selfish intrigues of the revolutionists caused Mustapha Kemal to lose faith in the liberal movement, and he therefore turned his attention to military affairs. In the Turko-Italian war in 1911, the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, and the World War, he proved himself to be one of Tur-

key's outstanding military leaders. On account of his independent views, however, the sultan, at the close of the World War, decided to remove him from Constantinople. Kemal Pasha, therefore, was placed in charge of demobilization activities in Anatolia. Accepting the commission, he proceeded, upon his arrival, to create a Turkish Nationalist army and to plan the re-establishment of a united and Westernized Turkey.

The severity of the peace terms imposed by the Allies in the Treaty of Sèvres enabled Mustapha Kemal to carry out his program. The Allies' dismemberment and economic partition of Turkey had resulted in the calling of an assembly of Turkish notables to consider ways and means of rehabilitating that country. At this meeting, the Turkish national pride was inflamed by the dynamic speeches of Kemal, and they decided to resist Allied attempts to seize additional Turkish territory. Later, the Nationalists held a Grand Assembly at Angora, where they renounced the authority of the British-controlled sultan and proclaimed a new government with Kemal as its head.

Between 1920 and 1922 the Turkish Nationalists regained complete control of Anatolia. France and Russia gladly arranged separate peace treaties with Turkey, in which their respective interests in Asia Minor were defined. Flushed with success, the Turks now turned upon the Greeks and chased these invaders from Asia Minor. The victorious forces of Kemal now planned to take Constantinople from the sultan, who was dominated by British interests. Unwilling to risk a war over this city because of public apathy at home,

Lausanne Great Britain and her allies, invited Turkey and Greece to attend a peace conference at Lausanne (1923).

At this meeting the Allies discarded most of the Treaty of Sèvres. By the terms of the new settlement, the Turks regained Armenia, part of Thrace, a clear title to Constantinople, the Straits, and certain Aegean Islands. The frontier between Turkey and the new state of Iraq was to be settled by direct negotiations with Great Britain, or, should these fail, the Council of the League of Nations. In return for these concessions, Turkey relinquished her claims on Syria, Palestine, her African possessions, most of the Aegean Islands, and the Arab provinces. The settlement included other agreements, in which the Straits and certain frontiers were to be demilitarized, and spheres of influence in Turkey, reparation payments, and capitulations were to be abolished.

Turkey's triumph at Lausanne ushered in the dictatorship of Kemal. After the deposition of Sultan Mohammed VI in October, 1923, a Grand National

*Dictatorship of
Kemal Pasha* Assembly at Angora proclaimed a republic. A new constitution, creating a democratic government, was drawn up, and Mustapha Kemal was elected first President. In possession of this office Kemal proceeded to make himself a dictator by abolishing all opposition parties, by obtaining control of the assembly, and by dominating the army as commander-in-chief.

As dictator, Mustapha Kemal introduced his famous Westernizing policies which won for him the title, Ataturk (Father of the Turks) In 1924 the Caliphate was abolished, thus ending the moral leadership of Turkey in the Moslem world Laws were passed secularizing education, abolishing ecclesiastical courts, establishing universal monogamy, and requiring registration of marriages New criminal and civil codes were established, and old customs, such as the wearing of the fez, the turban, and the veil were abolished

*Westernization
policies*

In his attempt to modernize Turkish life, Ataturk introduced radical educational reforms which greatly reduced illiteracy Compulsory education of all children up to sixteen years of age was required, adult education was promoted, a literacy test for citizenship rights was established Furthermore, the Gregorian calendar, the twenty-four hour day, the metric system, European numerals, and the Latin alphabet were all adopted To stimulate national feeling, Ataturk insisted that all streets, public halls, and bridges be given Turkish names

Western art and bourgeois ideas and practices were introduced into Turkey Public buildings, schools, and even private habitations reflected Occidental designs In Istanbul (formerly Constantinople) a symphony orchestra played selections from the works of Beethoven, Wagner, and Chopin to enthusiastic audiences Capitalistic ideas, such as thrift, self denial, and "rugged individualism," were taught the Turks The benefits of capital, of large scale production, and of protective tariffs were frequently extolled Economic prosperity, attained through the promotion of industry, commerce, and agriculture, was Ataturk's economic objective

Determined to Westernize his state completely and thoroughly, Atatürk in 1934 inaugurated his Five Year Plan Its object was to make Turkey self-sufficient industrially To carry out this program a large loan was negotiated with Russia in 1934 Agricultural progress was stimulated through the establishment of farm schools, experimental stations, and cooperative credit societies By purchase of surpluses the government kept up the price of foodstuffs Industry was also developed, trade agreements were made with Russia and Germany, and Great Britain was asked to send engineers to aid in construction work Furthermore, the Angora government became owner of all railways in the country by completing the purchase of the last remaining private line, a French railroad extending from Istanbul to the Bulgarian border

Five Year Plan

Success attended Ataturk's foreign policies Although he was a soldier by training, the Turkish dictator adopted a program of peace, friendship, and neutrality To reach these ends he entered into treaties of friendship with Russia, Persia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania In these treaties many difficulties between Turkey and her neighbors were liquidated In 1936, Atatürk decided to re-

Foreign policies

fortify the Straits, which had been demilitarized by the terms of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. This permission was granted by the League States. On July 20, 1936, France, Russia, Great Britain, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey signed the Montreux Straits Convention permitting the refortification of the Straits, on condition that Turkey in time of peace allow all commercial vessels and a limited tonnage of war vessels to pass through this narrow channel. In time of war Turkey had the right to close the Straits to belligerents, provided they were not acting under League authority or in accordance with regional pacts to which Turkey was a party. Turkey also had the authority to close the Straits in the event of a threat of war, unless two-thirds of the League Council requested her not to do so.

During 1936 and 1937 Atatürk continued to arrange treaties of friendship with all Turkey's neighbors. Especially significant was the Eastern pact signed by Turkey, Iraq, Iran (Persia), and Afghanistan in 1937. In this agreement the states reaffirmed their obligations under the League Covenant and agreed not to interfere in each other's internal affairs, and to consult on matters of common international concern. In modernizing Turkey, and in placing her in both the Balkan League¹ and a New Eastern League mentioned above, Atatürk at the time of his death in 1938 had made his country one of the strongest Near-Eastern powers.

Before the World War, Spain, like Turkey, was a backward land. For centuries it had been ruled by reactionary monarchs, representing three privileged groups. First and greatest of these was the land-owning class, to whom belonged two-thirds of agricultural Spain. Only one-third of Spanish agricultural property was in the hands of individual farmers, and they paid more than half of the taxes levied on the land.

Second of its ruling elements was the Roman Catholic Church. Although it lost most of its property during the nineteenth century, it received in return a large annual subsidy from the government. Its bishops were supported by the king, and many church rulings had the effect of national laws. Further, the church had almost complete control of education, and opposed the establishment of public schools in spite of the fact that Spain was the most illiterate land in western Europe.

The army was the third-ruling group. It was responsible to the king alone, and, like the church, was an important political force. Army as well as church laws were often the official laws of the nation.

Beneath these privileged groups were the Spanish people. Few belonged to the bourgeois class; most of them were farmers, in fact, many of them were little better than peons. In the cities lived the workers, barely existing on wages which were kept depressingly low.

¹ Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania were its members.

Thoroughly reactionary and inefficient, the ruling groups did little to solve the many problems which afflicted the country's restless and burdened people. As a result, such manifestations of discontent as military troubles in Morocco, general strikes during the years 1919-1921, and the Catalanian demand for autonomy finally led in 1923 to the establishment of a military dictatorship by the Spanish-American War veteran, General Miguel Primo de Rivera. Ruling with a firm hand, he instituted a conservative program by ruthlessly crushing opposition with force, *Primo de Rivera* and by destroying the prerogatives of free speech proclaimed in the constitution of 1876. In spite of his dictatorial methods, dissatisfaction increased until a series of army mutinies and riots by university students and workers led to his downfall in 1930. It was then that the weak king, Alfonso XIII, picked up the fallen reins of the government. In spite of the fact that he restored the constitution of 1876, more agitation on the part of liberal elements forced him into exile in 1931.

Following the overthrow of the monarchy, a republic was proclaimed, and elections for a constituent assembly were held (June, 1931). The voting resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Leftist Republicans and the Socialists. In control of the assembly, these groups, *Establishment of republic* after five months of debate, completed a liberal constitution which was adopted on December 9, 1931. In this document Spain was declared "a republic of the workers of all classes", a single legislative body (*Cortes*) was to be elected every four years by popular vote, the president was to be chosen for a six-year term by an electoral college (consisting of members of parliament and an equal number of electors selected by the voters), religious freedom was proclaimed, the state church was to be abolished, education was to be secularized, the government was to have the right to expropriate, with compensation, private property, to socialize large estates, to nationalize public utilities, and to participate in the co-ordination of industries.

In the election of December, 1931, the moderate republican leader, Zamora, was chosen President, and the more liberal statesman Azaña, became Premier. The new government immediately proceeded to pass laws designed to carry out a program of reform which had been outlined in the general principles laid down in the constitution. In 1932-33, the Jesuit order was dissolved and its property was confiscated by the state, church and state were separated; autonomy was granted the province of Catalonia by the republican government, and agrarian and labor reforms were inaugurated, involving the confiscation of the great estates of the landed nobility without compensation, and the distribution of over fifty million acres of royal lands among a million Spanish peasants.

These reforms united the obstructionist elements of the Right, Clericals and royalists worked earnestly for the restoration of the monarchy; and, on the extreme Left, the communists advocated the overthrow of the republic.

in order to establish a Soviet régime. In the November elections of 1933, the reactionaries succeeded in defeating the Leftist groups. Backed by the Catholic Popular Action party and the commercial, industrial, financial, and landed interests, the young and wealthy Catholic leader, Gil Robles, tried to modify or weaken the various reforming tendencies. Open revolt soon broke out in Catalonia, and only after military force had put President Louis Companys, of Catalonia, together with a group of cohorts, in jail, did it subside. Meanwhile sporadic revolts and strikes took place in various parts of Spain.

Failure of individual action convinced the liberals that only through a united front could they regain power. Consequently, in the 1936 elections the Syndicalists, Communists, Socialists, and Left Republicans organized as a Popular Front. The challenge was met by an equally organized group of Conservative Republicans, Clericals, and Royalists. But when the results had been tabulated the Lefts apparently held the upper hand, Azaña again took control, and Catalonia was once more given autonomy.

The new Popular Front government at this time took up its program of reform where it had left off before the conservative interregnum. A mild purge was conducted whereby those officers in the army suspected of disloyalty were ordered to inconspicuous posts.

Among those moved was a certain General Francisco Franco. Sent to the Canary Islands, Franco evidently waited for the opportunity to strike against the government. When on July 17, 1936, several regiments in Morocco raised the standard of revolt against the Spanish régime, he immediately flew there to take charge of it. Over ninety percent of the officers and two-thirds of the army now sided with Franco. Though the navy remained loyal to the existing régime, its place was inconspicuous at first, since the land campaign was the decisive military factor in the early phase of the war. More important to the Loyalists (the Popular Front government) was the \$700,000,000 gold reserve, the third largest in the world, which it controlled.

At first the Nationalist forces seemed destined to win a quick and a complete victory. Backed by Moorish as well as Spanish soldiers and aided by Italian and German volunteers, Franco's troops by November, 1936, were at the gates of Madrid. But by this time the Loyalist forces had been strengthened by the organization of a Popular Militia of workers, by Anti-Fascist volunteers from many foreign countries, and by military supplies, apparently from Russia. With this aid the Republican Government was able to save Madrid.

In 1936 foreign intervention caused the war to take on the aspect of an international struggle. This development was more or less inevitable. Spain was a poor and backward country whose resources as yet had not been exploited. In that state there were rich deposits of coal, iron, zinc, and mercury.

*Opposition to
republic*

*Outbreak of
Civil War*

which two countries—Germany and Italy—needed badly. Moreover, strategically, Spain was of real importance. At the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula, guarding her trade routes to Egypt and the Orient, Great Britain maintained the powerful fortress of Gibraltar. But this fortified rock could be threatened from the Spanish side or from Spanish Morocco which lay less than a dozen miles from it across the straits at the western end of the Mediterranean. If a strong power could gain control of Spain the British life line to the Orient would be menaced. Thus it was that Mussolini, thoroughly piqued by Great Britain's opposition to his Ethiopian campaign, sought to embarrass England, at first, by interfering in Spain. His natural partner in that adventure, as well as in his quest for raw materials, was his ally, *Der Fuhrer*. The German dictator apparently welcomed this move to establish a Fascist state south of Germany's historic enemy, republican France, for he realized that Fascist control of Spain's Balearic Islands would threaten French communication with her African Empire. Since the communists had a strong organization in Spain, both dictators were in a position to claim that they were fighting against the spread of Sovietism.

*Foreign interven-
tion in Spain*

In 1937, thanks to Fascist help, the Nationalists were able to resume their military advance. Though defeated by the Loyalists at Guadalajara in March, Franco gradually extended his control until by October, 1937, all of northwest Spain lay in his hands. Moreover, in the following year a Nationalist thrust between Valencia and Catalonia created a salient separating these important Loyalist centers. Despite these losses, the Loyalists continued to resist with unexpected vigor. In July, 1938, a Loyalist counter-offensive on the Ebro River staved off defeat for a time.

From the beginning of the Spanish War, Great Britain and France realized that this civil strife might lead to a general European War. Determined to avoid this catastrophe, France, Great Britain, and the United States adopted a non-intervention policy in which they officially refused to permit the sale of munitions to the Loyalists or the Nationalists in Spain. England also instituted negotiations with Italy and Germany in an attempt to localize the conflict. In 1937, Great Britain, under the conciliatory hand of Chamberlain, tried to reach an understanding whereby the warring elements would be isolated. Finally, in March of that year, a naval cordon was established around the hapless country, and the vessels of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany patrolled the coast in an ostensible effort to prevent foreign help to either the Rebels or the Loyalists. During the early stages of the patrol, the German battleship, *Deutschland*, however, was bombed by Loyalist aeroplanes, whereupon the Nazi government ordered the shelling of the Loyalist seaport of Almeria by five German battleships. Following this episode, Italy and Germany withdrew from the patrol. A short time later the patrol was re-established, but lacking the support of the Fascist powers, it

collapsed. Meanwhile, attacks by unidentified submarines and planes on French, British, and Russian vessels became more frequent, and the number of boats sunk was so alarming that a conference was called at Nyon to deal with this new menace. After the meeting, such sinkings, usually ascribed to the Nationalists or their sponsors, ceased to be a formidable problem.

But the Italian dictator still continued to aid Franco. Chamberlain, therefore, decided it would be wise to seek a settlement with Mussolini, rather than let the Mediterranean situation draw Europe into another world war. Foreign minister Anthony Eden, who had been Britain's leading anti-Fascist diplomat, resigned in protest, claiming that temporizing with a bully was only postponing trouble. But the British business classes backed Chamberlain's appeasement policy. They had no happy recollections of the World War and did not want to fight for Ethiopian savages or Spanish radicals. They were more prosaically concerned with Mussolini's harrying of their trade routes and his apparent attempts to stir up British subject peoples in the Near East. At the expense of some loss of face, they were willing to placate *Il Duce* and his ally, Hitler, until Britain could build her armaments to a size commanding respect.

In April, 1938, therefore, Great Britain and Italy agreed upon a pact which was to be signed after Mussolini had withdrawn his troops from Spain and Britain had obtained League recognition of Mussolini's Ethiopian conquest. *Il Duce* consented to renounce all territorial ambitions with regard to Spain. In return, Britain promised to recognize the conquest of Ethiopia and to acknowledge Italy's vital interests in the Mediterranean. Mussolini also bound himself to respect England's essential interests there because of imperial communications, and to reduce Italian forces in Libya. Both countries agreed not to propagandize against each other and to adhere to the London Naval Treaty of 1936. Both also promised to adhere to the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 which guaranteed free use of the canal to all powers at all times. Though at first Franco consented (as did the Loyalists), to this settlement, when the actual plan began to be worked out, on August 7, 1938, he proposed changes that virtually nullified it.

In the fall of 1938 certain events presaged the end of the Spanish War. Following the Munich agreement, Great Britain and Italy resumed discussions of the Spanish situation. Meanwhile the Loyalist government proceeded to demobilize its foreign contingents, sending home over 8,000 men of the famous International Brigade. Mussolini ordered some 12,000 of the 40,000 Italian troops fighting for Rightist Spain to return to Italy, but it was alleged that he merely replaced them with fresh reinforcements. By this token withdrawal *Il Duce* hoped that Great Britain would grant Franco belligerent rights, and thereby insure victory for the Nationalist cause. The fall of Barcelona to Franco, however, on January 26, 1939, practically decided the war. Thenceforth the Loyalists lost ground rapidly and found themselves

hemmed in and cut off from their foreign sources of supply Early in 1939 Great Britain and France recognized the Franco régime as the *de jure* government of Spain

In March 1939, Spain's Civil War finally came to an end Termination of this conflict which cost more than 1,000,000 lives, untold human suffering, and inestimable property destruction was hastened by the unconditional surrender of besieged Madrid and the almost simultaneous capitulation of the rest of Republican Spain and its armies Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy hailed Franco's victory as "another milestone in the formation of a strong nation allied with the Rome-Berlin totalitarian dictatorships" Later Franco indicated that he intended to support his German and Italian allies when Spain joined the anti-comintern pact

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE REVOLT OF THE ORIENT

Prior to the outbreak of the World War the rapid expansion of Western civilization had greatly changed the Pacific world. New nations had arisen, and old ones were aroused to self-consciousness. In the Americas, the United States became the most powerful nation, developing a great empire which extended from the Caribbean to the Philippines in the east. Canada, to the north of the United States, had become virtually an independent state within the British Commonwealth of nations. In Hispanic-America, the numerous countries, protected from European penetration by the Monroe Doctrine and subsequent American protective policies, managed to retain their independence. Australia and the numerous islands in the Pacific had early come under European, or in some cases, Japanese and American dominion. Of these, Australia and New Zealand, although parts of the British Empire, became virtually independent nations, erecting tariff barriers and developing their rich resources.

After the World War there was a widespread revulsion of feeling against European imperialism and certain phases of Western civilization. In practically every part of Asia and Africa revolutionary movements appeared. The peoples in the Near East, in India, in China, and in some of the Islands of the Pacific, revealed hostility to European imperialism. This struggle even spread to Africa, where the Moslem populations in the north continued to resist the advance of Western capitalism. In central and southern Africa, some of the blacks prepared charters of liberties and adopted the slogan "Africa for the Africans."

While the Spaniards in Morocco, the French in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunis, and the Italians in Libya encountered opposition, the most serious challenge to Western supremacy in Africa was experienced by the British in Egypt. During the World War, Great Britain, in order to prevent a possible Turkish invasion of Egypt, had established a protectorate there and had commandeered considerable grain and many animals. These actions greatly stimulated native resentment to alien control. Frequent outbursts of violence finally forced the British government in 1922 to abolish the protectorate and to recognize the independence of Egypt. In 1923 a constitution was created and the sultan adopted the title of King. Egypt by now was a semi-independent state, subject to British control over

such matters as the Suez Canal, the problem of defense, and the rights of minorities

Despite these concessions, the Egyptians demanded complete freedom. Continuous political demonstrations, resulting in the murder of the British Governor-General of the Sudan in 1924, finally forced the imperial government to intervene. In 1925, freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly disappeared, and nationalist agitation was prohibited in the delta.

In 1929, Great Britain concluded a treaty of alliance with Egypt, in which both parties promised mutual assistance in the event of war, and England agreed to withdraw all troops save in the area of the Suez Canal. The Sudan, however, was to remain under the Anglo-Egyptian condominium which had been set up in accordance with the conventions of 1899.

In 1930 the Egyptians adopted a new constitution, which created an undemocratic government. Within four years there developed a strong movement to abolish this document and to restore that of 1923. In 1935 came the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which complicated matters. Recognizing the possibility of an Anglo-Italian conflict over this region, the Egyptians decided to eliminate the British influence in Egypt. Riots occurred, and a united front of all Egyptian political parties demanded the negotiation of a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty and the establishment of a democratic government.

During this period of confusion King Fuad died (1936) and was succeeded by his sixteen-year-old son, Farouk I. In the first year of his reign an Anglo-Egyptian alliance was signed. The terms of this treaty provided that Great Britain in time of war should have *Farouk I* the right to utilize Egyptian facilities and to require, if necessary, the establishment of martial law. In return, the British promised to get Egypt admitted into the League of Nations, to exchange ambassadors with her, and to confine British troops to the northern end of the Suez Canal. Great Britain also agreed to induce various powers to surrender their privileged positions in Egypt. In 1937 the capitulatory nations, i.e., those whose citizens enjoyed the rights of extraterritoriality, met at Montreux and agreed to abolish these special privileges by 1949. Thus, Egypt at last obtained independence, subject to the sole British restriction that the facts of modern warfare, together with the imperial interests of Great Britain, made essential some close relationship.

Having arranged a settlement with the powers of Europe, the Egyptians proceeded to quarrel over domestic matters. King Farouk insisted upon the introduction of a change in religious ceremony and proceeded to interpret his rôle in his own way under the constitution. When his premier refused to obey his orders to disband an opposition group — the *Waldfist Blue Shirts* — he dismissed the minister and appointed a liberal leader in his place. Inasmuch as the new cabinet minister was friendly to Italy, Great Britain was forced to send troops to put down riots in Egypt. In 1939 the young king still ruled

over his country, despite bitter opposition at home and international complications abroad

Moslem peoples in western Asia were as persistent as the Egyptians in their attempts to obtain national independence. After the War they engaged in revolts against Western capitalism. *The Arabs* The Arabs, who had helped the British in the war against the Turks, claimed that they had been promised independence and national unity as a reward for their aid. But the Allies refused to grant the Arabs complete freedom and, instead, partitioned western Asia among themselves. France established a mandate in Syria, Great Britain did likewise in Iraq, Palestine, and the Transjordan, and the Arabs were forced to be satisfied with independent states in Arabia and Hejaz.

France and Great Britain soon found themselves beset with serious difficulties in these regions. In Syria native revolts forced the French in 1928 to permit general elections for a representative constitutional assembly. *Syria* The first elections under this constitution occurred amidst great disorder in January, 1932. Determined to obtain complete independence, the Syrians refused to agree to an arrangement with France whereby the two states would enter into an alliance under which France would secure for Syria membership in the League of Nations, and in return Syria would permit France to continue to exercise control over her foreign, military, and financial matters.

This settlement was not accepted by the Syrian Parliament. Thereupon the French commissioner, in 1934, prorogued the legislature. Interested primarily in the silk industry and the strategic railways of Syria, France refused to grant the natives the complete independence they desired. Nationalist agitations, culminating early in 1936 in a general strike, forced the French government to sign new treaties of friendship and alliance with Syria and its neighboring state, Lebanon. According to the terms of these agreements both were to become independent countries within a period of three years. During this time France was to keep troops in the republics and help them prepare their own armies.

Great Britain, too, ran into complications. In Palestine, assigned by the League of Nations to England, the problems were especially troublesome because of the bitter antagonism between the enterprising *Palestine* Jewish minority and the backward Arabs, who comprise over eighty percent of the inhabitants. Frequent riots took place, usually near the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem, which was used by the Jews as a sacred place for worship and was claimed by the Moslems as their property. In an attempt to placate the Arabs, the British government in 1931 suspended the immigration of Jews into the country. Meanwhile, the Hebrews refused to cooperate in the election of a legislative council which would represent the various peoples of Palestine; unless they were guaranteed at least an equality

in membership with the Arabs. Although they constituted less than a third of the population, the Jews claimed that their economic interests entitled them to equal representation. Thereupon the British government dropped the project of a National Council and declined to restrict further Jewish immigration, or to forbid the sale of Arab lands to the Hebrews.

Attempting to oppose any further loss of territory, the Arabs now resorted to strikes, civil disobedience, and anti-Jewish riots. These agitations finally forced the British government in 1936 to appoint a commission to investigate the entire situation in Palestine. As a result of its researches the commission recommended in 1937 that Palestine be divided into three parts. The region around the Holy Cities was to remain a British mandate, a section, constituting about one third of Palestine, was to be a Jewish state, and the rest of the region linked with Transjordan was to become an independent Arab state.

While the British government accepted this suggestion, the House of Commons voted to refer the matter to the League of Nations. The Council of the League thereupon approved the plan in principle, but insisted that the new Jewish and Arab states should continue under mandate.

In the fall of 1938 the British government, aroused by the killing of hundreds of Arabs, Jews, and British soldiers as a result of this sanguinary Arab-Jewish dispute, considered a number of plans to solve this problem. Opposition of Zionists to any scheme in which the Jews would have minority status, however, made it very difficult for the British to find a workable settlement. Meanwhile, the Arab revolt in Palestine, which had begun as a protest against Zionist immigration, had developed into something far more serious: a war against British imperialism, probably encouraged by Mussolini. This uprising the London government determined to crush at all costs.

The Arabians in Iraq also opposed British control. Handed over to England as a mandate after the World War, the people of this region, unlike the inhabitants of Transjordan, refused to recognize British suzerainty. Having gained control of the oil fields in that *Iraq* region Great Britain finally agreed to transform the mandate into an Anglo-Iraq Alliance (1922). But this concession did not satisfy the natives. They aimed at complete freedom and finally got the British government in 1927 to agree to recognize the independence of their country in five years. Accordingly, on October 3, 1932, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations as an independent power, the European states surrendering their privileges under the capitulations.

The post-War period also witnessed the emancipation of Persia. Formerly divided into spheres of influence by the imperial governments of Russia and Great Britain, Persia shook off Russian influence when Cossack officers retired from the country at the end of the World War, but had to wait five years for the British to relinquish their political control. *Persia*

Emancipator of his country from British domination was a former Persian Cossack officer, Reza Khan. Like Turkey's dictator (Kemal Atatürk) he became head of a nationalist army, denounced British rule over Persia, and assumed the premiership (1923). Two years later the shah was persuaded to leave Persia and a Constituent Assembly made Reza Khan hereditary shah. With a newly created army of forty thousand men, he put down the rebellious Kurds, and other warring peoples. Then he began shaking a determined fist at Great Britain.

First real shock to reach London was the arbitrary cancellation by the new shah of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company agreement, scheduled to run until 1961. Realizing that enforcement of this oil lease would involve great and expensive military effort, the British government permitted the Anglo-Persian Company to negotiate a settlement whereby the shah obtained increased royalties, promptly earmarked for the Army, and other concessions.

Reza Khan Reza Khan Pahlavi, as he now styled himself, proceeded to get rid of British advisers, handed over Persian business to Italian, Russian, and German agents, and persuaded the British to move their naval base further away on the Persian Gulf.

Almost illiterate when he came to the throne, Reza Khan Pahlavi endeavored to make himself a twentieth century Darius. He imposed his will on hitherto independent fierce tribes, hanging dozens of warring sheiks and making other suspected local chieftains his permanent "guests." Strong-willed followers of the shah whom Reza Khan had deposed developed mysterious maladies, committed suicide, or underwent fatal operations. The modernizing shah summed himself up when he said "I am a soldier—a simple soldier—and love my job."

The shah combined his knowledge of time-honored Oriental political methods with a superficial passion for reform. Opposed to Western culture in general, he nevertheless admired certain of its traits, such as, for example, its dress and technical achievements. Therefore he abolished turbans, forbade veils, restricted polygamy, terminated foreign capitulations, encouraged secular education, and developed sanitation and public works. In addition to these social reforms, he ordered the building of macadam roads—to his summer palace on the Caspian Sea. In 1938 he completed the construction of an 865 mile railroad, a strategic line to enable the Persians to repulse possible British invasion from the Gulf and Russian invasion from the Turkoman Soviet Socialist Republic. Skipping most of Persia's largest economic centers, crossing mountain ranges connecting with no foreign railways, the line, from the economic point of view, was unprofitable.

But these modern improvements did not solve the historic problem of Persia—periodic famine which was partly caused by archaic agricultural methods. Despite the superficial prosperity of the shah's capital city, Teheran, all was not well even by 1939. Scores of beggars greeted incoming travellers.

Emaciated natives could be seen sitting around in streets and doorways. As in the past, locust attacks and droughts still make this area one in which a large part of the people existed on the very edge of starvation. Meanwhile, the financing of the shah's ambitious projects had practically bled the country white.

Afghanistan, as well as Persia, experienced an anti-Western movement after the World War. Under the direction of their amir, Amanullah Khan, the people of this wild and rugged country got Great Britain to recognize their independence. Amanullah now tried to *Afghanistan* modernize his country, but the conservative tribesmen in 1929 were able to bring about his abdication. Eventually, the leader of these rebels, Habibullah Khan, ascended the throne.

The most important revolution against British rule occurred in post-War India. Long before the Great Struggle, the people of this huge peninsula had demanded drastic reforms, and Great Britain, to prevent *India* trouble in India during the War, had promised political concessions, involving increased native participation in the government.

After the War, Great Britain soon discovered that India was still a problem-child. Comprising various nationalities, religions, and social castes, it seemed to lack all of the necessary prerequisites for a unified state, save abundant economic resources. Despite these handicaps, the leaders of the three hundred-odd millions of people demanded autonomy, if not independence, of Great Britain. Claiming that the British were primarily concerned with the exploitation of India, the nationalists determined to gain economic justice as well as political freedom. They asserted that they should have the right to develop their own industries, and refused to purchase British manufactured goods — claiming that England was trying to shield her industries by opposing Indian economic progress.

Recognized champion of Indian Nationalists was Mohandas Gandhi. An ardent advocate of simplicity and asceticism, the Holy One bitterly opposed the Westernization of India. Enthusiastically, the Nationalists adopted his program of non-cooperation and passive resistance. Attempting to rid themselves of British control, they refused to hold positions in the administration, to vote, to purchase foreign goods, especially British textiles, and to pay taxes.

Alarmed at the trend of events, the British government in 1919 consented to give the Indians a degree of self-government, but native hostility persisted. Despite Gandhi's opposition to the use of force, the Indians participated in riots, especially during the period of his im- *Gandhi* prisonment in 1922-1924. Aroused by this problem, Great Britain sent a commission under Sir John Simon to investigate the situation. Meanwhile the nationalists decided to demand autonomy or dominion status within the empire, rather than complete independence. Maintaining that lack of Indian unity made it impossible for the committee to approve the grant of

autonomy, the Simon commission in 1930 recommended that the authority of the Secretary of State for India, and of the Governor General be increased, that the provincial governors have more power, and that Indians be trained for administrative duties. Regarded as reactionary, these proposals were bitterly resented by the natives.

A strange revolution now followed. Led by Gandhi, the nationalists attacked British control of the liquor traffic, boycotted British goods, and renounced British rule. In an attempt to end this uprising Great Britain held a Round Table Conference in which native representatives and sympathizers roundly criticized the character of British government in India. In 1931, Gandhi attended the discussions in England, but no settlement was made. Thereupon the British again arrested Gandhi, who, informed that the British, catering to the selfish upper classes in India, were planning to debar the masses from political life, entered upon the first of his famous hunger strikes. After six days of fasting he abandoned his demonstration when the British gave up the proposed plan.

At the conclusion of the third Round Table Conference the British government decided not to grant autonomy to the Indians until the various groups, such as the Hindus and the Moslems, agreed to cooperate. Until then the people, in accordance with the Government of India Act (1935), were to enjoy increased political rights under a new India Federal Constitution. According to the terms of this document the responsibility for local administration was to be placed on the provinces, but India as a whole was not to receive dominion status.

Considerable opposition to the entire plan existed in India. Some of the natives wanted independence, others were content with dominion status. Most of them, however, opposed the state of semi-independence, in which the Viceroy still retained control of matters connected with foreign affairs, defense, and finance.

By 1936 another leader, the young Pandit Nehru, had appeared in India. An advocate of complete independence to be gained by force, if necessary, this new messiah announced to the Nationalist Congress in April, 1936, that he regarded socialism as the only solution to India's ills. Thus, many Indians by 1939 seemed to be preparing for a revolt—not merely against British control, but also against Western capitalism.

During the post-War period the most spectacular opposition to Western capitalism developed in the Far East. Anti-foreign sentiment had existed in

Post-War China China and Japan prior to 1914, but it became particularly virulent and even menacing after the outbreak of the World War. In 1915, Japan took advantage of the preoccupation of the European powers to present to China a secret ultimatum known as the Twenty-one Demands. These were tantamount to the establishment of a Japanese protectorate over China. Unable to obtain the acceptance of all of these demands,

the Japanese finally arranged agreements with China, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy, whereby Nippon secured virtually a free hand in northern China

At the peace meeting following the conclusion of the War, China tried to throw off alien political and economic control. Unable to reach these objectives, the Chinese refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, and proceeded to agitate against foreign penetration — especially the Japanese occupation of the Shantung peninsula (formerly a German sphere of influence)

In 1921–1922 China made some gains at the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments. Japan promised to evacuate Shantung, China was granted greater control of her tariffs, and committees were appointed to investigate the problems of extra-territoriality and tariff autonomy. Also, a Nine-Power Pact adhered to by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Belgium, China, Portugal, and the United States, guaranteed the independence and integrity of China as well as the *status quo* in the Far East. A Four-Power Pact, also arranged at Washington, which included Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan, established a balance of power in the whole Pacific area.

The Washington Conference

China, however, lacking a strong government, was torn by frequent civil wars. Cantonese Nationalists tried to suppress the turbulent war lords of the north and to end foreign limitations on Chinese sovereignty.

In the early 'twenties Soviet Russia attempted to help the Chinese combat Western imperialism and at the same time to spread the seeds of communism. Influenced by this development, Chiang Kai-shek, who succeeded Sun-Yat-sen as the head of the Nationalists in 1925, repudiated communism, and thus secured the favor of the Western powers in his move to suppress the Chinese war lords of the north.

Civil strife in China

By 1928 the Nationalists, with their capital now removed to Nanking, had extended their control over most of China and had reduced foreign influence considerably. Tariff autonomy was practically established, a new criminal code created; a program designed to achieve democracy was adopted, and an enormous federal army was recruited.

Despite these gains, the Nationalist government between 1929 and 1931 was still confronted by civil strife and the danger of a foreign war. Strongly entrenched communist groups opposed the Nanking régime because of its indifference to Soviet Russia, and Nationalists' attempts to bring Manchuria under their control aroused bitter Russian and Japanese opposition. Furthermore, many of the independent war lords had never been suppressed and only gave nominal adhesion to the central government. In order to protect and enlarge her economic interests in Manchuria, Japan determined, by the summer of 1931, to set up a puppet state in that region. This policy of expansion rose out of a depression which in Japan had been almost continuous since 1921. As her industry and commerce declined, she decided to exploit the rich

mineral and other resources of Manchuria and to use this region as an outlet for surplus goods, capital, and population

Manchuria, at that time, was a rich agricultural land and contained certain of the most highly industrialized sections of China. Its principal crops were the soy bean, wheat, cotton, and the sugar beet. It also possessed large resources of coal and iron. A network of rivers and railways, built by Chinese, Russian, and Japanese capital, afforded transportation facilities

Japanese imperialism in China

Long interested in Manchuria, Japanese businessmen supported, with some misgivings, the military clique in its determination to conquer this region and to check the spread of communism. Accordingly, Japanese armies invaded the country and by 1932 had taken possession of the whole territory, including the Russian sphere of influence. Meanwhile, Russia, desirous of peace, so that she could solve her internal problems, refused to join China in opposing Japanese penetration of Manchuria.

Beset by civil war, floods, and famines, the Nanking government was unable to check the Japanese advance. Accusing Japan of unjustifiable aggression, China appealed to the League of Nations and decided to resort to the economic boycott of Japanese trade.¹

Alarmed at this declaration of economic war, Japan seized the industrial and commercial heart of China — Shanghai. It was believed that the conquest of this important business center would force the Chinese to abandon their boycott. Stubborn Chinese resistance, however, made this military undertaking a costly one for the Japanese. Moreover it aroused the bitter hostility of the Western powers who believed that their stakes in China were jeopardized. Fearful lest direct intervention might lead to a world war, the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and other interested nations preferred to avoid active interference.

Having forced China to give up her boycott policy, Japan withdrew from Shanghai, but at the same time proceeded to set up a puppet state in Manchuria, called Manchukuo, under the nominal rule of Henry Pu Yi, the last of the Manchu emperors of China. The country was practically cleared of insurrectionists, and Jehol, a Chinese province lying within the Great Wall, was conquered by the Japanese and made a part of this newly established state.

The League of Nations, however, refused to recognize the puppet state and branded Japan as guilty of unwarranted aggression. Offended by the League of Nations' active policy of opposition, Japan, in 1933 reasserted her determination to pursue an independent policy and to maintain a "Monroe Doctrine in the Orient."

¹ The League of Nations, in a voluminous report, exonerated China of all blame in the war and declared Japan to be the aggressor. Thereupon Japan withdrew from the League (1933).

A Russo-Chinese entente in December, 1933, occasioned some alarm among the Japanese, many regarding it as the prelude to a military alliance for the purpose of thrusting them out of China. Serious disputes between Russia and Manchukuo (backed by Japan) occurred over the control of the Chinese Railway. This matter was finally settled when Russia sold her interest to Japan. Despite this agreement, friction continued between Russia and Japan in the winter of 1935-1936. This hostility was fanned by border incidents along the Soviet-Manchukuoan and Manchukuo-Outer Mongolian frontiers, and by disputes between Russia and Japan over fishery rights in eastern waters. There were frequent reports after 1937 of clashes, but apparently neither side was willing to go to war.

*Russo-Japanese
rivalry*

Meanwhile, Japan, having decided, as a result of the border disputes, that Russia was not disposed to fight an offensive war, announced her determination to restore law and order in China. The head of the Chinese government and commander-in-chief of its army, Chiang Kai-shek, tried to avoid war by ordering the suppression of Anti-Japanese demonstrations in various parts of China. This policy aroused considerable opposition, and Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to make peace with the Chinese communists and to present a united front against the Japanese invaders.

The military party in Japan, in complete control of the government, now prepared for a protracted war in China. In August, 1937, the fighting spread to Shanghai, and Japan announced a blockade of shipping along most of the Chinese coast. Meanwhile, the Japanese armies advanced slowly but steadily into China. While thousands of Chinese civilians as well as soldiers were being killed by Japanese bombs in areas removed from the fronts, the Premier of Japan announced that his country had no territorial designs in carrying on this undeclared war. "If we mete out direct punishment to the Chinese our final objective must be Sino-Japanese cooperation."

*An undeclared
war*

Foreign nations, for the most part, condemned Japan's policies severely. On October 6, 1937, fifty members of the League of Nations endorsed a report which expressed moral support of China, and called a parley of the signatories of the Nine-Power Pact and other interested states to meet at Brussels. At this gathering the Italian delegate, claiming that Japan was fighting communism in China, ridiculed the whole proceeding. Unable to agree upon a common policy, the various nations, in default of positive action, simply drew up a resolution condemning Japan.

Backed by Germany and Italy, the Japanese ignored the hostility of Russia and other powers and continued their military operations in China. In December, 1937, Japanese troops entered Nanking, the former capital of the nationalist government. In the early spring of 1938 the Japanese were victorious on all fronts. Supreme in a large part of the north, the Nipponese

soldiers now seemed ready to invade the southern part of China. At this critical moment, when British, French and other foreign interests in that region were threatened, Chinese resistance to the Japanese advance stiffened. Encouraged and aided by foreign powers, the Chinese seemed capable of prolonging the struggle.

Despite military successes in China, Japan, as a result of unstable economic conditions, faced an uncertain future. Especially, did she find it difficult to meet the problem of adequate production and distribution. Moreover, her great density of population (437 people per square mile), her scarcity of iron ore, coal, and petroleum, her low standard of living, and her dependence upon foreign countries for raw materials and foodstuffs, tended to make her domestic situation unstable and her position in China precarious. It also was increasingly evident to foreign observers that Japan was governed by military and naval cliques which scorned civilian authorities.

In July, 1938, the Japanese drive on the provisional Chinese capital, Hankow, was temporarily brought to a standstill by a Manchukuo-Soviet border dispute over Changkufeng hill. Prior to this incident the Soviet government had been forced to devote all of its energies to its own economic development. By 1938, however, the Russian Bear apparently felt strong enough to show its claws. Consequently, after a short period of intermittent warfare, Japan, primarily interested at that time in the conquest of China, accepted the Soviet plan to arbitrate this frontier problem.

Despite this concession to Russia, Japan realized that fear of German-Italian aggression in Europe would prevent British, French, and Russian intervention in China. Following the German dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in October, therefore, she launched a new assault upon Chinese independence. Troops were landed in Southern China, about twenty miles from the British Crown Colony of Hongkong, and the main railway artery, over which munitions purchased by the Chinese in Europe were shipped to Generalissimo Chiang at Hankow, was cut. Assuring Great Britain that her specific interests in south China would be respected, Japan, through her War Office, announced that she was determined to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's régime; "we do not intend to take Hongkong or Singapore or advance southward in the Pacific, but we must and will carry out our program in China."

Ten days after the Japanese troops had been landed in the south, China faced a complete military collapse. Canton was captured by the Japanese without much trouble, the only railway over which Russian supplies could reach Hankow was cut by Japanese forces at Sen Yang; and on the Yangtze River the Japanese proceeded to capture Hankow in the latter part of October, 1938. Early in 1939, to the chagrin of the French, whose sphere of influence in southern China was menaced, the Japanese seized the strategic island of Hainan and the French-claimed Spratly Islands. In possession of

the most important parts of China, Japan, having already repudiated the Nine-Power Pact and other treaties guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China, seemed to be in a position, in cooperation with the Rome-Berlin axis, to make Japanese hegemony in the Far East a reality

CHAPTER LXXVIII

EPILOGUE THE ROAD TO WAR?

With the consummation of the Munich agreement of September, 1938, men everywhere began to hope that there would be "peace for our time." Great Britain and France, in an attempt to satisfy Nazi-Germany, had sacrificed the Czechs. In many places Prime Minister Chamberlain was regarded as a hero whose policies would now spread reason and justice everywhere.

In April, 1939, Nazi-Germany informed the world that she was far from appeased. The few remnants of the Czech state had been destroyed, Memel had been absorbed, and an economic penetration of Rumania had been begun. Germany seemed ready to march into Poland, the Balkans, and perhaps the Soviet Ukraine.

This threat to the balance of power in Europe led Chamberlain to assume an active leadership in the drive against further Nazi expansion. With France, Great Britain now tried to place a ring of nations around Germany. Special arrangements in the form of treaties were concluded with Poland and Rumania, and a rapprochement was initiated with Russia. France and England promised military assistance to countries who felt their independence jeopardized by Hitler. According to the British this policy of "encirclement" was not the least aggressive — it was merely defensive.

Actually this British program split Europe into violently opposing camps. The issue between these groups was not simply one between the dictatorships and the democracies, or between the "have-nots" and the "haves." It also involved general world-wide issues which had reached a focal point at this time. The problem of an overcrowded continent, for instance, was inextricably bound up with unemployment and the machine. In addition world trade was in a stagnant state, tariffs, dumping, and barter deals had let loose the worst evils of a large-scale economic war.

These were but a few of the factors of an enormously complicated problem. In broadest terms they involved a struggle to preserve the *status quo* against forces that would end it, the latter being chiefly, Adolf Hitler.

On April 28, *Der Fuhrer*, in a speech before the Reichstag, refused to accept President Roosevelt's suggestions for a conference of European powers to discuss and try to arrive at a settlement of all questions that threatened the peace of the world. Instead, Hitler repudiated the Anglo-German naval pact of 1935, renounced the ten year peace agreement with Poland signed

in 1934, and blamed "British war mongers" and Poland's calling up troops for these two repudiations. He also enumerated his demands on Poland which he said had been rejected. These were the return of Danzig to Germany with the provision that Poland retain free port privileges there, a German-controlled highway and railroad across the Corridor to East Prussia, acceptance of present boundaries between the two countries as final, a twenty-five year non-aggression treaty, and a joint guarantee by Germany, Poland, and Hungary of the borders of Slovakia.

Several weeks later the Polish Foreign Minister, Beck, answered Hitler's demands. Making one of his rare appearances before the Polish Parliament he declared Poland's willingness to settle the Danzig problem by treaty, but cautioned "Peace is a valuable and desirable thing. However we in Poland do not know the conception of peace at any price."

Following this speech, Europe busily went on choosing sides for what many believed would be another World War. Germany and Italy, at the end of a long conference at Milan between Foreign Ministers von Ribbentrop and Ciano, determined "to stand together in war and peace, in all circumstances, without limitations." Meanwhile Germany offered the little northern states non-aggression pacts. This proposition was turned down by Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Denmark, however, accepted the offer. England finally persuaded the Turks to announce their support of the democracies in the event anyone attacked Rumania, Palestine, or Egypt. Great Britain promised to buy Turkish goods, in case Germany, now Turkey's best customer, stopped doing so.

Having brought Turkey into the democratic orbit and thus insuring contact with Russia via the Straits in the event of war, Great Britain then endeavored to gain the support of the Moslem states, such as Iraq, and Iran. To reach this objective the British Cabinet in May of 1939 tried to obtain the backing of the Arabs by announcing a plan to make Palestine an independent state in ten years, and to restrict Jewish immigration to a total of 75,000 during the period 1939-1944. Reactions to this scheme were immediate and world wide. Jewish leaders everywhere condemned it and in Palestine the Jews resorted to riots and then to passive opposition. The Arabs also opposed this plan, for they insisted upon the immediate establishment of an independent state.

While Great Britain and Germany were trying to bring the small nations into various kinds of alliances, Soviet Russia continued to be the sphinx of Europe. Apparently unwilling to join in anything less than a clear cut military assistance pact between Britain, France, and Russia, Stalin of Russia refused to accept Great Britain's proposal that Russia promise protection in the event of an attack upon states already guaranteed by France and Great Britain, Rumania, Greece, and Poland. Instead he asked the question: "What if Germany wins the next war in eastern Europe? Will the democracies keep on fighting for Russia?" Evidently Stalin was skeptical of the ability of

the capitalistic states to put up a fight, and considered seriously the possibility that Germany might defeat Russia and that Britain might then forsake the Soviet Republic. At any rate, the Russian Foreign Commissar told the Supreme Soviet that Russia demanded absolute guarantees of the territorial integrity of all the Baltic states before it would sign the pact with England. Bent upon an alliance with Russia, Great Britain in June of 1939 sent a foreign office career man, William Strang, to Moscow.

At the same time, a number of incidents in the Far East culminated in a crisis which strained Anglo-Japanese relations "almost to the breaking point," and which caused many Englishmen to favor an alliance with Russia at any price. This crisis arose when the British in their Tientsin concession refused to surrender to the Japanese four Chinamen suspected of killing a Chinese manager of the North China Bank and superintendent of the Japanese-controlled custom's administration. Throwing a blockade around the British and French international zones, Japan practically accused the British of aiding the Chinese and the communists in the hitherto undeclared Sino-Japanese conflict. In reply the British ambassador made the usual protest to the Japanese government, saying that the blockade was "an unfriendly act." Meanwhile the French foreign spokesman described the blockade as a plot to divert attention from Japan's allies in Europe.

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CHAPTER LXXVII

THE REVOLT OF THE ORIENT.

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